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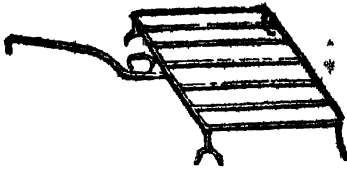
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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[Price 7d.]



"Property is of no value, property does not exist; that which we call property is not property, unless there be a *standard of value*. It is the money of a country, and nothing else, that can make property of any use. To the mass of the people, the land can be of no more use than the vacant space above it, unless there be money whereby to determine and denominate its value, and to cause labour to be performed on it, and to remove it, produce to the backs and mouths of the people. Seeing, then, that money gives value to every thing; that it is the main cement of civil society; what a monstrous thing it is, that this thing should be left to the direction of bands of men, who have no general interest with the people at large in this respect; but who must wish to gain by the money; and whose gain must be detrimental to the nation at large."—*Register*, 15th May, 1819.

TO

MR. WESTERN,

On his Letters recently published, relative to the Money Affair.

Derby, 25th December, 1829.

SIR,

You are in the field again, I see, and pushing hard for the return of the and bare paper-money. You very recently observe, that we must either the false money; the base and devaluated money; the "*worthless rags*", villanous, the cheating, monopoly, blood-shedding, panic-striking, paper-money; that we must have a *great reduction of the taxes*; when you immediately fly off from after remedy, as if it were a thing means to be thought seriously of; mentioned as an impossibility, or thing next to impossible; just as it puts the alternative, "I must

poach or starve." He means, of course, that he shall poach, and that he cannot and will not starve.

It is thus that you speak of reduction of taxes: you, indeed, in the petition in which you were concerned at Colchester, very kindly tell the Ministers and the Parliament, that the expenditure *cannot be materially reduced*. Therefore, we must, according to you, re-augment the quantity of money. You never seem to think of the eternal disgrace and infamy which the Government and the Parliament, of which last you are a member, must bring upon themselves; you never seem to think of the hatred and contempt that they will deserve, aye, and that they will receive, too, not only from the people of this country, but from all mankind, if they now return to those filthy and abandoned rags by the means of which they brought us, according to their own confession, to within forty-eight hours of barter. You never seem to think of this: you forget the solemn declaration of the Parliament, that it never would lower the standard. In short, you seem to regard the covering of the whole of the Government with infamy as nothing at all; and really one would think that you had been expressly retained in my service by a high fee, to accelerate the period of holding the Grand Feast of the Gridiron.

"*We must retrace our steps*!" Oh, you must, must you? When do you mean to stop, then? Where one of your carters is backing a cart, he generally knows where to stop; but can you tell me where you will stop, when you begin to go back? Will you stop at 1826? Will you stop at 1822? Will you stop at 1819? Oh, no! You must run all the way back to 1814, and unlimited bank restriction; and then out will come the assignats, and your whole system goes to pieces like a cart going back down hill, dragging the poor horse after it, and, finally, coming against a bank at the bottom, dashing itself, the horse, and the harness, all to atoms.

I am for retracing the steps, too; but I am for turning the horse and cart about, and going steadily over the rough and uphill road, till I get upon the fair and level plain of 1791; before the accursed small paper-money made its appearance, to the disgrace of England. That alternative which you look at with so much terror, and from which you recoil, as a guilty man recoils from a ghost; that alternative, the *reduction of expenses*, and taking off of taxes, and rectifying contracts, and bringing in resources now dilapidated and wasted; that alternative which contemplated an end to military sway, and the return of civil government; which contemplates the return of the barrel of beer to the labourer's cottage: that alternative, I am decidedly for; I prove it to be just; I prove it to be practicable; I prove it to be necessary to the happiness of the people and the safety of the state. I like the idea of retracing your steps; but I am for going back the full length; I am for going back to the point whence we departed, when the miseries and disgrace of England began; and not for stopping at the point where those miseries and disgrace were consummated.

You vary your descriptions and definitions; so that sometimes one thinks you want one thing, and sometimes that you want another. Even your petition from Colchester contains a mass of self-contradictions. You want the malt and beer-tax repealed: you want a sixth part of the taxes taken off; and yet you cannot, for the life of you, see how the expenditure can be diminished! But you want, at the same time, a return to the vile paper-money; and what do you want a repeal of taxes for, if you thus really diminish their amount is one half? To render the several parts of your writings consistent with one another, I defy mortal man, but, amidst all the confusion and all the inconsistency, one perceives a constant grunting running along through the whole of your fluctuations; a constant grunting in one's ear; or, rather, an ever-recurring grunt after the base paper-money, just as one hears the sound of the big bell in a peal of *bob-major*. Yours

is not round ringing, where the big bell comes in always last; and where there is regularity, and consistency yours is a peal of *bob-major*, but, at every change, we hear the big bell. You are a fine ringer; it is a pity you had not confined your studies to that entertaining pursuit. When I am reading you, I am every now-and-then delighted at your invectives against the double and treble taxes; but before the sentence is out, before the change comes to a close, I always find my ears dinned with the accursed big bell; and I have observed that you never write one single paragraph, at the most, without convincing us that all you have in view is the infamous paper-money.

It is curious that while you are thus sounding the big bell, and ringing more changes to get at that sound than any set of ringers in Essex can get upon six bells, at any rate, while you are at this, calling aloud for the return to the paper-money, you profess your confidence in the wisdom of the Duke of Wellington; and your high respect for his character. Why, Sir, if he were to adopt the measure that you recommend, he would not only be, but would be thought and called, the most cowardly and contemptible creature that ever disgraced the earth by treading upon it. Every argument that you have offered him, if arguments yours are to be called, was offered to him before the Scotch Small-note Bill was passed. You can suggest nothing that was not dinned into his ears before. He said that he clearly understood the subject: he was the Prime Minister at the time, as he is now; he gave every assurance that mortal man could give, that he never would consent to the repeal of the law of 1826. He was told of the evils that he would inflict by enforcing that law: his answer was, that temporary evil must be suffered for the sake ensuring permanent good; and he expressed his determination to adhere to the bill in a manner the most positive that words could enable him to do. He has hitherto persevered: an immense mass of ruin and misery has been occasioned by the bill; and if he were to give way, what language would

ford terms of reprobation sufficient justly to designate his conduct? I trust that he will not give way: I trust that he will rigidly adhere to the bill: I trust that he will return to the taxes of the year 1791: this is not only my hope, but my belief; and to say that I believe the contrary, would be to say, by implication, that I regard him as the meanest and most stupid man upon the face of the earth!

His case is this: he was one of the Ministry who adopted the measure of 1826; the measure had his approbation at that time, as a measure necessary for the safety of the state: he has since declared that it was absolutely necessary to the safety of the state. When told of the evils which it would inflict upon the people, he answered, that the present evil was nothing compared to the evil if the bill were not carried into effect: he reprobated the false credit which paper-money gave rise to, and he justly reprobated it: he gave powerful reasons, unanswerable reasons, for preferring the King's coin to the base paper-money. He insisted upon the wisdom of bringing the nation back to its former habits of expense. Upon these grounds, he has proceeded with this bill: he has caused the suffering to take place to a prodigious extent: he has gone on till the one-pound notes have nearly disappeared, and until the fives have followed them to a pretty great extent; and shall he stop now? Shall he be guilty of the wanton cruelty of having produced all this suffering without any chance of any good in return; or shall he confess himself to have been totally ignorant of what he was about? Will you hang him up upon one or other of the horns of this disgraceful dilemma; you who profess to be his friend; you who profess to admire him and rely on him? I, for my part, who make no such professions, should blush, as an Englishman should blush, at the thought of being under the control; I under the control, did I say? I should blush at the thought of there being an Englishman, whose happiness could possibly be affected by the measures of a being so inexpressibly contemptible as the Duke of

Wellington would be in the eyes of all the world, if he were to lend an ear to your eternal peal of bob-major.

That he will not do this base thing I take for granted; and, therefore, I think it worth while, which otherwise I should not, to warn him of the dangers that now beset him. LOCKE! what do you quote LOCKE for? LOCKE knew nothing about paper-money, and said nothing about it. He never said anything about small notes. You might have quoted other people, who did know something about this matter. LOCKE has said nothing upon the subject of paper-money, which had not been said, and better said, by others, a thousand years before he was born; for this was a science that the ancients understood as well as the moderns; and that Moses understood better than LOCKE; but, of the tricks of paper-money makers, neither Moses, nor the ancients, nor LOCKE, knew anything. But if you must quote LOCKE; if LOCKE were your guide, why did not you count LOCKE in opposition to the passing of Peel's Bill? You were in the house at the time; you were in doors at the time: why, then, did not you quote LOCKE against the passing of the bill? You can now complain of that bill; you can now represent it as the cause of the ruin of the country: why did you not then oppose that bill? You are one of the men who passed the bill; and yet you set yourself up as a doctor of this science; and complain of the Government for having changed the value of money, and having doubled the taxes. While you were approving of this bill, you had had an opportunity of reading my predictions with regard to this very bill. In a letter addressed to your friend Tierney, published in London in the month of September, 1816, I told you, that if such a bill as that were passed, it would produce all the effects of which you so bitterly complain; and yet you talk of LOCKE, and do not talk of me. Indeed you could not talk of me, and of my accurate predictions, my repeated warnings, without suggesting to the mind of every reader of your letters, that it would be extremely desirable for you to remain at

your farm, and for me to be sitting in your seat. If I had been in that seat in the year 1819, Peel's Bill never could have passed; people talk about coughing down: people talk about not being attended to: I have no notion of such a thing: you and your mates might have voted the viscera out of your bodies; but, if I had been there; if I had been in the room, as BURNETT used to call it, though, if he used to speak truth, *the hours might have been late, and the company bad*: if I had been in that room, that bill never could have passed. I am glad I was not; for now the nation has before it the works of your hands. It has before it, behind it, and in the very heart of it, the proof of what can be done by an unreformed Parliament; by a system of election such as that which has existed for so many years; and by a septennial Parliament. To return to the Duke of Wellington, you talk about relief to others; but what relief could he get were he to commit the enormous inconsistency and folly of returning to a small paper-money? In the first place, all that loss of character which I have above described: the dictionary would be hunted for synonyms of contempt to be heaped upon him; mean, dastardly, silly, empty, shuffling, trimming, paltering: these would be amongst the epithets which would for ever remain associated with his name. The very boys would point at him, and be ready to spit at him as he went along the streets: he would have presents of night-caps from the French; in the caricatures, his ducal coronet would give place to a cap and bells: *idiot* would be his motto: in short, I have never read or heard of a public man in any nation in the world, who, as an object of reproach and contempt mixed together, and both in so extreme a degree, as the reproach and contempt which would, in this case, be affixed to him for his life. If some one were to exhibit him in imitation of the Clerical Magistrate in *The House that Jack Built*, which was published in the year 1819, he would be exhibited as having the half-face of a greedy wolf, and the other

half-face that of an ass. Such, *to him*, would be the effect of following your advice. He knows this himself very well; and, therefore, were there no other reason for his rejecting that advice, this would be sufficient. I have always thought that he would adhere to this measure, and I have the happiness to think so still.

But even upon the monstrous supposition (which, observe, I do not entertain) that he were regardless of consequences like these to his character; a supposition which I put, observe, merely for the sake of the argument, deeming it utterly impossible, that a man so famed should doom himself to eternal disgrace; should make his name a by-word, and, as such, and only as such, recollected, after his death: suppose, however, for the argument's sake, that he was dead as a door nail to all feelings of shame and of character, and was content to strut about in stars and garters, pointed at as *the fool par excellence*; proceeding upon the monstrous supposition, still, I say, that he cannot follow your advice, however plastered over your paper-scheme may be by pretended *guarantees* and securities for its safety.

Some time before I left London, I received a book written by a Mr. TAYLOR, of BAKEWELL; and I understand that Bakewell is in this county of Derby. I do not know who or what Mr. TAYLOR is; but he writes smoothly enough, and is a great apostle of perpetual paper-money. His scheme is, that the Bank of England only shall issue the paper-money; that the paper-money shall be circulated by the country banks and the branch banks, according to the plan of Mr. HORSLEY PALMER, which was published in 1827; that this paper shall be a legal tender in the payment of taxes also, at the country banks and branch banks, and in the transactions between man and man; that the holders of the paper shall, however, have a right to demand gold in exchange for it at the Bank of England itself; at the mother-bank in Threadneedle Street, London; but (and here is the cream of the thing!) *shall not have a right to demand gold in*

exchange at the present standard rate of £3 17s. 10½d. an ounce; but that the Bank shall proclaim, from time to time, the rate at which it will be ready to exchange its notes for gold; and that rate is to be fixed according to the market price of gold as compared with the paper; so that you may sometimes get an ounce of gold for four pounds in paper, or less, and sometimes you may be obliged to give ten pounds in paper for the ounce of gold. This would be a pretty thing; and, above all things, a pretty *standard* of value! The word *standard* means a thing which is fixed, as to its dimensions, capacity, or weight. Mr. TAYLOR's standard is to be subject to everlasting variations: it is, in short, to be no standard at all; and, in such a case, there can be no guarantee, no security. The paper would depreciate as heretofore; the gold would leave the country in the same way as formerly: panics would come, confusion would arise, and an overthrow of property would be the end.

From your letters, where you talk about guarantees and security for the paper, I should imagine that you had been taking a leaf out of Mr. Taylor's book; and I am really inclined to think that this has been the case: but this slight disguise will hardly deceive the DUKE of WELLINGTON. You flatter him by expressly saying that you do not want the salaries to be reduced. He will like this; and his colleagues will think you a fine gentleman; and all the court ladies, finding that you wish to leave all the places and sinecures and grants, and to leave all their numerous tribes of *protégés* untouched, will say that you are a very nice man. But the DUKE of WELLINGTON will soon discover that there is no safety in the paper project; he will discover that convulsion must come at last, and that that convulsion may arrive very soon; and I trust that he will, before it be too late, place us in a state of safety by a return to the taxes which existed before the war.

I, Sir, do not treat you as you treat me: I not only name you, but give your publications, to my readers, and put them upon record. I so treated

your first letter, and I shall so treat the second; and insert, also, the representation of the Grand Jury of the county of Kent. These gentlemen point out no remedy at all; they do not even allude to any remedy; they complain of the distress in which their tenants and labourers are involved; but they leave the remedy to the Government; a thing which I should not have done. They well understand the cause of their suffering, and they were of weight sufficient to demand that cause; they, at any rate, might have pointed out the measures which ought to have been adopted; but I am afraid that they, like you, sigh for a return of the mischievous paper, and vainly imagine, that by a patching-up of this sort, the terrible evils of the present day may be got over, and that the greater evils which threaten may be prevented. As easy would it be to restore your hair to the colour which it bore forty years ago, as to prevent final convulsion if we once more come to a depreciated paper-money. It is somewhat depreciated now, and will be as long as a five-pound note shall exist in the country. This debased organ of exchange is gradually disappearing; it will totally disappear at the end of about two years from this time; the depression will go on increasing until the hour of the disappearance of these things; and, unless the taxes be reduced much more than one half in their present amount, a state of things will arise such as was never dreamed of even by the most sensitive alarmist. What I am now writing I wish to be remembered; but it will be remembered whether I wish it or not. You have changed your views of this matter three several times. In 1816, you ascribed the distress to a surplus produce, and obtained a sort of supplementary act to the corn-law, which supplementary act imposed additional duties upon foreign seeds. In 1822, you ascribed the distress to a rise in the value of money, and proposed to lower the value of the coin. In 1829, you proposed a new and large issue of paper, as the proper remedy for the distress. Having thus changed; having ascribed

two different causes at different times as producing the same effect ; and having distinctly proposed three different remedies for the same evil, let me hope that you will now pay some attention to my opinions, who have never, for one single moment, had a different view of either cause, effect, or remedy, but who have, during the space of six-and-twenty years, persevered in warning the Government of its danger, and called upon it for a reduction of the taxes ; for a lowering of all the expenses, and particularly of the salaries of those of the army, and of the interest of the Debt ; this being, in my firm conviction, the only measure that can prevent a final convulsion. Hoping that you will duly consider these matters, and add your weight, whatever it may be, to that of those who wish for these reductions,

I remain, Sir,

your most obedient,
most humble servant,

WM. CORBETT.

NORTHERN TOUR.

(Continued.)

Liverpool, 28th December, 1829.

WE set off from Derby at five o'clock yesterday morning ; and, coming through Ashbourn, Leek, Macclesfield, Knutsford, &c., reached this place last night at about seven o'clock. The snow was pretty deep until we reached Knutsford, on this side of which there has been but very little ; but the frost has been, and is, pretty sharp, an evil hardly felt in counties where coals are so cheap, and so excellent, and where so large a part of the people are employed within doors. Nature, which has been so prodigal in Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, in garnishing the country with woods, has here been very niggardly in that respect ; but, as far as fuel is concerned, she has made ample compensation by the endless resources which she has provided under ground.

I held my second lecture at Derby,

on Saturday night, to an audience which filled the theatre to the utmost, pit, boxes and gallery. At the first lecture, I adhered to the London charge of a shilling indiscriminately ; but the kind, judicious, and zealous friends which I found at Derby, managed the matter otherwise at the second lecture, which was put off until Saturday, on account of the Christmas Eve, and the Christmas Day, and charged the boxes at two shillings, the pit at a shilling, and the gallery at sixpence. This judicious arrangement not only filled the house, but gave great satisfaction to all parties. A more respectable, more attentive, more generous audience no man ever had the honour to address. It is not for me to say what degree of impression I produced ; but I have every reason to hope that it was great and good. I and my sons and daughter were lodged at the house of friends, not known to us, however, for more than about a year, and known to us only in consequence of their good opinion with regard to the effect of my writings. We were noticed and visited by many of the most opulent persons in that most opulent town ; and, upon quitting Derby, I could safely say, not only that I had been pleased with my reception, but that I left it with impressions of gratitude which will never be effaced from my mind. Derby is a very fine town, and distinguished above most others that I have ever seen, by the absence of miserable dwellings, and of squalidness in even the poorest inhabitants. And is it not impossible to think of such a town ; to think of a mass of people so industrious, so diligent in their affairs, so punctual in all their dealings, so learned, so skilful in all affairs connected with the happiness and greatness of a country ; is it not mortifying, and cruelly mortifying, to recollect, that the happiness of such a community of men should be troubled, should be marred ; and that they should, the very richest of them, be kept in a state of uncertainty and anxiety as to the future, by the measures adopted by those who are so highly paid for watching over their welfare !

I had very little time to go out, while at Derby; but in consequence of hearing of a very fine collection of pictures and curiosities at the house of Mr. STRUTT, I obtained ready permission to go thither, with some other gentlemen. I pretend to be no great connoisseur in such matters. I have, indeed, seen several private collections of the same sort; but I never before saw one equal to this, whether as to the beauty, the variety, the arrangement, and every other circumstance connected with the affair. Our reception was, I understood, quite in accordance with that liberality which the owner shows to all strangers; and, upon the whole, I have seldom been so much gratified, in the whole course of my life, as I was at Derby.

Here, at Liverpool, I intend to lecture to-morrow (Tuesday) evening, and on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday evenings; and then to go to Manchester on Sunday; to continue there three days, and, on the fourth, to go to Bolton. From Bolton, I intend to go to Preston, to see my old friends, and to speak to them from the bow-window of the Castle Inn, whence I had the honour so frequently to address them in 1826. From Preston I shall go to Blackburn; from Blackburn, to Huddersfield, Halifax, Bradford, and Dewsbury; then back by Leeds, Barnsley, and Sheffield, to Nottingham. From Nottingham to Leicester, then to Birmingham and Wolverhampton. If I can, I will go once more to Derby, from Nottingham, and then to Leicester; but, being confined to time, that must depend upon circumstances. As nearly as I can determine, the times of arrival at the several places will be as follows: at Manchester on the evening of the third of January; at Bolton on the morning of the 7th of January; at Preston on the morning of the 9th of January; at Huddersfield on the 10th of January; at Dewsbury on the 11th of January; at Leeds on the 13th of January; at Barnsley on the 16th of January; at Sheffield on the 18th of January; at Nottingham on the 22d of January; at Leicester on the 24th of January; at Birmingham on the 25th of January;

and at Wolverhampton on the 27th of January.

This is as near as I can possibly name the thing at this moment. At Manchester there is, I believe, the theatre of the Mechanics' Institution bespoken; at Bolton, the theatre; at Dewsbury, a place sufficient for the audience. At Leeds, friends only wait for my instructions, having written to me for those instructions. At Sheffield, a place will be provided. At Barnsley, a place is provided. At Nottingham, the place of all places in this world; at that zealous, public-spirited, and intelligent town; that town which made such a noble stand against PITT and his ruinous anti-jacobin war; that sensible town, the people and corporation of which were so basely calumniated by JOHN BOWLES, the Dutch Commissioner, and by all the mercenary myrmidons of the Government of that day; at this town, which I have so long desired to see, a place has been provided for the lectures.

I should observe here, that the arrangement at Derby; that is to say, using the theatre at two shillings the boxes, one shilling the pit, and sixpence the gallery, appears to be very judicious, because it conveniently admits of persons of all ranks; and that, too, according to their taste and habits. I therefore recommend my friends to make a similar arrangement, wherever they can, and not to wait to consult me about the matter. I ought not to speak of this use of the theatre without noticing the liberal and generous behaviour of the owner and manager of the theatre at Derby, who gave his consent, without hesitation, and who left the charge entirely to the gentlemen of the town. I ought to add, too, that this gentleman is an *Irishman*, who has done a good deal towards curing the sore place made by his countrymen in London. The post of this day reminds me, by an account of the death of Mr. TEGART, apothecary, of Pall-Mall, of the just thirty years of kindness and generosity that I and my family have experienced at the hands of that gentleman, who was both an *Irishman* and a Catholic, and to whom I alluded in the History of the Protestant Reformation.

mation, as one of the best men that I had ever known in the whole course of my life.

Though I have named the above days, there may be some little change as to the days. I may, for instance, stay a day longer than I now intend at Manchester. Then, of course, I shall be a day later at Bolton, Preston, and onwards. I have not yet heard from Huddersfield, Halifax or Bradford. They may occupy me some few days; but I have named the days as nearly as I can at present; and as I shall write forward from place to place, I hope that I shall thereby prevent any great inconvenience to my friends. I received an invitation on the spot, during the few minutes that I was changing horses at Macclesfield; but I do not see how it is possible that I can visit that town at this time. However, as I am determined, if I have life and health, to see the philosophers of modern Athens, and the good and sensible and spirited fellows at Paisley and Glasgow, during next spring and summer, I will then certainly not fail to pay my respects to the people of Macclesfield. On my own personal account, it is extremely pleasant, at the end of twenty long years of calumnies and persecutions, thus to be received and thus applauded by all the industrious and independent part of this great enterprising and honest community; but I am much more pleased when I reflect that this change, with regard to myself, is the unquestionable sign of a change in the public mind, which is the best foundation for a hope that England is destined to retrieve herself; and to shake off this accursed system of false money and false credit, without exposing herself to any convulsion that shall put to hazard the property of the rich, and dissolve the cement which binds all ranks of society together.

THE PRESS.

I HAVE not had time to read through, and with due attention, the trials of Mr. ALEXANDER and Mr. BELL. I was

always sorry for the attack upon the Lord Chancellor, not only because I believe the charge against him to be untrue, but if true, I am one of those who would draw a very different conclusion for the poverty of such a man, if it were real, than that which the grovelling world is so very apt to draw. But, besides this, I felt, as every one connected with the press ought to feel, very great gratitude to the Lord Chancellor, and also to his former associate, Mr. WETHERELL; first, for their noble defence of poor Watson and Thistlewood; and, second, for the mild and merciful and wise and really liberal course that they invariably pursued when they filled the office now filled by SCARLEIT. As to the LORD CHANCELLOR's having changed his opinions with regard to the Catholic Question, who has a right to ascribe that to any thing but mature deliberation and conviction? I once made bon-fires on the fifth of November; and, within these thirteen years, I praised racking and sanguinary Old Bess to the skies, in the Register itself. I have since written the "History of the Protestant Reformation"; and who is to accuse me, on that account, of motives of corruption? I, therefore, was sorry for the attack upon the LORD CHANCELLOR: he is a mild and humane man in his nature; greediness of money has never marked his character; and if he be poor, as is alleged, and of which I know nothing, SIR THOMAS MORE was poor before him. I am sure that if it be left to him, no great suffering will be inflicted on those who have aspersed his character: I do not say that the prosecution was unnecessary; because the charge was heavy, and the character of a great judge was at stake; but the writing was put forth at a moment of great irritation, and the statement not having been persevered in, but, indeed, apologised for, severe punishment of the parties can only tend to make a deduction from that great sum of credit which is due to his Lordship for that mildness and humanity which he brought into vogue, and by which he did the Government more credit than it has received disre-

dit, from all the prosecutions and persecutions which had been instituted for many years before.

With regard to the other alleged libels, the juries appear to have been very much upon the balance. It appears to have been what the sailors call "truck and go." However, I have not time to write more upon this subject at present, and shall content myself with expressing a hope, that the nation is not, in this day of its troubles and its dangers, doomed to behold a revival of those scenes which it beheld for so many years before the present Chief Justice was advanced to his present office. I looked particularly at the language of his charge; from that charge, I augur great good; and, at any rate, I am sure, that if a *part* of the community disapprove of the publications of Mr. ALEXANDER, the whole of the people of England lament that the prosecutions were instituted. In the country, as far I have had an opportunity of observing, they have produced a sort of *terrific shock*. Men exclaim: "What! are we not in trouble enough already, without these old scenes being revived to torment us!" In short, the people want a press really free to assist them in this hour of difficulty; and every attempt to narrow that freedom, they will and must look upon as something tending to their utter ruin. What! here are the Grand Jury of the county of Kent declaring the country to be in a state of intolerable distress: here is Mr. WESTERN, a Member of Parliament for the county of Essex, publicly asserting, through these very newspapers, that the people have been ruined by foolish acts of the Parliament and the Government; and, while this is going on from one end of the country to the other; while all men know that the Government and the Parliament have eleven times changed the value of money; and thereby eleven times caused confusion in all men's affairs, and produced the ruin of hundreds of thousands of families; while all this is going on, here comes an Attorney General, and prosecutes, to utter ruin, as he *must* suppose, a gentleman who has been guilty of

the *crime* of publishing something *having a tendency* to bring that Government and Parliament into contempt! I have no room for any thing more upon this subject at present, except that I must express a hope that the judges will not depart from that line of conduct which has of late years been so honourable to them. I remember that, when I was last in America, I read with sorrow and shame of the judges being guarded by soldiers to protect them against the violence of the people: of late years I have several times had to observe, and thought it my duty to observe, on the pleasure which I had experienced at seeing the return of that popular reverence for them which formerly existed; and which, I trust, they will now preserve for the rest of my life, at any rate.

THE IRISH.

I EXPECTED, because I had a right to expect, that all good Irishmen would feel indignant against the wretches who attempted to disturb me in my lectures in London. Those wretches have it not in their power to make atonement; and, therefore, if I never pardon without atonement, I never can pardon. I am willing, at any rate, to publish anything that any of their countrymen can say in mitigation, and in this spirit it is that I here insert the following article from the "*Dublin Morning Post*."

"Most grieved we were to be told our countrymen had behaved so ill on that occasion; and still more so are we, that the account now alluded to, so far from extenuating their gross misconduct, adduces evidences of ingratitude and profligacy of the most shameful kind. But, next to adequate apology, which seems impracticable in the case, is indignant condemnation; and in this we hope, rather than fear, we shall be joined by all our intelligent readers. Venturing to anticipate their concurrence, we believe that, should Mr. Cobden see these remarks, he will have generosity enough to cancel his de-

"*erce against a race whose misfortunes, though they cannot justify buseness, must be allowed, to have been too great and long-continued to permit their native qualities suddenly to start into prominent virtues. This ends our speculation for the present.*"

MR. WESTERN'S LETTER.

TO THE GENTRY, CLERGY, FREEHOLDERS, AND INHABITANTS, OF THE COUNTY OF ESSEX.

Felix Hall, Dec 10.

GENTLEMEN,—In the letter I addressed to you upon the distressed state of the country, and which was published in the "Essex Herald" of the 1st inst., and "Chelmsford Chronicle" of the 4th, I dwelt upon various facts and circumstances very material to my argument, and the details of which I therefore should have wished to have given, to prove the accuracy of my statement; but the limit of one letter would not permit; I therefore address you again, and may, perhaps, more than once do so; at all events, this second address I feel necessary, to furnish evidence of the strict correctness of my statement respecting the dreadful condition of Ireland in the year 1822, not only because *it is almost incredible that at any time, in any country, a population should have been seen starving in the midst of abundance, and that therefore my bare assertion of the fact might be questioned, but that the existence of that horrid phenomenon carried with it, to my apprehension, the most convincing proof of the correctness of my view of the case, namely, that all the distress and ruin that has fallen upon the industrious classes, since the termination of the war, and which presses upon them now, has been owing to the monstrous act of doubling the value of the currency by contracting it nearly, if not quite, one-half, and thus leaving the debtors of £00 millions public, and every money obligation, charged to the full nominal amount of what they borrowed, to be paid out of half the means they formerly possessed. If you look over the documents I shall here give you, it will be evident, that the rapid fall in the money price of every product, consequent upon this contraction of the money in circulation, was the first signal of embarrassment and distress of the employers of the labouring classes, and their want of money; and the utter deprivation of it amongst the labourers followed of course. In 1822, the table of the House of Commons was loaded with petitions from farmers complaining of the low price of their produce. Lord Castlereagh said, in the House of Commons, the 29th of April of that year, it was*

the excess of produce beyond the demand of the markets that occasioned their distress, and that till the supply adjusted itself to the demand, so as to afford a fair profit to the capital employed in agriculture, no legislation could correct the evil. A Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into these petitions, reported their opinion, that the complaints of the petitioners were just, and that, at the price of corn at the time, the Gazette average of wheat being above 43s., the returns of the occupiers of arable farms, after allowing for the interest of their investments, were by no means adequate to the charges and outgoings, which must have therefore been, at least in part, paid out of their capital. It was at this very time that our English labourers of every description were in the greatest distress, and the Irish, I say, actually dying of hunger. A meeting was called of all descriptions of persons, to be held at the City of London Tavern, the 7th of May, 1822, to enter into a subscription for their relief. A Committee was appointed, and John Smith, Esq. M.P., elected their Chairman; towards the close of their proceedings that Committee drew up a report, which was afterwards published by Wm. Phillips, of Lombard-street, and I dare say might now be had at any bookseller's; in that report is to be found their correspondence with various persons in Ireland, classed under heads, first descriptive of the extent of the misery, and the next head the causes of it. I wish you would look to the report; but, in the mean time, I shall here give you some extracts from most of the correspondents of the Committee. [Of forty extracts from letters upon this subject, we can find room but for six.] It is undoubtedly true that in that year there was a partial failure of the potato crop, which is a calamity to Ireland, grievous in itself, according to the extent of that failure; but never before was any failure of that crop productive of the consequences herein described, not ever before was seen famine stalk through a country at the same moment that grain was at a price that would not remunerate the grower, and that it was announced from authority that there was an excess of agricultural produce beyond the demand.

From his Grace the Archbishop of Tuam, dated Tuam, May 13, 1822: "In Westport, and Castlebar, and here, efforts are making by the gentry and other inhabitants, but in truth the state of the times operates sadly upon us all; in the same proportion as the lower orders are reduced, the higher orders are incapacitated to afford them relief."

From Connell O'Donel, Esq., Seamount, county of Mayo, May 14, 1822: "I will not delay the subject further, as never were misery and starvation so prevalent as in this parish and neighbourhood, melancholy to witness; people fainting in the streets, from weakness occasioned by hunger and want; actually in Achill they are getting the seed out of the

ground to consume; by way of some nourishment."

From Cornelius O'Callaghan, Esq., Tulla, county of Clare, dated May 18, 1822: "I never before saw the Irish spirit broken; but you would meet fathers and mothers, not knowing how or where to get a supper for their families, crying and bewailing their hard lot, that after having lived honestly all their lives, they should be reduced to rob and steal, to support life. I scarce get a moment's sleep, such is my anxiety."

From Daniel Coghlan, Esq., Crookhaven, county of Cork, dated May 21, 1822: "I am at a loss for words to describe the truly calamitous starving state of the numerous wretched poor of this county; numbers have already died for want of food."

From Thomas Comy, Esq., of Shakesdown, in the county of Roscommon, June 2d, 1822: "It is impossible for me to tell you the miserable and wretched condition of the poor here. They are at this moment actually enduring all the horrors of starvation and malignant disease; hundreds of wretches greedily seeking for water-cresses, wild mustard nettles, and dandelion, which, mixed with a small quantity of oatmeal, is their principal food."

From the Rev. William Ururek, Sligo, June 1st, 1822: "In the suburbs of the town alone, between 3000 and 4000 objects crave relief, who are alike destitute of the necessaries of life and the means of procuring them."

I shall finish these tales of misery with a second letter from the Archbishop of Tuam, dated the 8th of June, 1822, and I think you will admit that I have too fully made good the truth of my assertion, and have convinced you, that when I spoke of a starving population in the midst of abundance, it was not a figure of speech, but a literal and dreadful unexaggerated truth.

From his Grace the Archbishop of Tuam, June 8th, 1822: "I wrote on Tuesday last to Mr. Goulbourn such a statement as could be only equalled by the scenes I have seen since. In short, Sir, if thousands are not immediately sent into these counties, particularly to Mayo and the west of Galway, without the fear of contradiction, I say that large proportions must die. It is now become so bad, that it would be folly to talk of immediate employment; the people in general are too weak to work, and must be fed, and strengthened gradually, before employment could be available. If our Government has not sufficient funds in their hands to relieve this most extraordinary demand, I hope they will again apply to Parliament for a liberal supply. There is no time to discuss the matter; our case cannot be met by ordinary rules or reasonings. If we are not supplied we must die; if we are promptly supplied, many may yet be saved."

I shall now give you some extracts from most of the letters descriptive of the CAUSES

of the misery there depicted. I have said that there was a partial failure of the potato crop, and that the writers of these letters allude to it, and to non-residence of landlords, and other incidental and constantly operating causes, but there is hardly one who does not dwell upon want of employment, and consequent want of money as the chief, though they do not appear to be aware of the influence of Peel's Bill in emptying the pockets of the employers of the peasantry. I have placed first in the list the case of the labourers of a colliery, because it is peculiar, and shows distinctly the diminution of the funds by which labour is paid, and which were almost equally reduced in every class of industry, immediately upon that act coming into force.

From the Rev. W. R. Dawson, Castle Comber, Kilkenny: "This parish, of which I am rector, contains 14,000 inhabitants, who are chiefly supported by working in a colliery, the receipts of which have latterly decreased from 30,000*l.* to 13,000*l.*, whilst the population has considerably increased; consequently reduced wages and want of employment."

The Right Hon. Maurice Fitzgerald: "The late depression of prices has almost extinguished the middle class of farmers; the demand for labour is diminished in proportion; the second-rate class of landholders have suffered so much in their income, that their employment of labour has been every where abridged, in most cases abandoned."

The Archbishop of Tuam: "There are certain classes to whom no facility of assistance has been afforded by funds supplied by Government. Decent tradesmen, under unavoidable reverse of fortune, reduced to the lowest ebb of misery, who, for want of materials for work, are unable to satisfy the craving of a numerous and hapless progeny. There are others who have seen better days, now silently sinking into the grave, because they are ashamed to make their wants known."

Committee for the Relief of the Poor of Skibbereen: "Well knowing the extreme poverty of the population of this district, which would disable them from purchasing provisions, though ever so abundant, they dare not decline further demands upon the Committee, unless some employment is found for the labourer."

The Rev. W. Urwick Shegg: "Provisions will probably be lower this season than they have been for years; but that is of little avail to benefit our poor, because they have no means of purchasing it at any price. There is no work for them; no wages to be earned; no money circulating among the lower classes; in fact, next to NONE AMONG ANY CLASS."

These several communications afford dreadful and unequivocal proof of the distress of the Irish population having originated in a famine of money instead of food; and yet our statesmen then said, and say now, *nullo retrorsum vestigia*—we will never retrace our steps!!

I have only to add, that Ireland EXPORTED more wheat that year than she ever did before, except the two preceding years, 1820 and 1821, and she exported more wheat-meal by upwards of 100,000 cwt. ; of wheat her exports amounted to 386,231 quarters ; of wheat-meal, 340,267 cwt. ; her total exports of grain, near a million of quarters ; and large quantities of oxen, sheep, and pigs, and salt beef, pork, and butter, to a very large amount.*

But it is not the Irish peasantry who alone have suffered, and suffered from the same cause ; look at the state and condition of the agricultural and manufacturing population of the United Empire, and see what it has been since 1819 : the Manchester riots, which commenced towards the close of that year, and the distresses and tumults thenceforward to the present hour. Somebody will answer : over-production, the tremendous power of production by machinery ; but there is no tremendous power to multiply the production of the earth : grain and cattle, iron, lead, tin, stone, timber, chalk, lime, salt, &c., and yet the proprietors and labourers concerned in the *marketing of them*, are in the same predicament with the manufacturers and their operatives, and so they will continue as long as Peel's Bill remains in force ; and if in full force the tragedy of Ireland will be acted over again and extended ; that bill fixing an arbitrary antiquated standard of value, fixes the antiquated money price of ALL other commodities ; and that low money price, with high money taxes, will never fail to produce the attendant misery I have described, and which we are experiencing now. It is difficult for people to see that it is not *always plenty* of the commodity that makes the LOW price ; the *scarcity* and high price of money equally makes a low money price of commodities.

In order to ascertain whether low money price is the consequence of *plenty* of commodities, or *scarcity* of money, look to the condition of the people ; if they are *prosperous*, it is plenty of commodities ; if the reverse, it is *scarcity of money* ; plenty never did any permanent injury, even to the producers, though

* See Marshall's admirable compilation of Parliamentary Returns.

EXPORTS OF IRELAND—1822.

Quarters	Wheat.....	387,973
	Oats.....	565,682
	Barley.....	23,215
	Other Grain.....	10,137
Cwts.	Oatmeal.....	32,350
	Wheat meal.....	343,719
Barrels	Beef.....	59,643
	Pork.....	115,936
Cwts.*	Bacon and Hams..	211,865
	Butter.....	411,158
	Cows.....	34,909
	Horses.....	1,089
	Sheep.....	55,685
	Pigs.....	65,037

some temporary inconvenience might by them be felt. When the money of a country is diminishing, the poorer man's pocket will be first emptied, and though the price of the articles of his necessity or comfort are, as some will say, very low or cheap, *his means* will be lower still, and sinking, till his hand finds an empty pocket. In fact, how can any body suppose that the price of labour will not go down with the price of the *product* of labour, when the fall is occasioned by SCARCITY of money : as far as my observation goes, it falls faster, and in an extreme case, a great proportion of labour loses all value ; and then comes a cry of *surplus population*. But further, to explain this simple proposition, so obvious and yet so little understood, Locke is often quoted in his "Treatise on Money," where he says, "So much as its quantity is lessened ; so much must the share of every one that has a right to the money be also lessened, whether he be landholder for his goods, or labourer for his hire, or merchant for his brokerage." He truly says, further on, "That as money is considered the measure of value, people are apt to overlook the possibility of IT also changing ITS OWN VALUE, by an increase or reduction of its quantity." And afterwards, he says, "If in England we had only half as much money as we had seven years ago, and yet had still as much yearly product of commodities, as many hands to work them, and as many merchants to disperse them, it is certain that we could only have half our rents paid, half our commodities sold, and half our labourers employed ; or they each must be content with half what they had before ;" and if he had lived now, he would have said, And every receiver of taxes, from the King to the village exciseman, must be content with half of what he received before the passing of Peel's Bill. He would have said so even under ordinary circumstances ; but have we not more yearly product of commodities, more hands to work them, more merchants to distribute them, double, treble, or quadruple of creditors to pay, and army, navy, &c., to keep up ? And, under SUCH circumstances, what would he have said, if the rulers of a country should say to the people, True, it is the total quantity of money in the country has been, by our WISDOM, reduced one-half ; but the receivers of taxes, and creditors of all descriptions, shall not have a stiver taken out of THEIR pockets : the breach shall be made in the pockets of the industrious and productive classes ; there, and there only shall this defect be felt. Mr. Locke would say, Your rulers must be mad ; confusion, dreadful, must be the end of it : and yet this is precisely what HAS been done. When Lord Liverpool admitted that Peel's Bill had raised the value of money 25 per cent. what was it but an admission that the quantity of money in circulation had been reduced one fourth ; that one fourth had been taken out of the pockets of all the industrious classes ? I contend that one-half has been

taken out of their pockets; we differ only in the amount. LET EVERY MAN WHO HAS GOODS OR LABOUR TO BRING TO MARKET, DECIDE THIS QUESTION FOR HIMSELF.

There are people who will say, *rents are not reduced*; as far as my knowledge goes they are reduced, and very nearly to the rate at which they stood before the war; but I say, that reduction is a gross injustice, under the circumstances just stated. I say, further, this reduction has not put the farmers at ease; they are not making profits; they would not go on farming if they could withdraw their original capital; day after day farms are thrown up. I have a list before me of ten in one district of this county, of strong wheat lands, *unoccupied*; the owners of each of which would, I believe, *rejoice* to find an occupier at the old rents. Believe me, Gentlemen, this state of things is fraught with *dreadful*, with *incalculable* mischief, it is perfectly *unprecedented*, and you cannot find in the old round of complaints either the cause or remedy. In the history of the world, there cannot be found such a RAISING of the VALUE of MONEY as was accomplished by Peel's Bill; nor any in which, from the immense extent of our money engagements (had such attempts ever been made), the consequences could have been half so destructive. I repeat to you again and again, *nothing will do but a gradual return to the point of value from whence we started in 1819*; or, if not to that very point, to such an approximation as shall again set at liberty all the wheels of the east machine, and as soon as that is accomplished, we may, if you please, stop there. I know that creditors would, to a certain extent, be aggrieved by an advance in the money price of commodities; but there are few who have not some property, besides what they have on loan, and who would not, in some other way, be benefited, either themselves or immediately through their children or relatives engaged in active life; besides which, many a debtor has fallen with his creditor, and creditors must be blind if they do not begin to perceive, that the whole fabric, public and private, will fall about their ears if they do not unite with their debtors in one common effort to save their country. I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your faithful and obedient humble servant,

CHAS. C. WESTERN.

THE following letter was unanimously agreed to, signed by all the Grand Jury, and forwarded to his Grace the Duke of Wellington, on the 16th ultimo:—

Grand Jury Room, Maidstone,
Dec. 16, 1829.

"MY LORD,—We, the Grand Jury for the County of Kent, assembled from

"all parts of the county in the discharge of our public duties, feel that, in justice to our respective neighbours, we ought not to separate without communicating to your Grace, for the information of his Majesty's Ministers, the deep and unprecedented distress which, from our personal and local knowledge, we are enabled to state prevails among all classes throughout this county, to a degree that must not only be ruinous to the interests of individuals, but must also, at no distant period, be attended with serious consequences to the national prosperity.

"In making this communication to your Grace, it is our only object to call the attention of his Majesty's Ministers to the real state of the country, in the hope that speedy and effectual measures may be taken to alleviate those distresses which press so severely on the several classes of society.

"Marsham, (Foreman.)

"Hon. J. W. Stratford.

"Sir E. Knatchbull, Bart.

"Sir B. W. Bridges, Bart.

"Sir W. Cosway, Knt.

"Jos. Bernes, Esq.

"W. Bridger, Esq.

"J. K. Shaw, Esq.

"Edward Dardell, Esq.

"T. L. Hodges, Esq.

"N. R. Tols, Esq.

"W. A. Morland, Esq.

"George Gipps, Esq.

"J. B. Wildman, Esq.

"Isaac Minet, Esq.

"C. Milner, Esq.

"W. G. D. Tyssen, Esq.

"R. W. Forbes, Esq.

"Edward Rice, Esq.

"T. Fairfax Best, Esq.

"M. D. D. Dalison, Esq.

"T. A. Donce, Esq.

"J. P. Plunfret, Esq."

The next Number of the AUVICK to YOUNG MEN, will not be published till the 10th of February. The Number after that, on the 1st of March, and then the 1st of every month, to the end of the 12 Numbers.

METROPOLIS

TURNPIKE MANUAL.

SHORTLY will be published, "The Metropolis Turnpike Manual"; being an Analytical Abstract of the Metropolis Turnpike Acts, together with a correct List of all the Turnpike Roads and Bridges, and of the Tolls collected upon each, within ten miles of London. By *W. Cobbett, Jun., price 5s. In making this announcement, the author has to remark, that after the 1st of January next, an important change is to take place in the collection of the tolls in the vicinity of London, by an *assimilation* of the tolls collected on the different parts of the metropolitan trusts; and that, therefore, the same traveller will not any longer be liable to pay fourteen different tolls in the same day, but to pay the same toll fourteen times. By the way, this assimilation will effect an injury, in place of a benefit, to the public generally, by increasing the burdens of that part of it which are always taxed beyond their due proportion: in the instance of a stage-coach (or Omnibus) the toll is now at Hammersmith *twenty-two pence halfpenny*, and at Kensington *sixpence* for the same carriage: being payable only once in a day at Hammersmith, and twice (with the same horses) at Kensington. Now, the alteration in this instance will be, that the nominal toll of Hammersmith and of all the other parts of this Trust, will be fixed at the present rate of Kensington, but that it shall be *paid every time of passing*, thereby trebling, and sometimes quadrupling, the tolls on stage-coaches. Private travellers will doubtless be saved considerable trouble in ascertaining the sum which is due; but the assimilation is not general, and, so far from applying without exception to the roads in the vicinity of London, there are many turnpike roads even on the north of the Thames, which are under distinct Trusts, and on which different tolls are still collected. Notwithstanding the high-sounding terms of "Metropolitan Trustees," the indefatigable body (a select one also) who are in-

vested with this title, have not an exclusive jurisdiction over all the turnpikes even in the metropolis. Added to these exceptions, there are the several roads upon which various tolls are collected on the south of the Thames, in the neighbourhood of London; and there are also the bridges which are in London and the neighbourhood. The object of the author is to remedy, in some measure, the inconvenience which will still be felt by the public from the want of an uniform rate of tolls, and in this Manual to offer every traveller the means of always ascertaining with readiness the exact toll due.

Just Published,

MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.

THIS is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I ever possessed relative to public law; and really I have never met with a politician, gentle or simple, who knew half so much of the matter as myself. I have wanted this book for my sons to read; and monopolizing has never been a favourite with me; if I have ever possessed useful knowledge of any sort, I have never been able to rest till I have communicated it to so many as I could. This Book was translated and published at the request of the American Secretary of State; the Bookseller, though he paid me only a quarter of a dollar (thirteen-pence half-penny) for every page, had a Subscription from the President, Vice-President, and all the Members of the two Houses of Congress, and from all the Governors and Lawyers in the country. This Work was almost my *coup d'essai*, in the authoring way; but upon looking it over at this distance of time, I see nothing to alter in any part of it. It is a thick octavo volume, with a great number of Notes, and it is, in fact, a book, with regard to public law, what a Grammar is with regard to language. The Price is Seventeen Shillings, and the manner of its execution is, I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

THE WOODLANDS:

OR,

A TREATISE

On the preparing of ground for planting ; on the planting ; on the cultivating ; on the pruning ; and on the cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods ;

DESCRIBING

The usual growth and size and the uses of each sort of tree, the seed of each, the season and manner of collecting the seed, the manner of preserving and of sowing it, and also the manner of managing the young plants until fit to plant out ;

THE TREES

Being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin name being prefixed to the directions relative to each tree respectively.

This is a very handsome octavo book, of fine paper and print, price 14s. and it contains matter sufficient to make any man a complete tree-planter.

TULL'S HUSBANDRY.—The Horse-hoeing Husbandry ; or, A Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation ; wherein is taught a method of introducing a sort of Vineyard Culture into the Corn-fields, in order to increase their product, and diminish the common expense. By JETHRO TULL. With an Introduction, containing an Account of certain Experiments of recent date, by WILLIAM COBBETT. 8vo. 15s.

This is a very beautiful volume, upon fine paper, and containing 466 pages. Price 15s. bound in boards.

I knew a gentleman, who, from reading the former edition which I published of TULL, has had land to a greater extent than the whole of my farm in wheat every year, without manure for several years past, and has had as good a crop the last year as in the first year, difference of seasons only excepted ; and, if I recollect rightly, his crop has never fallen short of thirty-two bushels to the acre. The same may be done by any body on the same sort of land, if the principles of this book be attended to, and its precepts strictly obeyed.

YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA ; treating of the Face of the Country, the Climate, the Soil, the Products, the Mode of Cultivating the Land, the Prices of Land, of Labour, of Food, of Raiment ; of the Expenses of House-Keeping, and of the Usual Manner of Living ; of the Manners and Customs of the People, and of the Institutions of the Country, Civil, Political, and Religious. Price 5s.

THE ENGLISH GARDENER ; or, A Treatise on the Situation, Soil, Enclosing, and Laying-out, of Kitchen Gardens ; on the making and managing of Hot-Beds and Green-Houses, and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard ; and also, on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens ; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers ; concluding with a Calendar, giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other Labours to be performed in the Gardens in each month of the year. Price 6s.

PROTESTANT " REFORMATION," in England and Ireland, showing *how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries ; in a series of letters, addressed to all sensible and just Englishmen.* A new edition, in two volumes ; the price of the first volume 4s. 6d., and for the second 3s. 6d.

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LETTERS FROM FRANCE ; containing Observations made in that Country during a Journey from Calais to the South, as far as Limoges ; then back to Paris ; and then, after a residence there of three months, from Paris through the Eastern parts of France, and through part of the Netherlands ; commencing in April, and ending in December, 1821. By JOHN M. COBBETT, Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 4s.

MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE, Second Edition, Price 2s. 6d. This Work contains a Sketch of the Face of the Country, of its Rural Economy, of the Towns and Villages, of Manufactures, and Trade, and of such of the Manners and Customs as materially differ from those of England ; Also, an Account of the Prices of Land, House, Fuel, Food, Raiment, Labour, and other Things, in different parts of the Country ; the design being to exhibit a true picture of the present State of the People of France. To which is added, a General View of the Finances of the Kingdom.

POOR MAN'S FRIEND ; or, Essays on the Rights and Duties of the Poor. Price 1s.

EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.

Just published, at my shop, No. 183, Fleet Street, a volume under this title, price 2s. 6d. in boards, and consisting of *ten letters*, addressed to *English Tax-payers*, of which letters, the following are the contents:—

- Letter I.**—On the Question, Whether it be advisable to emigrate from England at this time?
Letter II.—On the Descriptions of Persons for whom Emigration would be most beneficial.
Letter III.—On the Parts of the United States to go to, preceded by Reasons for going to no other Country, and especially not to an English Colony.
Letter IV.—On the Preparations some time previous to Sailing.
Letter V.—Of the sort of Ship to go in, and of the Steps to be taken relative to the Passage, and the sort of Passage; also of the Stores, and other things, to be taken out with the Emigrant.
Letter VI.—Of the Precautions to be observed while on board of Ship, whether in Cabin or Steerage.
Letter VII.—Of the first Steps to be taken on Landing.
Letter VIII.—Of the way to proceed to get a Farm, or a Shop, to settle in Business, or to set yourself down as an Independent Gentleman.
Letter IX.—On the means of Educating Children, and of obtaining literary Knowledge.
Letter X.—Of such other Matters, a knowledge relating to which must be useful to every one going from England to the United States.

It grieves me very much to know it to be my duty to publish this book; but I cannot refrain from doing it, when I see the alarms and hear the cries of thousands of virtuous families that it may save from utter ruin.*

RURAL RIDES.

I HAVE now collected these, and published them, in one volume of considerable size, price 10s. Many persons have wished to possess them in this form; and, therefore, I have thus published them. I say *published*; but, perhaps, the volume will not be ready for sale until next week.

The above may be had at No. 183, Fleet Street.

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THE LANCET.

No. 331, published this day, contains:—

MR. LAWRENCE'S Fourteenth Lecture; Ulceration; Absorption; Granulation; Reproduction of lost Parts; Treatment of Ulcers.

Dr. Elliotson's Second Clinical Lecture on Fever; on the Empirical Mode of treating Disease adopted by some Surgeons.

Dr. Elliotson's Clinical Lecture on Acute Bronchitis.

Edinburgh University Clinic:—Dr. Alison's Clinical Lecture on Anomalous Pulmonary Disease; Disease of the Stomach; Climacteric Disease; Pericarditis.

Dr. Graham's Clinical Lecture on Puerperal Peritonitis.

Orfila's detection of Arsenic in the Human Body, Seven Years after Death by Poison.

Interesting and very rare Form of Intermittent Ophthalmia, by Dr. Heuter.

Case of Complete Recovery from Amaurosis, after the Extraction of a Carious Tooth.

New Method of curing Squinting.

Distressed State of the Medical Profession in England, with Remarks on the proper Remedy.

Refusal to consult with the Naveys, Noodles, and Impostors of the Dispensary System.

Mr. Davies' Narrow Escape from the Bar-House.

Mr. McChristie and Macleod; Correspondence. Proceedings at Marlborough Street.

Meeting of Chemists and Druggists on the Medical Stamp Act, at the Crown and Anchor.

Review of the Descriptive Catalogue of the Edinburgh Anatomical Museum.

Western Hospital.—Letter from Mr. Sleigh in Reply to Mr. Brodie.

To Correspondents.

London: Published at the Office of THE LANCET, No. 210, Strand.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 69.—No. 2.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 9TH, 1830.

[Price 7d.]



"The great enemies of real liberty have always been the WHIGS. The Riot Act, the Septennial Bill, the infernal Excise, are all the works of the Whigs. The Tories, as they are called, will find at last, that they have no security but by joining with the people. The people have never hated them as they have hated, and do hate the Whigs, who are false, designing hypocrites, with liberty on their lips, and tyranny in their hearts."—*Register*, 5th November, 1807.

NORTHERN TOUR.

(Continued.)

At Mr. JOSEPH JOHNSON'S, Smedley Lane,
near Manchester, 3d January, 1830.

I CAME off from Liverpool this morning, after having had three evenings of lecturing, or speech-making, namely, on Tuesday, the 29th of December; on Thursday, the 31st; and on Saturday, the 2d of January. It is an old saying, that "long is the lane which has no turning in it." A more correct way of expressing it would be, that "long is the course of error, if correction never come." I told LORD GREY, in a letter that I addressed to him in the year 1822, that *events were at work for me*; that I should triumph by events in spite of every thing that could be done by the Government, or even by the people themselves; that I rested for my success on my predictions; and that I was sure that if the whole nation were to unite as one man, in order to prevent the fulfilment of my predictions, it would be out of their power to do it. I was sure that, in the end, I should be proclaimed to have been right from the beginning; I bore the calumny of such fellows as COKE and SUFFIELD, and all the hiring tribe throughout the kingdom; not only

without complaining did I bear their calumnies, but I heard the calumnies with pleasure, because I knew, that in the end, those very calumnies would add to my fame, and to my power of doing good to my country. I knew that converts are more zealous than even the old settled disciples. I knew that those who had been opposed to me in the most violent manner, would, at last, become my most zealous partizans. Then there were, at the same time, all my other wonderful efforts of industry, working for me; and I expected that which I now behold, the people nearly unanimous in the desire to show that they are of my opinion, or at any rate to show that they have no hostility towards me.

This I found precisely at Liverpool. There were from six to nine hundred persons to give their money, some two shillings and some one, to hear me, who, only about a couple of years ago, appeared to be looked upon by the far greater part of these people, as a man not only unworthy of attention; not only as a person whose opinions were of no value; but as one whom no decent person would think of going to look at. I had the pleasure to see members of Parliament, the richest merchants in this opulent town; in short, I had the pleasure to see the bankers, and all the principal persons in the town, sitting before me, and so sitting for the purpose of hearing my opinions, having given their money for permission so to sit. When PETER MACCULLOCH came to this same town, he came loaded with letters of introduction and recommendation: all Scotland was put in a state of requisition, to muster him up an audience in Liverpool. The merchants who had received letters by him, bought his tickets, gave them to their clerks or warehousemen, and thus PETER got an audience, which, after all, might have been, as they say of a close-running pack of hounds, covered with a blanket. They might have been covered with a pretty decent carpet, at any rate; for the num-

ber, I understand, was next to nothing, not exceeding above a couple of hundred at any rate.

It was impossible for me to behold my audience at Liverpool, without receiving a perfect conviction of the great change which has taken place in the public opinion. I have been the rallying-point of one part of the nation; the rallying-point of all those who detested the paper system. All who have held that set of principles which include, and may be said to be summed up in an implacable hatred of the paper system, have taken my name for their motto; for the rule of their conduct in politics. It has required too much time for men to give their reasons and their opinions, and, therefore, they have cut the matter short, by saying, "I am for Cobbett," or "Cobbett's right," or something of that sort. On the other side, the parties have thought it quite sufficient, instead of saying that they approved of the paper and funding system, to say that they "hated old Cobbett." So that my name has become "*the question*"; the touchstone; and people have, in general, long had their minds turned to this point: "*Is Cobbett to triumph, or is he not?*"

When I saw my audience at Liverpool, I saw that the public had decided the point: I saw that it had decided that I should not only triumph, but that the triumph should be so signal, as to leave no doubt in the mind of any man in the world. I am aware, and I was aware, and so I told my audience, that it was *curiosity* which had, in great part, procured me the audience that I then had the honour to address. I was quite sincere: I was well aware of this; but the curiosity itself was quite enough to show that I was destined to triumph over the conceited, proud, insolent, arrogant, and stupid creatures who have, for so many years, been keeping this enlightened and industrious country in such a state of uncertainty, distraction, ruin, and beggary. The curiosity itself was quite enough to convince me of that; for the curiosity arises out of the weight attached to the opinions, and the effect produced by the writings or

speakings of the individual. If I had two heads or four hands, or something in that sort of way; if I were seven or eight ~~feet~~ high, or not-higher than my boot; then the curiosity would be traced immediately to its spring; but, in my case, though the spring is not so manifest, or very little reflection is enough to convince any one, that the bringing of the people together, even if they came out of curiosity, ought to have been quite enough to satisfy me. I really knew, as an acquaintance, but one single man in Liverpool, and that was, as all Liverpool well knows, Mr. THOMAS SMITH, the bookseller, in Lord Street. I went to a private lodgings, near the Music Hall (where the lectures were delivered); very few persons had any intercourse with me; so far from carrying letters of introduction, as Peter did, I declined every overture to introduction of any sort. Still I had the most respectable of audiences, the most attentive and patient hearers; I met not with a single mark of disapprobation of any sort; I received great and frequent applause; I was received with cheers on the first evening, and I took my leave amidst a general cheer; on the last evening, after a speech of two hours and three quarters long, which I could not contrive to shorten, and which was heard with a degree of attention, with an immobility on the part of the audience, and with a patience such as I never witnessed before for a similar length of time.

There wanted nothing more than this, even if this had been wanted, to satisfy me that the game of corruption was up; that the vile paper system was condemned to die; and without that system, I know that the great mass of corruption cannot live. Bank-noting and boroughmongering began together; and together they will die. The great blow at them was, the blow stricken in 1826. The small notes, as I always said, were the cement of the whole system. Whatever other foolish tricks the arrogant and insolent fellows have thought proper to play, they have never meddled with the one-pound note until now: they have stamped them; they

have regulated their circulation and liabilities: they have adopted measures tending to lessen their quantity: but, until now, they never had the salutary folly to enact the absolute abolition of all the notes under five-pounds: the moment they did that, they put themselves at my mercy; as CROMWELL said by the Scotch, "The Lord delivered them into my hands"! notwithstanding the act, which was passed to screen them from the contempt of those whom they called their constituents. Lawyer SCARLETT, who seems so anxious to protect them from contempt, and to enforce that law which he, amongst others, opposed; Lawyer SCARLETT should know, that it is not the prosecution of printers; that it is not the hunting down of newspaper writers, that will enable farmers to pay rents with wheat at five shillings a bushel, and taxes at sixty millions a year; and the Lawyer should make up his mind either to prosecute the bushel of wheat or the sovereign, and punish them for conspiring together; or take in the leg of mutton, as it requires three to make a conspiracy to bring his Majesty's Government and his Majesty's Parliament into contempt. The bushel of wheat might be prosecuted for selling for five shillings, and the leg of mutton for selling for four-pence a pound, while the sovereign might be prosecuted for not giving more than the five shillings in one case, and the four-pence in the other. If LAWYER SCARLETT could turn his forces upon these, and carry on the war against these, with the assistance of his deputies, Messrs. BROUGHAM, the enlightened BROUGHAM! the "*Liberal*" BROUGHAM; the Scotch-London-University BROUGHAM; if LAWYER SCARLETT would set on upon the bushel of wheat and the other two culprits, backed by sensible BROUGHAM, who rejoices that we are unable to go to war; if the Lawyer would but pour out his wrath upon these three conspicuous culprits, and make the sovereign give fifteen shillings for a bushel of wheat, and ten-pence a pound for a leg of mutton; if the Lawyer would do this, and were to succeed, he would then deserve some

praise from his employers; he would then afford them some relief in their hour of distress; but, unless he can do this, he may just as well keep his informations to himself, and keep his accusing breath to cool his porridge.

His proceedings, however, have attracted a great deal of public attention in every part of the country, as far as I can perceive. Some call it "Scarlett's campaign"; some call it a return to the "*ancien régime*"; meaning the *régime* of PERCIVAL, ELLENBOROUGH, GIBBS, SIDMOUTH, LIVERPOOL and CASTLE-REAGH. If the Lawyer would, indeed, lay an information against the DEBT now, and employ again the patriot, BROUGHAM, and a whole nest of small-beer Whigs, with grey mares' tails upon their heads; being determined, apparently, to give us an unquestionable proof of Whig liberality and love of freedom, let him take a drive at the DEBT, and treat her to an information equal to half a dozen folios, for I am sure she is at work day and night, Sundays and working days and Saint's days, to bring his respectable and pure Parliament into contempt. She, every day of her life, tells them that they shall never go to war again so long as she exists, even though the French invade the Isle of Wight: she cramps the pretty fellows, in all sorts of ways; she pares their nails; she files their sharp teeth; she raps their knuckles; she makes their feet gouty; she pinches their purses; her very name flouts them and scouts them. Let the Lawyer prosecute her then; and if he overcome her; if he get a fine fixed upon her to the full amount of her property, he may safely let the press remain without being checked by him and Mr. BROUGHAM, who seems to be a sort of learner upon this occasion; seems to be getting his hand in, as an apprentice begins occasionally to execute the higher work immediately under his master. It would have been very awkward for Mr. BROUGHAM to defend Mr. ALEXANDER or Mr. BELL; and yet he was liable to be called upon to defend them if he had not previously taken a brief on the other side. But seriously, I do recommend to LAWYER SCARLETT, to

lay an information against the DEBT. I will prove, by indubitable testimony, in abundance, that the bare existence of the Debt, daily and hourly holds the Parliament up to hatred and contempt. Why not inform against her, and get her fined, then? I am told that she is an incorporeal thing: not more so than the press! She can commit an act having a tendency to a breach of the peace, as well as the press can: she can as easily (and is much more likely to succeed in it) excite the Government and the Parliament to commit an act of violence upon her, as the press is likely to excite them in the same way. Nay, I say, SIR JAMES GRAHAM, and several others, have declared their positive intention, or at least their wish, to assault her! Therefore, her conduct, her bare existence, threatening every hour, to cause a breach of the peace to be committed upon her, surely there is, according to LAWYER SCARLETT'S own doctrine, ground for a good long thundering information. This is the way to come at her: men have puzzled their brains how to enfeeble her, and bring her down, and they have puzzled their brains in vain. SAINT VAN endeavoured to enfeeble her, and to quiet her libellous tongue by reducing the *per cents*. Alas! that was productive of nothing but panic. SIR JAMES GRAHAM proposed to take away, at once, a third part of her blood, and tame her in that way. Mr. THOMAS ATTWOOD proposed to bring her down by means of small money; and the REVEREND PARSON CRUTTWELL, rector of Bexhall, in Suffolk, had the wisdom to propose (and he perseveres in proposing) to lop off one half of what she has in the world, by making the money in which she is paid, of one half of the size of the present money. Alas! these are all trifling; these are all childish expedients, and so is that of sweating her down by the means of another batch of worthless rags: either of these methods would be called robbery, breach of national faith, and God knows what; but, bring her into court on a charge of libel, clap upon her a good thundering information *ex-officio*,

fine her to the amount of her last farthing; after getting a verdict (or half-a-dozen verdicts) against her, clap this fine upon her back; and then she swoons away, and we are rid of her for ever. If LAWYER SCARLETT can do this; if he can find out law for it, I trust he will set about it with all possible dispatch; but, of one thing I can assure him, and that is, that unless he can succeed in a proceeding like this, or can prosecute all the civilised world for not getting into it double the quantity of gold that it has now, he will not succeed in screening the Government and Parliament from contempt.

In the year 1811, the Government suggested to the House of Commons to pass a resolution, and it ~~did~~ pass a resolution, declaring that a one-pound note and a shilling were equal in value to a guinea.

In a very little while after the passing of that resolution, it passed a law to compel landlords to take their rents in paper of the Bank of England, if the tenants chose to pay in that and not in gold; and, at the same time, it passed an Act to punish people, as guilty of misdemeanor, if they sold a guinea for more than a one-pound note and a shilling, or gave for a guinea more than a one-pound note and a shilling.

All these things took place at the suggestion of the same Government; they were the acts of the very same Parliament; they took place nearly at one and the same time; that is to say, before the sound of the voice was hardly lost, which solemnly declared the one-pound note and the shilling to be equal in value to a guinea, those who had made the declaration, and who had promulgated that declaration to the people, passed a law to punish that very people if they sold the guinea or bought the guinea for more than the one-pound note and the shilling. Just as if they had said, "A one-pound note and a shilling are equal in value to a guinea, but yet it is necessary to prevent the guinea from being sold for more than a one-pound note and a shilling"! Now, these facts are notorious; the sun at noon-day is not more notorious than

these facts. They are matter, and must be matter of history: the bare statement of them, has a tendency to bring the actors into contempt. Yet, must we not state, then; must historians be silent upon the subject, too? SIR JAMIE MACKINTOSH is said to be writing a History of England for grizzly-pated Murray, who called me "the hoary democrat of Kensington." Now, if SIR JAMIE should happen to relate what was done about the currency in 1811, he cannot say other; he cannot do less than state the facts; and if he do state them, does he not write and publish that which has a tendency to bring the actors into contempt? Take care, then, SIR JAMIE, or your brother, SIR JAMIE, may chance to lay you by the heels. LAWYER SCARLETT tells us that he will be graciously pleased to allow of *fair discussion*. Good, LAWYER SCARLETT; but now let us see how this squares with your doctrine. I mean to discuss, for instance, the resolution and acts of 1811. But I must state the acts first; I must describe the things that I am going to discuss; before I discuss a transaction, I must describe the transaction; but, your doctrine would stop me at the threshold; because, before I enter on the discussion; the moment I have stated the facts on which I mean to comment, I am, according to your doctrine, a libeller that ought to be silenced, because there is no question that the bare statement of the facts has a tendency to bring the parties into contempt.

Again, in the history of another instance: in the year 1822, Minister Van proposed to the Parliament to pass an Act, allowing small notes to continue in circulation until the year 1833; and I beg LAWYER SCARLETT, if he can abstract his mind from contemplating those glories which he doubtless expects to be the result of his "campaign," to mark well, not only the nature of the facts, but the date of the facts which I am now about to state.

FIRST, the Ministry suggested to the Parliament, in July, 1822, to pass an Act to continue small notes in circulation until the year 1833.

SECOND, in the month of February, 1824, Mr. ROBINSON boasted, that is to say, the Ministry boasted, that this measure had relieved the nation from all its difficulties, and had made it happy and prosperous beyond measure, and the Parliament, particularly the House of Commons, cheered the declaration to the skies.

THIRD, in that same month of February, they were distinctly told by me, that their prosperity would speedily pass away; that the gold would leave the country, that the country would be placed upon the eve of a convulsion by a blowing up of the banks; which would take place, unless they reduced the taxes and withdrew the small paper-money, and that it would take place within the space of two years.

FOURTH, in just about one year and seven months from that day, the banks began to blow up; and, before the two years had expired, the Ministers distinctly avowed in the House of Commons, that, at one time, the country was placed in such danger, as to be within "forty-eight hours of barter"; an avowal made from the lips of Mr. HUSKISSON, who was then the Minister of Trade.

Now, Mr. LAWYER SCARLETT, and your associate, or rather under-worker, Mr. BROUGHAM, what is the natural tendency of this historical relation, in which, however, I have omitted the slaughter made upon the country bankers, which immediately followed, and which, in 1829, put an end to the circulation of small notes, in direct violation of the compact made with them by the act of 1822. I have omitted this; but, putting this to the rest, and taking the five distinct facts altogether, what is the sort of feeling which is not only likely, but which is certain to be excited in the mind of every reader by the bare statement of these five facts? Is it respect; is it veneration; is it confidence; is it an opinion that the Ministry is wise, and that the Parliament is wise, and is incessantly watchful over the interests of the people? Is it feelings and opinions of this description that the bare statement of these facts is likely to

excite? Is it not, on the contrary, certain that reason and nature must be banished from England before men can refrain from entertaining contempt, at the least, towards those who have done these indescribably mischievous acts?

Again, do we not all know, that at the passing of Peel's Bill, one of the Ministers declared, that "the question was now set at rest for ever"; and has not the question, though the House of Commons shouted three cheers for the man who said that the question was set at rest for ever; has not the question been agitated from that day to this; has not that measure gone on troubling and ruining the people for ten years; is not the trouble now greater than ever, and is not the question now farther from being set at rest than ever it was; and must I refrain from stating these facts lest your fangs *ex-officio* should be stuck into me; because the statement has a tendency to bring the actors into contempt?

I must cease to mention instances; for to go to the end, would require twenty Registers equal to this in size; but I cannot refrain from mentioning one instance more.

FIRST FACT. In the year 1786, or 5 or 7, I forget which now, PITT established his sinking fund; and, in this case, CICERO PITT was cordially joined and supported by DEMOSTHENES FOX. The promise was, that the nation, in return for the sacrifices that it had had to make on this account, would see the Debt completely paid off at the end of forty years or thereabouts; and that, if war arose, it would keep the Debt from increasing during that war.

SECOND FACT. The fund was carried on for more than forty years, the Parliament and the Government always boasting of its powerful and salutary effects, and always holding it out as the sheet-anchor of our hope.

THIRD FACT. At the end of the forty years, the Debt amounted to more than eight hundred millions of pounds sterling, though, when the promising fund was established, that Debt amounted to only about two hundred and thirty millions.

FOURTH FACT. That now this fund has long been called a "humbug" in that same House of Commons itself; while LORD GRENVILLE, who was PITT's coadjutor in the making of the fund, has publicly declared it, under his own name and signature, to be, and always to have been, delusive, *essentially* delusive and mischievous; and that the Parliament, by its acts, as well as by its language, have, by nearly demolishing the fund, given its adhesion to the opinion of this statesman, who had been assisting, for forty-two years, to carry on a thing essentially delusive and mischievous.

Now, LAWYER SCARLETT, what feelings are these facts calculated to excite towards the Government and the Parliament? Are we to say that both are entitled to our respect and confidence; or, are we to hold our tongues? However, silence here will not save us, according to your doctrine. We must not state the facts, though we say nothing about them; for, if to mention the bare facts be sufficient to tend to excite contempt towards the Government and the Parliament, we come within your purview at once; for what is *your* doctrine, in substance; what is that doctrine on which you call on judges and juries to act? It is this:

FIRST, that it is criminal to put forth any thing having a tendency to bring the Government and Parliament into contempt, with an *intention* to do it.

SECOND, that the *intention* is to be *inferred from the act itself*.

THIRD, that all which the jury has to do, therefore, is, to ascertain whether the words published have a tendency to bring the Government or Parliament, or both, into contempt.

This neat doctrine brings within your claws every man who shall barely state any of the facts that I have stated above, and who shall then hold his tongue; say nothing in the way of comment. If he state the facts, he is compelled to add *something in praise of the Government and the Parliament*. Silence will not do. There must be positive praise of the parties, accompanying a statement of facts of their deeds. The

writer must say that it was wise and meritorious to do all the things that I have mentioned. This is the only way of clearing himself from the inference mentioned under the second head of your doctrine: to state the facts, and not to praise the parties, is to leave the facts to produce their natural effect; to produce the contempt inseparable from the statement; and the intention being, according to you, deducible from the words themselves, nothing short of positive praise of the actors can save the devoted victim, who, blind-folded, has run into the ingenious whig trap of you and Mr. BROUGHAM.

Let us, before we quit this view of the matter, take the case of GOULBOURN, whom I always call *the sensible*; though, perhaps, that will not save me. When the Scotch Small-note Bill was before the House of Commons, GOULBOURN stated distinctly that the abolition of the small notes would not have a tendency to lessen the circulating medium; because, said he, the bankers, having got rid of the *ones*, will be MORE LIBERAL IN ISSUING THEIR FIVES! This was enough to immortalize any man. I told GOULBOURN, in a few days afterwards, that the ones were the legs that the fives walked upon: that the bankers would discount no more after the ones were gone, except upon a very limited scale, and for some special purposes; and that the fives never could circulate to more than a distance of ten miles from home; that the quantity of circulating medium would be prodigiously reduced; and that, unless a large part of the taxes were taken off, terrible must be the sufferings throughout the whole country.

The suffering is come, and GOULBOURN's opinion is laughed at even by boys: and, when all this mischief has arisen out of this staring blunder, which was exposed at the time upon the spot; and after the Government and the Parliament have persevered in producing the mischief, am I to hold my tongue? Am I not even to state the facts, the bare facts, because the statement has a tendency to bring *the sensible* GOULBOURN into contempt?

Now for another view of the matter; now for another danger; now for another of the numerous hooks by which you may catch us, you being, apparently, a tremendous angler, catching by the mouth, the gills, the fins, or the tail. If it be libellous to print and publish any thing having a *tendency* to bring the Government and Parliament into contempt, amongst what burning ploughshares walk the men who print and publish parliamentary debates! Of all the publications in the world, those are the best calculated to bring the Government and Parliament into contempt, not only by implication, but positively. One member accuses the Ministry of folly, of stupidity, of waste of the public resources; of all sorts of imbecility and all sorts of profligacy. Another accuses the House of neglecting its duty; of sanctioning a waste of the people's money; of, in short, passing foolish and unjust laws. Now, is not the publisher of these speeches fairly caught upon your hooks? The words have a manifest tendency to bring the Parliament into contempt; no man can deny that; and, according to your doctrine, the publisher of the report is liable to punishment. The law makes no exception in favour of reports of debates: they stand upon exactly the same ground with other publications; and, to maintain any distinction here, you must deem the debates a sort of farce, and contend that a thing so farcical is incapable of tending to excite contempt.

To come closer home, suppose I were to say that the Six Acts, and particularly one of them, relative to the press, was opposed by LAWYER SCARLETT, when he sat on the Whig side of the House; and that, he having been made Attorney General, and removed to the other side of the House, and a motion having been made to repeal that very act, *he opposed that repeal*, and was joined in that opposition by his present coadjutor, Mr. BROUGHAM, who also had opposed the act with all his might, when it was passed; and suppose I were to cap the climax by observing, that your prosecutions against Mr. ALEXAN-

DER and Mr. BELI. have been carried on upon the new principles of the law contained in that very act.

Suppose I were to say all this, and that all this were true, as it is true, am I, therefore, to be prosecuted, harassed, torn to pieces, broken up in my affairs, crammed into a jail amongst felons, treated like a malefactor, merely for stating the facts? Better at once have a licenser; ten thousand times better have a licenser, than carry on a system like this, and call it liberty of the press.

And, who is to *petition*, I want to know, without being caught upon one of your hooks? How many hundreds of petitions have stated that the people suffered from the acts of the Government and the Parliament; how many have complained, in the bitterest terms, of the corruption and bribery by which the seats are filled! Yet, it has not occurred to any Attorney General* hitherto to prosecute the parties petitioning. The Houses both require that the Petitions should be "*respectfully worded*"; and they are said to be respectfully worded, and they are, in fact, respectfully worded, though they complain of the doings of the Parliament, and though the facts they contain, and the assertions they make, cannot do otherwise than have a tendency to bring the Parliament into contempt. I petitioned the House of Commons last year, in which I represented that the officers of the Government, and the pensioners and sinecurists sitting in Parliament, had, in fact, doubled the amount of their own places, pensions, and sinecures, by Acts of their own passing, and by which same Acts the people have been reduced to misery. The tendency of this statement was so manifest, that nobody could miss seeing it. There was not a juryman in England who would not say that it had a tendency to bring the Parliament into contempt. But, my county member, Mr. DENNISON, hesitated not one moment about presenting the petition, and the House hesitated not a moment in causing it to be printed. According to your doctrine, I was punishable for writing the petition, and Mr. DENNISON for

publishing it, and thus would the door be eternally closed against all petitions; because, to petition is to pray that the Parliament will do something; to pray it to do something, is to intend to accuse it either of having done something wrong, or of neglecting to do something right; is to accuse it of a fault either of commission or of omission; and to accuse it of a fault, is to have a tendency to bring it into contempt. Then, as the Parliamentary printer prints and publishes all the petitions, and all the votes, and all the resolutions of the House, he is the greatest libeller of us all, and ought to be caught by the belly with one of your tremendously sharp hooks.

If your law be law, and if it be acted upon; if juries adopt your doctrine, and if the bench, by its sentences, sanction that doctrine, the words "*liberty of the press*" are expressive of the most miserable mockery that ever disgraced law or language; and you will have improved upon every severity that ever was yet heard of in England with regard to the press. If your doctrine be adopted, who is to dare to propose any changes in the measures of the Government? Who, above all things, is to speak of the unfitness of a Ministry? Who, unless he has got an assurance of his life from Providence itself, is to dare to question the moderation, the mildness, the humanity, of an attorney-general or a judge? Who is to dare to state any fact, however notorious, that has a tendency to bring parties like these into contempt? To remonstrate with these parties; to discuss their conduct; barely to state facts, and to leave the public to decide, comes within your capacious purview; and, with juries to act upon the doctrine, the destruction of the victim is certain. So long as twenty-five years ago, I printed and published, even in the time of little sharp PERCIVAL, that the PITT sinking fund was a "*SPLENDID HUMBUG*." The scribes of the Government abused me; SHERIDAN (*a Whig*) suggested, that I ought to be dealt with by the law; but all men of sense; all men who had any regard for the liberty of the press; all men who had not liberty upon their lips and ty-

ranny in their hearts; all men, indeed, throughout the country, thought me in error, but revolted at the Whig idea of suppressing me by force.

Yet, if I were now to call the project of the new police a humbug, and a most expensive humbug; if I were to call the miserable patch-work with regard to Ireland, by the same name; if I were to call many other things, that I could now name, humbugs, I should be safely within the purview of your law; up you would pull me by the gills, or by the "paunch," or something; and there would be the end of all printing and publishing, except tracts on religion, or essays on the best mode of saving from starvation this industrious but ingenious people, who have been brought to their present state of misery, by the acts of this present Ministry and Parliament.

The *time*, too, for conjuring up this new and severe doctrine, seems to me to be the very worst that ever was selected for such an enterprise by mortal man. You are not a far-seeing gentleman, your eye, cunning as it is, extends not very far beyond the surface of your briefs: if it did, you would know and consider these facts; that the country is in distress, and deep distress, from one extremity of it to the other; that the rich see that they are losing their fortunes; that the middle class feel that they are fast going to decay, and that the poor are in want of a sufficiency even of bread; that, notwithstanding all this suffering, there is no where a desire evinced to make an opposition to the laws; that the people are patiently waiting for some alleviation to their sufferings; that the press, generally speaking, and, indeed, almost universally speaking, is participating in feeling with the people, and is the *organ remonstrating for them with the Government and the Parliament*. *Remonstrate* it cannot, without imputing blame; to impute blame is to intend to bring the Government and Parliament into contempt; and thus your doctrine, making short work with the nation, commands it to hold its tongue, and suffer in silence. We all seemed to be

cordially united; all ready to forget former divisions and animosities, and to beseech the Government and Parliament to take our case into consideration, and to save us, and the state along with us. This, until your "campaign" commenced, was the feeling of the country; I trust that ~~that~~ campaign will not disturb such a feeling; I trust, above all things, that the victims will not be made such an example of as to terrify us out of our senses, and to reduce us to the state of the most abject negro-driven slaves; and, in that hope, I lay down my pen for the present.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Manchester, 5th January, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

We have just had the first lecture in this place. It is now ten o'clock at night, and the post goes off early in the morning. I never saw an audience that I liked better than that which I have addressed this evening. All old grievances seem to be forgotten on both sides. For my part, I shall take care not to revive them. The Mechanics' Institution, which appears to be rather larger than that in London, and much finer, was crowded to excess; and with regard to my reception, it was as good as I could *possibly wish*. I trust I merit something, but the applause was certainly beyond the merits of any man.

Hark ye! if we had a wise Government and Parliament, would not they, being acquainted with this strange and wonderful change; recollecting, that ten years ago, the authorities of this very town, in violation of Magna Charta, in violation of every principle of law, did, in fact, forbid me to pass through the town, or to enter it; would not a wise Government perceive in this change, an indubitable proof of the prevalence of my principles; and would not they see the necessity of a reduction of taxes; and would they not, IN TIME, make

that reduction? I have maintained the wisdom of returning to the currency of our fathers; I have called upon my hearers (all the rich, and all the deeply-interested men) to stand by the Duke in carrying through the present law; and I have every where found them resolved to stand by him, if he flinch not, and if he make that reduction in the taxes which this new state of things will demand. Good night.

I am your faithful friend,

and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

N. B. I wish I had had Huskisson here to defend himself upon these boards this evening, or to attempt such defence.

STATE PROSECUTIONS.

(From the Scotsman.)

A good Government cannot be degraded or brought into contempt. Government is impersonal. It consists of institutions, rules, and principles. A Government is not free if these cannot be subjected to the test of reason; and it would be insulting to common sense to maintain that freedom can exist without the privilege of proclaiming, examining, and characterising, all the official and public acts of all the functionaries engaged in administering the Government. We confine our position exclusively to public and official acts. The private life of such functionaries is sacred. It is not public property. Their official proceedings, however, belong to the public; and of these, truth cannot be a libel; and such truths, instead of degrading or tending to degrade the Government, must always tend to purify and protect it. If the public measures of public men be bad, the publication of what is true respecting them may expose, degrade, and bring into hatred the administering officials, but it is for the interest of Government as well as of the public, that this should be so. No Government can be secure when it is mal-administered; when it is surrounded

only by venality and corruption. Servants of this description ought to be driven away from the Throne: but how can this be done, or how can Ministers be made responsible, unless their Ministerial acts can be laid as open as the light of the sun at noon-day? Juries, who have the law of libel in their own hands, should laugh at the idea of Government being degraded, or its interests affected, except for good, by the truth and the whole truth, being told of the official acts of all or any of those who are concerned in the administration. They are called upon, by all the great principles of the Constitution and Government of their country, to protect every one in the exercise of this right, in the performance of this duty, of free and full examination.

We regret deeply, therefore, that Sir James Scarlett should have mixed up these prosecutions for personal calumny, for imputing dishonourable and criminal acts falsely, with charges of degrading the Government and bringing it into contempt. It might be necessary to do this in the writ of information, in compliance with the requisitions of form, in order to obviate objections of a technical nature which a special pleading brother of the law might otherwise have started against his proceedings; but it was not necessary to resort to such topics in argument. His case ought to have been rested entirely on the falsehood and malice of the libels. It is lamentable, certainly, that some minds cannot distinguish betwixt the discussion of principles, or the examination of public measures and personal abuse. It is still worse when the discussion of public measures is only sought as a pretext for assailing individuals by personal calumny, invading the sanctuaries of private life, or artfully mixing up what is false with what is true. And we do not know a graver offence against the body politic than that of attempting to gratify malice against individuals under cover of maintaining the liberty of the press. The injury done is not confined to the reproach which is thus brought upon the press itself; to the suspicion which is cast over it; but if those in power

happen to be its enemies, as they often are, a door is thus opened to them for taking measures against the press generally, or, at the least, for establishing precedents that may be wrested to the disadvantage of all connected with it. A more effectual method could not be devised of playing the game of those who meditate the establishment of absolute authority. The press is discredited, men of character are driven from it, and if it fall into the hands of desperadoes only, the law may then, practically, do what it pleases with the press.

It is amusing to find writers of this desperate and unprincipled character, complaining that there is no law with regard to libel! The less that exists, either of law or justice, the better it is for them; and if we cease to have either, it will be chiefly through their misconduct. The state of the law, as a whole, is, no doubt, utterly indefensible. As it has often been laid down by the bench, as we find it advocated in law books and from the lips of lawyers, it is adverse to reason, and irreconcilable to all justice. It is fettered and impeded by many of the existing rules for the admission, or rather non-admission of evidence. It is thus uncertain in its result, and always oppressively expensive. But, thanks to Mr. Fox, the administration of this law of libel is placed in hands by which every fair and honourable writer may be protected. Libel is nowhere defined; we have no codification on the subject. But still we have law. And the law declares that it is the province of the jury to say, in each particular case, whether the writing charged as such be or be not a libel. This is the true and only palladium of British liberty. Let the judge state his opinion, and let that opinion be what it may, the jury may disregard the charge; it is binding neither on their understandings nor consciences. They are entitled to think and act for themselves; and it is our opinion, that if they acted rightly, they would refuse to establish guilt wherever evidence was excluded, and acquit all who merely related and commented on

facts relating to public or official proceedings. The jurors, in each case, are both legislators and judges; they at once declare and apply the law; and supposing that juries are chosen indiscriminately, and in such a way that power can neither exclude nor admit individual jurors, we do not see how, in relation to questions of a political nature, betwixt the Crown and the people, the law could possibly be placed on a better footing. Under such a state of things, foolish verdicts will no doubt be pronounced, injustice will occasionally be done; but it is a state which (throwing the rules of evidence and the forms of procedure out of view) can be improved only by increasing the intelligence and strengthening the virtues of the people. It would be better, certainly, if juries could, at present, be nominated so as to consist only of the wisest, best, and most independent members of society; but as the office of discriminating would go to the side of power, and might be turned against the people, it is safer to adhere inflexibly to the principle of impartial rotation. Educate the people; confer knowledge upon all in the middle ranks of society; implant integrity, increase the influence of moral feelings, and the law of libel will cease to be an evil. Judges, even in political cases, would be impartial, because juries would be firm and independent; and for the same reason, from the discrimination and wisdom of juries, the press would attain its true elevation. Bad men would no longer derive profit or acquire importance from trading in abuse, while the enlightened and gifted, the wise and good, would feel themselves honoured in avowing their connexion with the press.

(From the Kent Herald.)

The present law of libel is a foul blot upon our boasted free institutions. Public opinion is not directed, purified, and existing healthily by it, but exists in spite of it. The public mind is fed and enlightened; the whole framework of political knowledge is sustained, by writers, speakers, and publishers, at the

daily hazard of their fortunes, and almost their lives. A journalist lives under the impending threat of ruin and a dungeon, like Damocles under the hair-hung sword. Any accident, however inevitable; any adversary, however contemptible, may draw down a prosecution. The infamous dogmas of truth being a libel, and that the proof of a libel is its *tendency* to bring contempt on the object of its strictures, are as complete prohibitions on the freedom of the press as the most rigid and ingenious tyranny could devise. We maintain it is impossible to conduct a newspaper at all, not to say with any degree of spirit or the exercise of talent, without incurring the liabilities of penal infliction at every publication. That prosecutions do not daily occur, that men and things are examined and commented on constantly and boldly, that public opinion and common sense support journalists against the interference of the vindictive and litigious, are no arguments in favour of the law. The law is too absurd, too inapplicable to the intellectual demands of the age, to be observed, and is habitually evaded or defied: yet still it exists, for tyranny or malice to use whenever its self-will is stronger than its sense of shame in resorting to such an odious instrument of oppression.

Should such hostility to the press in general, as is predicted by some of the present Administration, continue to be manifested, should we have any further evidence of a settled intention on the part of power to stifle opinion, the public must instantly rouse itself. The very existence of liberty is then threatened; and without the most effectual and triumphant opposition, the name of Briton will be synonymous with that of slave. If the people of England will give up the press, they will merit what they assuredly will meet, entire degradation and miserable slavery. Should there be any truth in the alleged crusade of all the European Governments against freedom of discussion; a conjecture formed from the simultaneous appearance of attacks on the press in England, France, and the Netherlands;

the crisis will have arrived. The hopes of the world will be at once established, or lost entirely, for our time. We do not ourselves contemplate such a manifestation on the part of our rulers, nor do we think that the spirit of our people is so sunken and debased as to allow it to triumph. There is energy in countless individuals, there is principle among the mass sufficient to baffle any such design. Associations would be formed; not such as were formed by the Tories at a somewhat similar conjuncture, to aid the tyrant law in gagging, dungeoning, and banishing the popular advocates, the denouncers of oppression and misrule; not "Mock Constitutional Associations;" not "Bridge-street "Conspiracies;" but liberal associations of men who, despising those addicted to either faction, the almost equally selfish and anti-popular adherents of Whiggism and Toryism, would unite in defence of the people from the hostility of both. Funds would be collected, an organised system of perseverance and activity would be developed. The press and its writers would be defended and supported, its victory be secured, and failure be the least punishment of its enemies. No Tory conspiracy, even should that party, forgetting its present difference on the Catholic Question, cement its old alliance with the Court and Ministry, in fear of the utter extinction of its inherent principles; no Whig Attorney General could avail against the roused energies of the one, the popular party. Power might glut itself with victim after victim; while opinion, supported as it should be, would quietly, unceasingly supply the means of repeated resistance, if prudence withheld any more forcible demonstration. The press cannot be put down, if liberal and independent thinkers do their duty.

We have said that we do not anticipate any serious attack on the freedom of the press from the Wellington Administration; we believe the rumour of it to be a Tory calumny, "a weak invention" of bigotry, to strengthen an opposition to those Ministers who gave liberty of conscience to millions of our fellow-

subjects, and who are suspected of entertaining a tendency, only a tendency, towards liberal principles in commerce. The declarations of Sir James Scarlett, it is true, have done much to give consistency to these reports, and have excited a more general mistrust of the Administration than any other circumstance could, than even the fact of the prosecutions.

(From the *Dublin Evening Post*.)

One is really disgusted to witness what will appear to the world the vindictive prosecution against an individual; for it is evident that all these prosecutions are pointed at Mr. Alexander. Heaven knows, we have no sympathy for the politics or the apparent motives of the gentleman. We have been opponents of that policy, and, therefore, the supporters of the Government, by whose means Emancipation has been achieved. For this great benefit to Ireland and the empire, we, in common, with the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Times*, the *Globe*, the *Sun*, and all the hitherto opposition press in London, as well as the majority of the liberal press in Ireland, were not unwilling to overlook certain minor matters, on which, it is possible we should, under other circumstances, be disposed to fasten. But if, as the *Chronicle* insinuates, the present campaign of Sir James Scarlett is the commencement of a war against public opinion and free discussion, the consequence will be, to turn the press against the Administration, and convert that instrument, through the medium of which alone they were able to carry their measures, into an organ of annoyance. Sir James Scarlett is a man of too much sagacity not to be aware of this, and we take it for granted that he will run the round, and try whether the law or the press be the stronger. When the *Times* and the *Chronicle* are brought before the courts; when repeated decisions shall be had against the press, and when these decisions shall be found inoperative, there may be some *initiative* talked of, something in the style of the King of the Netherlands, but which

will amount to no less than a censorship, disguise it as we may. It is to us an additional pain to find, that Mr. Brougham has received in all these trials a fee for the prosecution. It is true, he does not appear to have acted, but a Whig should not have lent the sanction of his name to these prosecutions.

(From the *Leeds Intelligencer*.)

Now let us suppose that Sir James's notable principle were put into practice, how are we to get rid of a Ministry, or Government, whatever the extent of their political sins? The worse their conduct, the more necessary would become the language of reprehension; the more necessary would it be, according to every principle of right and justice, to rouse public opinion, and induce the people to carry up their complaints to the Throne. But Sir James's doctrine meets us half way; we must lay down the pen; we must shut our mouths; we must abjectly submit; and the greater the offence, the more certain the impunity. This is the liberty of the press that a Whig Attorney-General will give us if a discerning jury does not stop him in his career of applying "wholesome correction."

Just published, No. VII. of

CORBETT'S ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN, and incidentally to YOUNG WOMEN. I have begun with the YOUTH, and shall go to the YOUNG MAN or the BACHELOR, talk the matter over with him as a LOVER, then consider him in the character of HUSBAND; then as FATHER; then as CITIZEN or SUBJECT.

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METROPOLIS

TURNPIKE MANUAL.

SHORTLY will be published, "The Metropolis Turnpike Manual"; being an Analytical Abstract of the Metropolis Turnpike Acts, together with a correct List of all the Turnpike Roads and Bridges, and of the Tolls collected upon each, within ten miles of London. By W. Cobbett, Jun., price 5s. In making this announcement, the author has to remark, that after the 1st of January next, an important change is to take place in the collection of the tolls in the vicinity of London, by an *assimilation* of the tolls collected on the different parts of the metropolitan trusts; and that, therefore, the same traveller will not any longer be liable to pay fourteen different tolls in the same day, but to pay the same toll fourteen times. By the way, this assimilation will effect an injury, in place of a benefit, to the public generally, by increasing the burdens of that part of it which are always taxed beyond their due proportion: in the instance of a stage-coach (or Omnibus) the toll is now at Hammersmith *twenty-two pence halfpenny*, and at Kensington *sixpence* for the same carriage: being payable only once in a day at Hammersmith, and twice (with the same horses) at Kensington. Now, the alteration in this instance will be, that the nominal toll of Hammersmith and of all the other parts of this Trust, will be fixed at the present rate of Kensington, but that it shall be *paid every time of passing*, thereby trebling, and sometimes quadrupling, the tolls on stage-coaches. Private travellers will doubtless be saved considerable trouble in ascertaining the sum which is due; but the assimilation is not general, and, so far from applying without exception to the roads in the vicinity of London, there are many turnpike roads even on the north of the Thames, which are under distinct Trusts, and on which different tolls are still collected. Notwithstanding the high-sounding terms of "Metropolitan Trustees," the indefatigable body (a select one also) who are in-

vested with this title, have not an exclusive jurisdiction over all the turnpikes even in the metropolis. Added to these exceptions, there are the several roads upon which various tolls are collected on the south of the Thames, in the neighbourhood of London; and there are also the bridges which are in London and the neighbourhood. The object of the author is to remedy, in some measure, the inconvenience which will still be felt by the public from the want of an uniform rate of tolls, and in this Manual to offer every traveller the means of always ascertaining with readiness the exact toll due.

Just Published,

MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.

THIS is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I ever possessed relative to public law; and really I have never met with a politician, gentle or simple, who knew half so much of the matter as myself. I have wanted this book for my sons to read; and monopolizing has never been a favourite with me; if I have ever possessed useful knowledge of any sort, I have never been able to rest till I have communicated it to so many as I could. This Book was translated and published at the request of the American Secretary of State; the Bookseller, though he paid me only a quarter of a dollar (thirteen-pence half-penny) for every page, had a Subscription from the President, Vice-President, and all the Members of the two Houses of Congress, and from all the Governors and Lawyers in the country. This Work was almost my *coup d'essai*, in the authoring way; but upon looking it over at this distance of time, I see nothing to alter in any part of it. It is a thick octavo volume, with a great number of Notes, and it is, in fact, a book, with regard to public law, what a Grammar is with regard to language. The Price is Seventeen Shillings, and the manner of its execution is, I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

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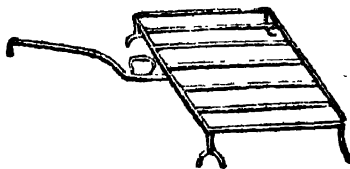
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"It is pretty clear, I believe, that an assemblage of persons would take place at any time that I chose to walk out to the spot where the dreadful scenes of the 16th of August were exhibited. What, then? Would you expel me your town, or compel me to keep myself shut up in a room? And if the people presumed to come to show me marks of their respect, would you visit them with your awful *interference*? Gentlemen, we shall live to see the day, and that day is, I believe, not distant, when I shall be able to visit the excellent people of Manchester and its neighbourhood, without your daring to step in between us with your threats of *interference*."—*Letter of Mr. Cobbett to the Borough-reeve and Constables of Manchester, dated at Ilam, 29th Nov. 1819.*

TO THE

DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

At Mr. JOSEPH JOHNSON'S, Smedley Lane,
near Manchester, 10th January, 1830.

MY LORD DUKE,

I PROPOSE to give you some information, the like of which you will receive from nobody else, and on which you will bestow some attention if you be wise. In the first place, the change in the opinions of people of property relative to the general conduct of the Government, and relative to their forbearance towards it, is very great indeed. There needs nothing more to convince you of this than the following facts:—

1. That, in the year 1819, I, having just then landed from America, was proceeding to Manchester, and was met on the road by peace-officers, sent by the borough-reeve, and constables of this town, to tell me that if I dared to approach the

town, they should interpose their authority. And they were prepared with horse-soldiers, foot-soldiers, and artillery, for that purpose. There had been a public dinner provided for me at Manchester: it would have been a great pleasure to me to have been received thus in the arms of the people after an unmerited exile; but it would have been to repay their kind intentions very badly, to expose them to destruction for the gratification of my own feelings. I knew how flagrantly illegal this prohibition was; I knew what a violation it was of every principle of English law; but, from the considerations before mentioned, I turned off into the London road, and left borough-reeve and constables, as I told them at the time, to experience those calamities which their abhorrence of me, and their acting in accordance with that abhorrence, would bring upon themselves.

2. In the month of June, 1826, I stopped a night in this town in my way from Preston to London. I called no people about me; I did nothing to give intimation of my being in the town; and never moved out of the Albion Hotel, at which I was for the night. The people, however, heard of my being in the town, and flocked in great numbers about the hotel, in order to see me and shake hands with me before I went away. There were no acclamations; no noise, other than such as is inseparable from a crowd; no attempt, on my part, to make any speech to them; their object merely was to see me, and to shake me by the hand. This was their only offence; and for this offence, the constable, LAVENDER, knocked them and beat them about, as if they had been so many base and blood-thirsty wretches aiming to commit a murder.

D

3. But (oh, the wondrous effects of Peel's Bill!) in this very town I have now met with the most kind and generous reception amongst persons of all ranks and degrees; more especially amongst the more opulent part of the community. I have made four speeches on four successive nights; the place, the theatre of the Mechanics' Institution; the price of admission, a shilling; the number of persons that the place will contain, better than a thousand; each evening the place was crowded to excess; the interest went on increasing to the last; and, on the last evening, more persons, it is said, were compelled to go away, than could obtain admission. The very platform on which I stood was so crowded as to leave me and my little table not more than two square yards of space; and, in short, nothing could possibly be more crowded. By these audiences I was listened to with the greatest attention; from not one single person was there heard a single hiss or mark of disapprobation; I received more approbation than any man could merit, and, at parting, I retired under a general cheering and waving of hats.

These are facts which I state, as it were, in the hearing and the presence of thousands and thousands of intelligent, acute, and well-educated men, who reside in this wonderful hive of industry, perseverance, ingenuity, intelligence, and talent of all sorts. Such a change, such a reception, compared with what I had experienced on this spot before, was well calculated to fill me with all the feelings of delight. It did so, and I took my leave of my audience in the following words, as nearly as I can recollect: "A great many months will not pass over our heads before I shall be upon the same floor with that of Mr. WILLIAM HUSKISSON, of whom we have heard and read so much; and, Gentlemen, if you find me doing any thing there contrary to the opinions and

"principles which I have been permitted to have the honour to hold and maintain before you; and particularly, and above all things, if you find me to desist from the most earnest endeavours to obtain for the poor man the right of participating in choosing those who are to make the laws affecting his earnings and his life, then say that you were, on the 8th of January, 1830, listening to a vile impostor, instead of listening to, as you thought, a man of sincerity. Gentlemen of Manchester! old men, they say, forget recent occurrences, while they correctly remember those that have long passed: in the present instance, I trust, and, as far as I am concerned, I know that the contrary of this will be the result. Your conduct towards me has clean washed from my mind all recollection of the past, while your indulgence and kindness shown to me will be remembered with gratitude to the last moment of my life."

Thus we parted. I do not recollect any moment in my life when I felt, all taken together, so much pleasure as when I uttered the first words of the last sentence. The sentence before the last, which gave a prospect of my being in Parliament, had been enthusiastically cheered. Whether it were pride, or what it was; whether it were a recollection of the past, joined to a recollection of the present; but, certain it is, that when the words, "Gentlemen of Manchester," came out of my lips, I felt a degree of pleasure, which my heart had seldom, at any rate, ever experienced before during the whole of my eventful life, the contrasts in which have been as great as ever were experienced by mortal man.

What I felt, however, upon this occasion, is of little consequence, compared with the moral which you ought to draw from it. In the first place, the change with regard to me is abundantly worthy of your attention; for I have not changed; I have been the same man; I have held the same principles, and preached the same doctrine; for six-and-twenty years I have not deviated;

for six-and-twenty years I have been calumniated by almost the whole of the press : still I have persevered, and, at last, here are the people of property, who thought me their foe, come round to me.

This is of importance. It ought to set you deliberately to consider what is the cause of this change in men's minds. In the year 1819, in my answer to the threat of the boroughreave and constables, I said this : " Gentlemen, we shall live to see the day, and that day is, I believe, not distant, when I shall be able to visit the excellent people of Manchester and its neighbourhood, without your thinking it proper to step in between us with your threats of interference." And we have now seen that day. I have preached the forgetting of injuries amongst ourselves ; the putting a stop to divisions amongst us ; the cordial union of masters and of men ; the defeating of the old, tyrannical maxim, " divide and govern." Never was the maxim more successfully acted upon, than by the boroughmongers and their corrupt crew of seat-dealers. As long as they could persuade the middle class, and particularly the richer part of the middle class, that the lower class had in view nothing but the taking of their property and cutting their throats, the base and corrupt dealers in seats knew they were safe in the enjoyment of the fruits of their infamous traffic.

Now, my Lord Duke, I am glad to be able to tell you ; and I hope that you will be glad to hear it (for I can see no reason why you should not), that the two classes have begun to perceive that their interests are one and the same ; and that seat-selling, that infamous traffic, which was in the House itself declared to be as notorious as the sun at noon-day, has been, and is, the great pervading cause of the ruin of the rich amongst the middle class ; of the great embarrassments of the whole of that class ; of the degradation of the whole of that class, and of the half-starvation of their working-people.

But grievous as this news must be to the vile traffickers in seats, ought it to be so to you ? It ought not ; and I hope

that it is not. Mr. PITT said, long ago, that, without putting an end to seat-selling, or, in other words, without an effectual reform in the Commons House of Parliament, no honest man could be a Prime Minister of England. That things have not changed, in this respect, for the better, since the time of Mr. PITT, we know very well : nobody pretends that they have changed for the better ; and, therefore, we have a right to hope that we shall have your support in effecting a reform in that House. You, by this time, must well know the consequences of a want of such reform : you must feel all the dreadful shackles and embarrassments that are imposed on you, in consequence of the House of Commons being returned in the manner described in his petition of 1793 : all beneath the aristocracy are well convinced that the country can never know happiness again ; never can again know freedom from harassing embarrassment, until that reform shall take place.

I now come to matters of more immediate interest, because they relate to your decision relative to the currency of the country. First, I will observe, that all manufacturers, all persons in trade, who have real capital, who are not, in fact, insolvent, or nearly so, anxiously wish that you may persevere steadily in adhering to the present law relative to the one-pound notes. Every tradesman perceives the ruin that would now be inflicted on him by a return to the base paper-money : he sees that his book debts, he sees that his bills by long date due to him, would, in fact, be paid him in about one-half their real and honest amount. Widows and orphans might see that those who hold their money in trust, would pay them with about one-half of their due. Every one sees that yearly servants would be robbed of half their wages. The foreign merchant sees that his debtor at New York would pay him with one-half of what is his due, while his creditor at New York would insist upon being paid in full. In short, every one who is a creditor, whether as mortgagee, merchant, legatee, tradesman with book debts, yearly servant, or in any shape whatsoever,

would, by a return to the base paper-money, be robbed, by Act of Parliament, of one-half of his due.

Then, sensible men see no security in a return to the worthless rags; they know what ups and downs there have been already; and if the Government once more recoil; if a Government, with a man of your reputation for firmness; with a man pledged as you are; if a Government with a man like YOU at the head of it, recoil; and that, too, in the teeth of its solemn declarations; and that, too, I say, after having solemnly declared, that to recoil, would put at hazard the peace of the country, and the safety of the crown itself; if a Government thus constituted and thus pledged now recoil, on what are the people of England to rely in future? Who can venture to make a contract of any description, unless completed and satisfied upon the spot; all credit, all confidence must be banished from amongst men of property; the whole machine of commerce must come to a stand; and all the energies of the country must die away.

Every man of sense perceives that there is now no return to the base paper-money, without protecting the Bank in London, and all other banks, against demands of payments in gold. It has not required me to tell them, that, with the present quantity of gold in the country, such a protection of the banks must lead to two prices in the market; and that, when that comes, it will go on, and would go on in spite of laws like those of ROBESPIERRE, until the whole amount of a year's taxes would not pay for the ornaments of a single gateway in St. James's Park.

Therefore, the general impression is, that you will not recoil. I have every where given it as my decided opinion that you will not; because, besides the monstrous injustice of such a measure, and the evident peril of it to the state itself; besides these, there is your own character. For, what defence would you have to offer? Having inflicted all this suffering to enforce a gold payment, in order to prevent the greatest dangers to the state, where are you to

look to for a defence of your conduct, if you now go back? You must confess yourself to have inflicted all this suffering; to have brought to ruin so many hundreds of thousands of happy families; you must confess that you have done this in mere sport, in the mere wantonness of cruelty; or, that you have done it through the most profound ignorance. If you persevere, you are consistent; and I say you are just and wise, provided you bring back the taxes to bear a due proportion to the increased value of money; and this, I hope, is what you intend to do; a hope which I have always expressed as a condition on which I supported the abolition of the one-pound notes. In going forward, therefore, you are perfectly consistent, just, and wise; but if you recoil, you are on one or the other of the horns of the above-stated frightful dilemma; you again toss men's fortunes into the air; and you plunge this country into confusion.

Nevertheless, my Lord Duke, it is right for me to inform you, that, though men of real capital are all of one mind as to their wishes that you may proceed, there is division amongst them with regard to the opinion as to what you will do. The greater part of them think; or, at least, many of them think, that you will recoil; they know, and I know well, that it will require uncommon firmness in you to resist the importunities of the *landowners*, generally speaking. They, in general, are *debtors*; their estates, from the very nature of things, must be, and always must be, mortgaged in a very considerable proportion; and they are now paying twice as much interest, in general, as they ought to pay; twice as much as they have contracted to pay, especially if the mortgage be of long standing. I know that this is unjust; but, in the first place, the landowners have sanctioned, if not assisted, to make the very laws, that have inflicted the injustice. The landowners ought to be relieved from the effects of these laws; but they ought not to be relieved by the ruin of men in trade. There ought to be an *equitable adjustment* run throughout,

funds and all included. It is curious that the writers in favour of the land now recommend an adjustment with regard to mortgages; but with regard to nothing else.

However, what the landowners, take them as a mass, are aiming at, is, to force you back to the base and false, worthless rags; which they choose, with all the disgrace to you, all the disgrace to the Government and the country, all the danger to the state and to the throne; they choose this rather than a return to low taxes, in which taxes they, their sons, their kindred, their dependents, and their boroughmongering tools, have so large a share. They know well that they are now getting double taxes in the various ways in which they receive them; but they perceive that, if they keep the double taxes, they must pay double mortgages; and that, in a short time, they must lose the landed part of their estates. They have one estate in land and another in the taxes: they wish to keep both; but they must part with one or the other. If you proceed, leaving them the estate in the taxes, they lose the land to a certainty.

Therefore it is, that they wish you to return to the base paper-money, which will still give them a lien upon both these estates. They are driving at this privately: they are endeavouring, I am sure they are, to wheedle and cajole you. Their county meetings have no other object than this, generally speaking; and thus they will persevere until they shall receive from you a positive denial, which will be a sentence passed upon them; which will tell them almost in so many words, you and your families shall no longer live on the industry of the incessantly toiling community.

The sooner, however, that the country is informed of your determination, the better. The King's speech itself ought to express a determination to persevere in the present law. Then every man would know what he was about: let things be managed ever so wisely, there would be great suffering still to come; but men would know the worst;

and, at any rate, they would know that they had something to rely upon. Therefore, be the determination what it may, it is of importance that people know it as soon as possible; for, at present, there is a suspension of all credit, and all confidence, generally speaking.

I must not conclude, however, without observing, that it will be quite impossible to persevere in gold payments *without a great reduction of the taxes*. This is what I said in my petition to the Parliament at the time when the present law lay before them. I have heard (a falsehood, of course) that you have said, that we have *turned the corner*; that we have, as the farmers call it, got over the bad place; and that now we shall go on pretty cheerly, getting better and better. My Lord Duke, believe no such thing as this: the thing is impossible; it is against reason; it is against nature; it cannot be true. A considerable part of the five-pound notes have disappeared; but they must all disappear if we persevere in this law. As they disappear, prices will fall lower and lower, until we come back to the prices of 1791; when the average price of wheat had been, for twenty-five years, four shillings and sixpence the bushel, Winchester measure. The price now of English wheat, taking England and Wales throughout, does not exceed six shillings a bushel, notwithstanding the two successive bad harvests that we have had, and notwithstanding that there is now scarcely any old rick standing, instead of the large stock of them that was always seen standing, up to the year 1791. At the same time, the average price of fat beef in Leadenhall and Newgate markets, is *four-pence* a pound. My opinion is, that if we persevere with this law for two years, prices will be lower than they were in 1791, because there are less gold and silver in Europe than there were in 1791. There having been scarcely any brought from the mines for the last twenty years; and the drain from Europe to China having been so great during that time. By the perverseness of the English Parliament, North America has been created

a commercial country since 1791, and she wants, and will have, a share of the gold and the silver which was before confined to Europe. My opinion, therefore, is, that prices will fall below the standard of 1791; that we shall have wheat at from three to four shillings a bushel, Winchester measure, and that we shall have good beef, on an average, at three-pence the pound; the quartern loaf, if it remain thus taxed through the loads imposed upon the baker, cannot sink in the same degree; but butter we shall have, fresh butter, for about five-pence or sixpence the pound. I can remember very well when my father sold his wheat for five pounds the *load* (of forty Winchester bushels), and that is two shillings and sixpence a bushel. I can see no reason whatever why it should not come back to the same price. Ten-pound notes of the Bank of England were circulating then; and if we come back once more to that mark, who is fool enough to believe, that more than a quarter part of the present taxes can be paid, without ruining all the middle class of the community, and without plunging the working class into absolute starvation?

Thus stands the matter at this moment: all men of property, in every branch of trade, are looking with anxiety to see what you will do. Masters and men, in these hives of industry where I now am, seem at last to perceive that they have one common interest. They perceive that the landowners are endeavouring to draw you over to their own side: the industrious classes seem generally, as far as I have been able to observe, to fix their hopes on you; and I very sincerely wish that I may not find their hopes disappointed. One of the benefits of travelling to the North, is, that you meet, at every turn, men of education and of most intelligent minds. I came from the South to instruct; but, in many respects, I have met with instructors. In their wonderful works of art I take little interest, because the knowledge would be of no use to me, though of such great use to them and their country; but they read so much, that really they point out to me things

which I have had neither leisure nor inclination to look into. Amongst these, one gentleman has pointed out to me a passage in the 22d Number of the Westminster Review, taken from the French newspaper the *CONSTITUTIONNEL*, of the 4th of September last. This passage I will insert in the original French, as well as in translation, below; requesting you, my Lord Duke, first to read it with attention, then to consider that this is what the French people think of us and our Government; and next let me express a hope, that whatever may have been the past, your conduct and measures will be such as to give the lie to the third paragraph from the end of the passage, which paragraph begins with the words, "the higher orders," and ends with the words, "hurry off to spoil or smother them."

WM. COBBETT.

PASSAGE

FROM THE FRENCH NEWSPAPER, THE
CONSTITUTIONNEL, 4th SEPTEMBER,
1829.

IL n'y a plus moyen de rétablir la servitude telle qu'elle existait aux beaux temps de la féodalité; si l'aristocratie restaurée tentait de se partager la population pour l'attacher à la glèbe, elle formerait une tentative qui serait plus dangereuse pour elle que pour la France. Il n'est pas possible non plus de transformer la France en une propriété de famille, dont un prince aurait la disposition absolue, sous condition d'en partager les produits à ses courtisans. Le rétablissement du régime fondé par Louis XIV. n'est pas moins impossible que celui du régime féodal. Il est un troisième système dont l'exécution est beaucoup plus praticable: c'est celui dont l'Angleterre nous offre la modèle, et que M. de Polignac vient tenter de réaliser; c'est l'asservissement et l'exploitation en masse de toutes les classes industrielles par l'aristocratie, sous des formes et des noms constitutionnels.

Dans ce système que la gouvernement anglais entend à merveille, le pouvoir

législatif appartient exclusivement aux membres de l'aristocratie; les fonctions publiques qui mènent aux honneurs et à la fortune, n'appartiennent qu'aux hommes investis du pouvoir législatif, à leurs enfans ou à leurs parens; et le peuple qui travaille est la propriété des fonctionnaires publics. L'aristocratie anglaise exploite les classes industrielles avec beaucoup d'intelligence: elle leur laisse tous les moyens de produire des richesses; chacun des individus qui lui sont soumis peut choisir le métier qui lui semble le plus lucratif. Les atteintes individuelles, qui feraient disparaître les capitaux, et arrêteraient la production, sont réprimées. Les travailleurs ne sont ni gênés ni troublés dans leurs travaux; ils sont libres dans leur industrie et leur commerce comme des abeilles dans une ruche.

Mais cette liberté dans le travail ne profite pas plus aux classes industrielles que ne profite aux abeilles la miel qu'elles amassent avec tant de soin. L'aristocratie, au moyen des impôts qu'elle seule a le privilège d'établir, absorbe la partie la plus considérable de leurs revenus, et les distribue sous des noms divers aux membres dont elle se compose. A proprement parler, le parlement anglais remplit l'office d'un siphon: il pompe les richesses produites par les classes laborieuses, et les fait passer dans les mains des familles aristocratiques. Mais comme il est une machine intelligente, il laisse aux hommes industriels ce qui leur est nécessaire pour travailler toujours.

L'aristocratie anglaise laisse pénétrer dans les deux chambres quelques hommes populaires, et c'est dans l'intérêt de sa domination. Si les hommes au profit desquels la classe industrielle est exploitée composaient exclusivement la législature, ils pourraient compromettre leur pouvoir en exigeant du peuple plus qu'il ne serait capable de payer. Les hommes populaires qui pénètrent dans les chambres ont soin de les avertir quand ils s'exposent à quelque danger. L'opposition, dans la machine du gouvernement, remplit l'office de la soupape de sûreté dans la machine à vapeur: elle n'en gêne pas l'action;

mais elle la conserve en laissant évaporer en vaine fumée une force qui pourrait la détruire.

L'exercice de la puissance aristocratique étant attaché à la possession de grandes propriétés territoriales, on conçoit que les cadets ne peuvent avoir aucune part dans les immeubles que leurs parens laissent en mourant. Les enfans d'une famille aristocratique tomberaient tous, en effet, dans les rangs vulgaires, s'ils partageaient par égales parts les biens de leurs parens. L'aîné retient donc pour lui seul les immeubles, auxquels est attaché l'exercice du pouvoir aristocratique, et il se sert ensuite de ce pouvoir pour enrichir ses cadets aux dépens des classes industrielles. On se trompe quand on s'imaginerait qu'en Angleterre tous les biens d'une famille aristocratique sont exclusivement dévolus à l'aîné: celui-ci prend, il est vrai, les propriétés immobilières, qui sont exclusivement dans le domaine de la famille; mais les cadets ont pour eux des bénéfices ecclésiastiques richement dotés, des *sinécures* ou des emplois que le public est chargé de payer. Tous ces biens sont considérés comme le patrimoine de la famille; car, nous ne saurions trop le répéter, l'aristocratie met au rang de ses propriétés, non seulement les terres qu'elle possède directement, mais aussi les classes industrielles qu'elle impose comme il lui plaît et dont elle se partage les revenus.

L'aristocratie de la Grande-Bretagne, qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec le peuple anglais, *peuple taillé à merci et miséricorde*, ne permettra jamais que, dans aucun pays, les classes industrielles n'appartiennent qu'à elles-mêmes, tant qu'elle aura le moyen de l'empêcher. Elle sent très-bien que son propre pouvoir sur les classes laborieuses des pays soumis à son empire, ne sera hors de contestation que lorsque partout ailleurs les mêmes classes seront possédées par une famille ou par une caste. Aussi la voit-on, dans toutes les circonstances, faire cause commune avec la barbarie contre la civilisation. Elle prend parti pour l'Autriche contre l'Italie, pour don Miguel contre don Pedro, pour les Turcs contre les Grecs.

Si quelquefois elle paraît se prononcer pour les défenseurs de la liberté, ce n'est que pour s'emparer de la direction de leurs affaires et les livrer à leurs ennemis. Partout, en un mot, où elle aperçoit quelques germes de liberté, elle accourt pour les corrompre ou les étouffer.

Si nous jugeons des projets du ministère Polignac par les antécédens des hommes dont il se compose, et par les révélations des journaux du ministère anglais, nous pouvons savoir d'avance quelle est la transformation que la charte est destinée à subir entre leur mains. Les Français seront égaux devant la loi, quels que soient d'ailleurs leurs titres et leurs rangs ; mais la masse de la population sera frappée d'incapacité politique, et tous les pouvoirs publics appartiendront à l'aristocratie. Ils contribueront indistinctement, dans la proportion de leur fortune, aux charges de l'état ; mais les membres de l'aristocratie reprendront, sous le nom de pensions ou d'appointemens, la portion qu'ils auront payée, et se partageront le reste. Ils seront tous également *admissibles* aux emplois civils et militaires ; mais ils ne seront réellement *admis* que, sous le bon plaisir de l'aristocratie, et pour seconder ses desseins. Leur liberté individuelle leur sera garantie ; personne ne pourra être arrêté ni poursuivi que dans les cas et selon les termes que l'aristocratie aura déterminés. Chacun professera sa religion avec une égale liberté et obtiendra pour son culte la même protection, et néanmoins nul ne pourra manifester une opinion qui serait contraire aux croyances de l'église romaine. Les Français auront le droit de publier et de faire imprimer leurs opinions, à charge par eux de ne rien dire de contraire aux intérêts de l'église et de l'aristocratie. Enfin, toutes les propriétés seront inviolables, et néanmoins l'aristocratie pourra les soumettre toutes à telles contributions qu'elle jugera convenables, et s'en attribuer ainsi les revenus.

Telle est la charte que donnerait à la France le ministère Polignac, s'il parvenait à se former une majorité dans les chambres, et à obtenir le consentement

du roi. C'est aux électeurs à voir s'ils leur convient de s'accommoder d'un tel régime : leur sort est entre leur mains. — DE LA CHARTE SELON L'ARISTOCRATIE. *Constitutionnel du 4 Septembre, 1829.*

TRANSLATION.

There is no possibility now, of re-establishing personal slavery as it existed in the good old times of the feudal system. If the restored aristocracy were to attempt to divide the population among themselves, and reduce it to the condition of serfs attached to the soil, they would be making an experiment of more danger to themselves than to the country. It is equally impossible to turn France into a single family estate, of which the absolute disposal should be vested in a prince, upon condition of his sharing the proceeds with the attendants on his court. The re-establishment of the order of things which was founded by Louis the Fourteenth, would be just as impossible as that of the feudal state. There is a third system, which it would be much more practicable to put into execution than any of these. It is what England is offering us the model of, and M. de Polignac has just been trying to set in operation ; namely, the system of making slaves and tools of all the working classes in a body by the higher orders, under constitutional forms and names.

In this system, which the English Government understands prodigiously well, the power of making the laws belong exclusively to the members of the aristocracy ; public situations which are the road to honours and to fortune, fall to the share of nobody but those who are vested with the power of making the laws, their children, or relations ; and the people, which does the work, is the property in fee of those who have the management of public affairs. The English aristocracy displays great intelligence in the way in which it accomplishes its ends with the working classes. It leaves them all the means for the production of wealth ; and every one of the individuals under its influence may choose the business by which he thinks he can get the most. All attempts of

the security of individual property, which would only cause capital to disappear and hinder production, are completely put down. The people that work are neither hampered nor disturbed in their labours, but are as free in their industry and their commerce as bees in a hive.

The working classes however derive no more advantage in the end from this freedom in their operations, than the bees do from the honey they take so much pains to make. The higher orders, through the medium of the taxes which they alone have the privilege of laying, soak up the greatest part of the produce, and divide it under different names among the members of their body. To describe the thing properly, the English Parliament performs the office of a pump; it sucks up the wealth produced by the working classes, and turns it over into the hands of the families of the aristocracy. But as it is a machine that has a head and can think, it leaves the working people as much as is necessary for them to go on working.

The English aristocracy allow a certain number of men from the ranks of the people to find their way into the two houses of Parliament: and it is for the interest of its supremacy that it should be so. If the body that makes the laws consisted entirely of the persons for whose advantage the industrious portion of the community is set to work, they might bring their power into peril by demanding of the people more than it was able to pay. The men from among the people who find their way into Parliament, take care to let them know when they are running into any danger. The opposition, in the machine of government, does the duty of the safety-valve in a steam-engine. It does not stop the motion; but it preserves the machine, by letting off in smoke the power that otherwise might blow it up.

The exercise of aristocratical power being attached to the possession of great landed property, it is easy to see that younger brothers can have no share in the real estates which may be left by their relatives at their decease. The descendants of an aristocratic family

would, in fact, all sink into the ranks of the common people, if they were to divide what is left by their relations in equal shares. The eldest son therefore keeps to himself all the landed property, to which is attached the exercise of aristocratical power; and then he makes use of this power to get money for his younger brothers, at the expense of the working classes. It is a mistake to imagine that in England all the property of a family in the higher orders goes exclusively to the eldest son. It is true he takes the landed property, which is exclusively the family estate. But the younger brothers have for their share rich livings in the church, sinecures or places of some kind, which the public is obliged to pay for; and all these are considered as part of the family property, as much as the other. For there never can be too much pains taken to impress the fact, that the higher orders consider themselves as having a property, not only in the landed estates which they possess by direct title, but in the working classes besides, on whom they lay taxes as they please, and share the proceeds among themselves.

The higher orders in Great Britain (who must not be confounded with the English people, *a people who are at their mercy to take what toll they please*) will never allow the working classes in any country to be their own masters, as long as they can do any thing to hinder it. They know very well that their own power over the working classes in the countries under their control, will never be out of danger of being disputed, till the working classes in all other countries too, are made the property of a family or of a caste. And hence it is that they are found on all occasions making common cause with barbarism, against civilization. They take the part of Austria against Italy, Don Miguel against Don Pedro, and the Turks against the Greeks. If they ever make a show of declaring for the defenders of freedom, it is only to get hold of the direction of their affairs, and hand them over to their enemies. Any where, and every where, in short, where they espy the

seeds of any thing like liberty, they hurry off to spoil or smother them.

If we judge of the plans of the Polignac ministry by the past proceedings of the individuals that compose it, and by what is let out by the papers in the service of the English Ministry, it is easy to tell what kind of transformation the Charter is intended to undergo in their hands. All Frenchmen will be equal in point of law, whatever in other respects their title or their rank; but the great mass of the population will be stricken with political incapacity, and all public power will belong to the aristocracy. They will all contribute indiscriminately, in proportion to their property, to the expenses of the state; but the members of the aristocracy will take back again, under the name of pensions or of salaries, the portion that they have paid, and divide the rest among themselves besides. They will all be equally *admissible by law* to both civil offices and military; but there will be nobody *really admitted*, except at the good pleasure of the aristocracy, and to serve its purposes. Personal liberty will be guaranteed to every body; and nobody will be seized or prosecuted but in the ways and terms the aristocracy has fixed upon. Every man will have equal liberty to profess his religion, and receive the same protection for his forms of worship; only nobody must utter any opinion that may be contrary to the tenets of the church of Rome. Every body in France will have a right to publish and print his thoughts; at his own risk, if he says any thing that is against the interests of the church and the aristocracy. To wind up all, property of all kinds will be quite secure; only the aristocracy will have the power of laying it under any contributions they think proper, and so applying it to their own use.

This is the sort of charter the Polignac ministry would bestow on France, if it succeeded in getting a majority in the chambers, and the king's consent. It is for the electors to consider whether they choose to put up with such an order of things. Their fate is in their own hands. — *From the CONSTITUTIONNEL*

French newspaper, of the 4th September, 1829.

TO THE

READERS OF THE REGISTER.

MY FRIENDS,

WHETHER the Duke be pleased to read the foregoing French production or not, you will read it; and I beg you to consider it well. This is what the French nation thinks of us and our Government. The world is not to be deceived any longer as to our situation, or the nature and tendency of our Government. In the meanwhile, the French, and all other nations, know that we are impotent as long as these loads lie upon us; and they despise us accordingly. How long shall we, then, keep our silence while in this state of disgrace? We ourselves deserve the disgrace if we remain silent. The constitution and the law bid us complain, if we are aggrieved, and if we be silent, the Government is not so much to blame for acting as if it thought that we were suffering nothing. Let every man reflect, and particularly every farmer, merchant, manufacturer, and trader, that, if he complain not, the Government has a right to presume that he is content. We are all united in wishes for the happiness and greatness of our country, and for the stability of all its renowned institutions. Rich as well as poor are united in this wish: why not unite in praying for an adoption of the means necessary to the fulfilment of the wish? As long as the rich separate themselves from the poor; as long as the farmer, the landowner (of whom there are many, by-the-by, who have neither mortgages, nor share in the taxes), manufacturers, and traders, stand aloof, and erect a hostile crest, with regard to their tenants and workmen and labourers, so long we shall never see redress. Let every man do his duty, and then we shall see the table and the floor of the Parliament covered with petitions, from Sir John such-an-one and his tenants, from farmer such-an-one and his labourers, and from such-an-one, a mas-

ter-manufacturer, and his men, all signing their own names, or making their crosses; and when we see this, we shall see redress come, and not before. For my part, if no other man in England do his duty, I will; and the Parliament shall not have met many days before my county Member for Surrey shall have in his hands "the petition of the undersigned farmer and his workmen and servants." The prayer of the petition shall be, that we may have no return to the pillaging, base paper-money, and that the taxes may be reduced in nominal amount, in proportion to the augmentation in the value of money; and, at the bottom, we will clap all our names, master, men, and boys. Let fifty thousand farmers do the same; and in a very little time we have redress. The county member is the proper channel for the farmers, at any rate, and there will hardly be one so barefaced as to refuse to do his duty in this respect. I am sure that mine will not; and, therefore, if no man else do it, I will lead the way.

ROUTE.

TO-DAY, 11th January, I am going to Oldham; to-morrow, to Bolton-le-Moors; on the 13th, to Preston; on the 14th, to Rochdale; on the 15th, to Todmorden; on the 16th, to Halifax; the 17th will be Sunday; on the 18th, to Huddersfield; on the 19th, to Dewsbury; on the 20th, to Leeds. This is as near as I can venture to lay down the route at present; but I think I shall be at Nottingham by the 27th, at farthest. At Leeds and at Sheffield, I shall probably stop more than a day. The weather here now is clear ground and hard frost. Hitherto the winter has been severe, and I think there is every likelihood of its continuance. However, my ten men and boys, with two maid-servants, at the Farm, have got plenty to eat and drink and to burn, and to keep them warm in the night; and if other farmers do not do the same, according to the extent of their land, the fault is not mine. Notwithstanding

the descriptions given of my farm and farm-yard by the infamous Times newspaper, there is not a farm-yard in England that presents greater abundance than mine does at this moment. Plenty of straw, of which the ruffians said I had none. Nine working oxen, a cow, and a good lot of the finest of hogs. The oxen have eaten up all the corn-stalks, tops and all. I have about 18 acres of the finest of Swedish turnips, as yet untouched. My opinion is, that such a piece of turnips of this kind, with land so clean, is not to be seen in England at this time, except at my little farm; and yet the calumnious ruffians have spread about all over the country, that the farm is destitute of every appearance of stock or of substantial property. What punishment is there which base liars like these do not deserve? My landlord, Mr. Colebrook, has caused a memorandum to be conveyed to me, upon the subject of the paragraphs in the newspapers, denying that he had any hand in them. This memorandum intimates that an explanation will be afforded me when I return to town. I shall therefore suspend operations in that respect until such return. If the explanation shall be satisfactory, there will be an end of the matter, and Mr. Colebrook will find me just the reverse of what he has heard me described; but if it be not satisfactory, Mr. Colebrook shall find, that though I despise the Old Times and the other paragraph-grinders, I am not about to permit my landlord to republish, with impunity, libellous publications on his just and punctual, and even generous, tenant; but I am not going to suffer him to assist in the work of calumniating me, while my industry and enterprise are really filling his pockets with money.

MANGEL-WURZEL SEED.

I HAVE grown this year, a pretty large quantity, from the finest and truest plants that I ever saw. In the year 1828, I transplanted twelve acres: and, of course, put out no plant that was not of the right colour. Many

hundreds of gentlemen came to see the corn, which stood on the side of this piece of mangel-wurzel, which every one said was the handsomest thing of the kind that he had ever seen. There was not a single degenerate plant in the whole field; and the plants were surprisingly uniform in size. From this field I took the plants and put them into ten acres of fresh ground, to raise the seed from; and, notwithstanding the miserableness of the summer, I had a large crop of seed, which I had the patience to suffer to ripen thoroughly; and it is now thrashed out and winnowed. I shall sell this seed at my shop in Fleet-street; but I will not sell any before the first of March, because I must be first in London to know what is the proper price for me to sell at. I did not wish to retail this seed at all, and had therefore offered it to seedsmen; but as they told me that they were over-stocked, I determined, of course, on retailing the seed, which I shall do at the common retail price, selling from one pound to any number of pounds, and always at the same price, except to country correspondents, who may want to sell the seed again, and then I shall make the suitable deduction. Middle of May is the proper time to sow mangel-wurzel seed for crop; that is to say, in the south of England. If you sow earlier, many of the plants go to seed in August and September; and that makes a considerable diminution in the solid amount of the crop. I shall have twenty acres, or more, of mangel-wurzel this year; and I hereby challenge beforehand all the whole body of bull-frogs of *The Farmer's Journal*, to produce a single piece of the same extent, equal in amount of crop to mine; and if the tax-gatherer, and the steward, and the overseer, and the parson, have left a hundred pounds in any of their pockets, and they have the pluck to venture it upon this challenge, they know where I live, and *I am their man*. However, they will have plenty to do in getting gold enough together to pay their rates, taxes, tithes and rent. They will have little time for making wagers or trying experiments.

NORFOLK COUNTY MEETING.

THIS, I find, is to be held on the 16th instant. I was in hopes that I should get to Nottingham a day before it was held, and then I intended to go off to Norwich, be at the Meeting, and then come back again to Nottingham; and, if I had been there, I trust that the petition of 1822 would have been carried over again; for that is what we want. We want it, and every part of it, without the alteration of one single word. After the title of the petition, I would have proceeded thus: "Your humble petitioners presented to your Honourable House a petition passed in the month of January, 1823, in which petition they expressed their opinion with regard to the causes of the distress, with regard to the necessary remedies, and with regard to the fatal consequences which must finally result from a disregard of their humble supplication; and time having only confirmed them in the correctness of their opinions, they have now only to repeat their representations and their prayers, and to beseech your Honourable House not to repeat your disregard of them." After this, I would go on with the old petition, word for word, and letter for letter, and thus the petition would be complete. From what I learn, illness in Sir THOMAS BEEVON's family, of a very serious nature, will prevent him from being present. But I trust that some other Norfolk man will have the spirit to perform this duty. I hear that the Whig aristocracy are for doing nothing to take off the taxes; so that, if they have their way, there will be a curious mixture of folly and greediness, and the petition be a dishonour to the county, which has, for years, been the land-mark of the whole kingdom.

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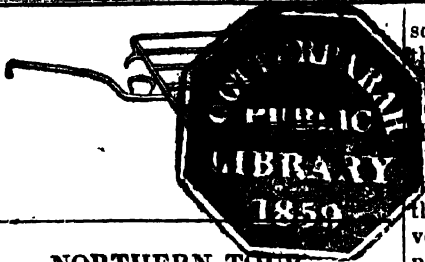
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LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 23D, 1830.

[Price 7d.]



NORTHERN TOUR.

Todmorden, 17th January, 1830.

IN my last, I brought down the account of my tour to Saturday, the ninth of this month, on which day I had been at Stockport, and had delivered a lecture at the theatre there, to a most respectable and numerous audience, the magistrates having taken for themselves the stage-box. We were entertained there in the most generous and hospitable manner by a family whose circle formed, to make use of a French phrase, something *à peindre*. Three tradesmen of the town took upon themselves the arrangement and management of the whole affair; gave out the notices; made all the preparations in the most judicious manner; attended to the pecuniary part of the concern, and declared themselves amply rewarded by a shake of the hand from me.

From Stockport, we returned back to Manchester, or rather to Smedley Lane, that night; passed the Sunday at Smedley, and, on Monday evening, went to Oldham. I was aware of the enthusiasm that would prevail amongst the good and sincere men of that very populous place, and, therefore, I deferred my arrival in it to as late an hour as possible, wishing, by all means, to avoid the collecting of a great multitude together. In spite of all my precautions, and in spite of the darkness of the evening, the people were collected in great numbers. It was with great difficulty that we got into the inn to which we drove, and with still greater difficulty that we got into the place provided for the lecture; and I was compelled to take the carriage again to go from the inn to that place, it appearing to be ab-

solutely impossible to go along on foot through the crowd. As it was, when I got into the place, and particularly the next day, my two hands were as sore as if they had been beaten with sticks: a pleasant pain, however, when I reflected that it proceeded from the squeezes of the hard hands of labouring men. Several young men, in particular, in all the pride of health and strength, approached to be permitted to touch that hand from the movement of which they had experienced, as they said, so much instruction and delight. There is no playhouse at Oldham; but a very good and spacious place had been provided, though with considerable expense and trouble to prop up the floor. There had been a committee formed for these purposes, who had taken the management of the whole matter into their own hands; to them I left every thing, coming away as soon as the lecture was over, and telling Mr. FIRON, the surgeon, of Royton, that, as to the money affair, I left it wholly to his discretion and that of committee; and any money that they might have to give me, they might, at their convenience, deposit with Mr. JOHNSON, of Manchester; but, before the next day at noon, the money was sent to Mr. JOHNSON, and in amount a great deal larger than I either expected or wished. The next day, Tuesday, the twelfth, I proceeded to Bolton in the afternoon; got there at dusk, and found my friends in a state of uncertainty about my arrival. Nevertheless, short as the notice was, the theatre was pretty nearly full, the audience consisting, in great part, of the most opulent persons in the town. Here I found out my old friend, JOHN HAYES, who was put into prison in the month of November, 1819, by the magistrates of this place, for committing the crime of going round the town, with a bell, to inform the people, that their countryman, WILLIAM COBBETT, had arrived from America, in good health. JOHN HAYES, who is a poor, but very industrious man, now between fifty and sixty years of age, was taken up for the above crime, and ordered to

give bail, which he refused to do. They kept him in prison ten weeks, and he was liberated at the Sessions for want of some one to make a charge against him. Poor as he is, he found a sixpence to go to the lecture, and did not come near me till I sent for him. I gave him a shilling a week for the time that he was in prison, to begin with, and I left with Mr. JEREMIAH BRANDRETH, five shillings a week for eighteen weeks to come. I found, at Bolton, that all the stories of the LEEDS MERCURY, that great maudlin liar of the North, and those of its brother liar, the Manchester Guardian; I found that all their stories about the improvement in trade at Bolton, were utterly destitute of truth; that the contrary was the fact; that the decline was gradual, and continued to proceed; that the families of weavers were being sent away to their parishes in all directions; and that the wages of the weavers was so low, that three and nine-pence a week formed the common earnings of a man; and that the misery was so great as scarcely to admit of an adequate description.

The next day, Wednesday the 13th, I proceeded to Preston; not with the intention of offering myself as a lecturer to the once rich ruffians of that place, towards whom I felt nothing but resentment and contempt. I gave notice that I would address the people on the Thursday, at half-past twelve o'clock, from the same window that I used to address them from at the election. They assembled in great numbers, and the greater part of their masters along with them. Every thing that I could say in the way of jibe, contempt, and hatred towards those masters, I said; telling them, at the same time, that I had come on purpose to mock them before the face of their men; to express my pleasure that some of them had already been broken up, and that the rest were trembling in their shoes, and that their final ruin was at hand. The main body of their masters was in a group within hearing, but as much out of my sight as they could get. I saw them, however, I pointed to them with my hand, turned the eyes of their men upon them; reminded them of their base tyranny in forbidding their men to vote for me, and asked them how they could

*possibly have the conscience to complain, and how they could possibly be in distress, when they had, to take care of their affairs and their interests, two such consummate statesmen as STANLEY and WOOD, one of whom was already found to be worth 1,500*l.* a year of the public money, and the other of whom would, in all likelihood, not fail to prove himself equally worthy as soon as possible. After having endeavoured to remove from the minds of these poor men some errors that they had imbibed with respect to the causes of their distress, and after having bestowed on their tyrants, as I justly called them, every species of reproach that suggested itself to my mind, I left the people with observing, that it was impossible for the devil himself to render their lot worse than it already was, but that they might console themselves with the reflection, and with the certainty, that one of three things would take place. The destruction of the system of corruption and tyranny; a return to the base paper-money, and all the consequences attending it; or the almost total ruin of their tyrannical masters. Having thus taken my leave of them, I prepared to set off for Rochdale, and, as I came out of the town, I saw SAM. HORROCKS plodding towards home in a pensive mood. I did not see brother PETER there; and understood that he had quitted "proud Preston" some time before. There were two or three of the tyrant-masters who had become bankrupts since the election, at which I expressed my satisfaction.*

Just as I was coming off, I found my carriage suddenly detained at the suit of one HOFFMAN. This Hoffman is a shoemaker, and professed great patriotism at the beginning of the late election; but he behaved in such a way, that SIR THOMAS BEEVOR, who had the control of the expenditure, absolutely refused to have anything more to do with him. He is a man perfectly illiterate, but by no means deficient in point of assurance. There required some person on the hustings, who knew all the people in the town, to assert the right of my friends to be admitted to vote. HOFFMAN took upon him that office. GRIMSHAW, the mayor, threatened to commit him to prison if he interfered without having

authority from the candidate. The bustling chap came running to me to the inn, to get a line under my hand, telling the mayor that I appointed him my advocate, or agent, for the business. Old Nic kept this paper; and, a little while ago, gave it (as I was informed) to HOFFMAN, whether with advice or not I cannot say. Upon this, HOFFMAN goes to an attorney. They hear of my intention of coming to Preston; and trump up a charge of ten pounds due to HOFFMAN, as my "legal advocate" on the hustings. The laws of the *borough*, it seems, authorize a seizure such as was made of the carriage, and enable the Borough Court to decide upon the case. I had appointed to be at Rochdale in the afternoon, so that I gave bail, released the carriage, and left my friend, Mr. THOMAS SMITH, of Liverpool, (who had the kindness to meet me at Preston,) to settle the matter as he pleased. What he did do, I do not yet know, and it is not of much importance. A good lesson, however, for the future, and a proof of the soundness of the judgment of SIR THOMAS BEEVER, who, from the first, protested against having anything to do with this HOFFMAN. HOFFMAN complained, amongst other things, that one of my sons kicked him off the hustings. A very strange thing, that he should kick off the hustings a person whose services were so valuable!

The situation of Preston is deplorable. To so low a state has the trade come, that some, or, at least, one (one was named to me) of the manufacturers who have hitherto used power-looms, now employ hand weavers instead of the power-looms, being able to get the work done at a *lower price* in that way. Let any one judge, then, what are the wages that the poor creatures must receive who do the work now! Indeed, when I looked at the body of good and sincere men, industrious and ingenious men, who stood before me at Preston; when I beheld the rags that covered them, unworthy of the name of clothing; when I beheld their pale and thin faces, their sunk eyes, and their anxious and miserable looks, the picture presented by my own group of men and boys at Barn Elm, rushed into my mind, I could not forbear cursing the horrible system which had reduced so many meritorious

men to such a state. The coverings of the bodies of these people of "proud Preston" (in which borough, observe, Lord Derby has a mansion) were far inferior to the coverings of many a shoy-hoy that I have seen in many of the fields in Surrey and in Hampshire. Yes, the stakes put up in the fields, twisted round with straw, and then covered over with garments to frighten away the birds, I have never seen covered with such miserable rags as the people of "proud Preston" are now covered with. There might be a couple or three thousand standing before me, and leaving out the garments of the insolent and tyrannical masters, I verily believe that the covering of the whole, with the exception of the wooden clogs upon their feet, was not worth forty shillings. I remember that my father used to buy tons of rags to chop up for manure for his hop garden. Scores of garments have I seen amongst those rags far more valuable, far better looking, than the things which covered, or in part covered, the nakedness of this shivering and ill-treated group.

The very day that we were at Preston, the Quarter Sessions was holden there; and before the Grand Jury was dismissed, and while they were in the box, a bowl of soup was brought into the court, and, after having been tasted by the Chairman, was handed round to the magistrates, and then to the Grand Jury, who appeared to have feasted upon this occasion, *à la gamnelle*, as the French call it: that is to say, sitting round the mess in a circle, and handing the spoon from mouth to mouth. After the repast was over, the Chairman exhorted the Grand Jurors to encourage the making of similar messes in all their districts, in order to relieve and comfort the poor! To this art thou come at last, bragging John Bull! This is the result of having "twice-conquered France," and restored the Bourbons! This is that "indemnity for the future" which heaven-born Pitt promised as the effect of the war. What the soup was made of I cannot say; but this I know well, that any thing so horrible as this picture, so humiliating to the nation, never was heard of before. I wish that the poor people to whom this soup is tendered, could come in a body of fifty thousand,

and see the tax-eaters rolling in Hyde Park or going to a levée. They would then at once see cause and effect.

In my harangue at Preston, I did not forget the conduct of the aristocratic Catholics of that place and neighbourhood; and described their incomparable baseness in strutting at the heels of Stanley and Wood, dressed out in red ribbons, with their priests at their head, and proudly marching in the costume of their ingratitude. Those Catholics, with whom I conversed, lamented rather than rejoiced at what is called their "emancipation": they said, and truly said, that it had done nothing, and would do nothing for them, except expose them still more to the tyranny of their obdurate masters. They seem to understand the thing perfectly well. They have not been disfranchised, as the Irish have been; but they see that emancipation, as it is called, without a reform of the House of Commons, can only tend to add to the numbers of the tax-eaters. In conclusion, with regard to Preston, it would be ungrateful in me not to notice the handsome conduct of the printer of the "*Preston Chronicle*," a paper which reflects great honour on the talents as well as on the integrity of that gentleman.

I had appointed to be at the town of Rochdale by six o'clock; and I had thirty miles to go. The day being snowy and windy in the extreme. I went through Blackburne and Haslingdon, changing horses at each of those places. I did not stop at Blackburne; but it is sufficient merely to ride along to be convinced that the misery is even greater than it is described to be. A regiment of soldiers has been stationed there for a considerable time; and the part of the working people who are best clad, are clad in the cast-off garments of the soldiers. They have seldom a hat worthy of being called a hat, and no small part of their heads are covered with the cast-off caps of the standing army; several of whom I saw in the streets, rosy and gay as rectors and vicars with good fat livings. How precisely this picture corresponds with that which *Fortresque* has left us of the situation of the miserable French in his day! And, is it thus that we are always to remain? Are we *always*, in future, to

form, with regard to the French, exactly the reverse of that contrast which was exhibited in the days of our forefathers? Before we got to Haslingdon, it was nearly dark; and thence to Rochdale the road was both hilly and rough. It snowed and blew very much, and the night was dark. We got in, however, and were safely deposited at the "*Wellington Hotel*," by half-after six o'clock. There were plenty of gentlemen to receive us, and the inn was the nicest and most comfortable that I have seen since I left London. Here, as elsewhere, all the trouble was taken off our hands; the theatre was prepared in a very nice manner; and the house was full, boxes, pit, and gallery. We had no trouble of any sort. We had one room above stairs, and one below; in one or the other of which, every one, who chose it, had access to me; and a nicer place, kinder or more sensible people, treatment more friendly or cordial, I never met with in the whole course of my life. Of this immense parish, the benefice belongs to that Parson HAY, who received it as a gift from the Archbishop of Canterbury, some time after the horrible affair at Manchester in the year 1815. This living is said to be worth from two to three thousand pounds a year, and this Hay has another living in Yorkshire. From Rochdale, we proceeded to Todmorden (where we now are) on Friday morning; and, in the evening, I gave a lecture in the *Unitarian Chapel*, being, myself, stationed in the pulpit. I must not scold the Unitarians any more. I cannot be of their religion; but, every where, I have found them perfectly ready to tolerate every other sect; and to laugh at my innumerable attacks upon their own. I wish, of course, that they were church people; but I cordially thank them for the use of their chapels, and particularly for their friendship.

Here, at Todmorden, we are at the house, or, rather, houses of friends; friends whom we never knew before, but who had the kindness to bespeak us at Manchester. I never was induced to go into a factory, in England, before; but here is one for weaving by power-looms, belonging to the Messrs. Fielding, consisting of *one room* on a ground-

floor, which is of the surprising dimensions of a hundred and eighty feet square; and covering a statute acre of ground all but *twenty-eight rods*! In this room, which is lighted from above, and in the most convenient and beautiful manner, there were five hundred pair of looms at work, and five hundred persons attending those looms; and, owing to the goodness of the masters, the whole looking healthy and well-dressed. Were I to attempt to describe our treatment here, I should do one of two things, neither of which I wish to do: fall very far short of what justice and gratitude would demand, or give offence to the really modest characters of the parties. On Saturday the 16th, I went to Halifax. I should have observed before, that the boundary-line of the two counties, cuts this romantic and beautiful place asunder. The parish church of Todmorden stands in Yorkshire; and I stepped my foot into Yorkshire for the first time, when I went into the Unitarian Chapel. Halifax stands at twelve miles distance from this place. Thither I went yesterday, arriving there about the middle of the day, and accompanied by one of our kind friends from Todmorden. Upon our arrival, great complaints of want of due notice: great despair, amongst our friends, of an audience, for want of such notice, especially as Halifax, they said, was such an aristocratical place. I besought them not to despair; when the time came, the very beautiful little theatre was filled chock-full, gallery, pit, boxes, and all; a finer audience, more opulent in appearance, better pleased, and, above all things, more attentive, I have not met with. Towards the conclusion of my harangue, I noticed what I heard about the aristocratical spirit of the town, and ridiculed, with all my power, the silly vanity of men in the middle rank of life, who expected that they, by separating themselves from the lower class, by affecting to belong to the aristocracy, could possibly accomplish any thing but the ruin of their own fortunes, and making themselves more the tools of those who fill the seats.

I must here make my public acknowledgments to Mr. MANLY, who is lessee of this theatre, as well as of that at Derby, and who has behaved in a manner so

exceedingly good in this case, that it would be injustice in the extreme for me to withhold the acknowledgment. Mr. MANLY is an Irishman, and his generous and bold conduct has served to wipe away a large part of the ingratitude which I have experienced at the hands of some of his countrymen.

It was eight o'clock when we went to the theatre, and the audience had the patience to listen to me until nearly eleven. Then we had to return to the inn. There is no parting, in such a case, without a great deal of delay. Every one wants to see me, and to shake me by the hand; and here I must observe that I was particularly delighted with a very fine young man, very well dressed, and about seventeen years of age, who squeezed himself through a crowd in the lower room to get up to me, to shake hands with me, and, while he had hold of my hand, he said "I am 'coom'd a purpose to tak hound of the '*fingers and the thumb that wrote the 'Advice to Young Men.*' Something resembling this I have, since I have been from home, met with in hundreds of instances. If this be not fame, what is fame? If this be not honour, what is honour? And if this be not happiness, what man is ever to expect to be happy?"

We did not get from Halifax until past twelve o'clock, and we got back to Todmorden about *three* this morning; and I was not up and dressed until ten. Pretty work for a man accustomed to get up at four o'clock in the morning, and go to bed at eight. However, the rigid adherence to the milk and water renders these irregularities of little consequence. At my outset, it was thought necessary to have a glass of wine and water at the end of the harangue, in order to revive, or to do something or another; but I soon found it to be mischievous, rather than beneficial; I found milk and water just as restoring as the wine and water: I go to sleep the moment I am in the bed, and I rise with my head as clear and sound as a bell: and I join the women in saying to all my male readers, if you approve of my writings in other respects; if you think me right in all other things; if you admire my exertions and listen to my precepts, I beseech you, in this re-

spect above all others, to follow my example.

This part of England is the most interesting that I ever saw. I thought that nature was in her most sportive mood when she formed the hills and dells at Hockley and Selburne, and Thursley and Hascomb; when she formed the Devil's Punch Bowl, on the side of Hindhead, and the Devil's Jumps on the north side of that immense hill. I had admired her works in the South Downs, from which I had seen the clouds moving about in the valleys below, while others came out from the sides of the hills, like the smoke from a pipe, and went directly and shed ruin upon the valleys, as I once saw them do near Petersfield, and got finely wet through while sitting on my horse and indulging in my philosophy. But it is *here* where nature has been sportive, indeed. Here are never-ending chains of hillocks; hill after hill, and hill upon hill, the deep valleys winding about in every direction, and every valley having river or run of water, greater or less. By the side of the river or rivulet, where it is of any considerable size, which is the case here, there is a *canal*. The water is made use of for all the various purposes of machinery; for the conveyance of goods of all sorts; so that you see no such thing as a team of horses or a wagon; and the land being a bed of stone, one bed of solid stone, with a little slight covering of earth upon it; and there being not the slightest appearance of corn fields, barns, or ricks; not the slightest appearance of cattle being kept; I having seen, with my own eyes, more corn collected together, and more sheep folded on one single farm in Wiltshire, than I have seen, put all together, in all the miles and miles that I have ridden in Lancashire and Yorkshire; this being the case, one would naturally wonder whence the food came to sustain this immense population. But reflection teaches us, that this judicious application of the coal, the water, and the stone, creates things, in exchange for which the food and drink come and will come. Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and, indeed, all the rich agricultural parts of the country, not forgetting Ireland, send hither a part of their produce in ex-

change for the goods made in that very factory that I have above mentioned. Nay, Barn-Elm Farm itself will supply several of these towns with mangel wurzel seed to plant plots of ground for the raising of milk, which is the only farm produce, in this part of the country, worth naming.

From this place to Halifax, you go nearly all the way upon a road which runs parallel with the canal; and there are mills and houses almost the whole of the way. Every now and then a cross valley comes twisting down into this main valley; the view is never the same, riding in a post-chaise, for two minutes at a time. From foot of hill to foot of hill, the main valley is not, on an average, more than from two to four hundred yards wide; and the hills rise up almost perpendicular. Sometimes they are covered with trees, of puny size, to be sure; sometimes with rough grass; but in height, width, form, and every other circumstance, the variety is endless. The buildings, whether for manufactures or for dwelling, are all of solid stone, executed in the best possible manner. The window frames and door frames are generally of stone. The floors of passages to houses are of stone. The field fences are of stone walls; and the gate posts and stiles are made of stone. When I came to the North before, I used to call the country, on this side of Warwickshire, the *iron country*. Every thing appears strong and hard and made to last for ever. At Rochdale, this very interesting scenery began. That town is nice and clean and solid; and it is very curious, that all along there and through this place and to Halifax, I have seen no miserable, squalid wretches. It appears to me, that there are more rags in Preston, more wretched persons in one single street, than are to be found amongst all this immense population from Rochdale to Halifax, both those towns included. I have not seen a single ragged person in Todmorden, nor in any of the villages all the way along this most interesting valley. I am sitting at a window, and this is Sunday. Hundreds of the working people have passed by this window this day, and it is a very long time since I have seen working people so well-dressed as they are here. Probably it is partly owing to the uncrowded state of the people; to their being scattered in so long a line as this valley consists of: there may be, and there must be, less immorality than in places like Blackburne and Preston, where there is such an immense mass in so small a circle; but something must also be owing to the conduct of the employers, to their conduct towards their people, and to their own excellent example.

To-morrow, the 18th, I go to Huddersfield, taking a really reluctant farewell of the sensible and kind friends which we shall leave here. On the 19th, I go to Dewsbury; on the 20th, to Leeds; from Leeds I intend to go on the 23d to Barnsley; to be on the 24th at Sheffield, and to be at Nottingham by the 26th or 27th. From Nottingham I intend to go to Leicester or to Derby, I am not sure which; thence to Birmingham; and thence to Wolverhampton.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. I forgot to observe, that the weather has been pretty nearly constant freezing ever since I left London, which is now exactly a calendar month, I having left it on the eighteenth of December. The snow is not very deep, though it has frequently snowed; and, as to the suffering occasioned by the cold, it is experienced in this country only where there is not a sufficiency of clothing or of bedding. Almost the whole of the people are employed within doors, and there can be no want of warmth when the brightest and most beautiful of coals cost only about four-pence the hundred weight. But, from want of a sufficiency of clothing, and a sufficiency of bedding, the suffering of the working classes, particularly of the hand-loom weavers, is very great indeed. The day before I arrived at Preston, there had been the *beginning* of a visitation of the poor, and the visitors had found upwards of 500 families destitute of even a blanket. It must be nearly the same at Bolton and Blackburne, and many other places; and even here the hand-loom weavers, who live about in detached hamlets upon or amongst the hills, are, on account of the very low wages, in an extremely destitute state. It is truly lamentable to behold so many thousands of men who formerly earned from twenty to thirty shillings a week, now compelled to live upon five, four, or even less. The miserable potatoes are cheap, to be sure, but even of those, they have not a sufficiency. It is the more sorrowful to behold these men in this state, as they still retain the frank and bold character formed in the days of their independence.

It is very curious that not only the solid provisions, these miserable potatoes, are, for the far greater part, brought from a distance; but, even at Rochdale, which is about a dozen miles to the north of Manchester, there are scarcely any leguminous articles; that is to say, *garden-stuff*, which do not come through Manchester from *Cheshire*! The conveyance is by the canal, and it is truly surprising that this immense population should be supplied with all these things without the smallest appearance of bustle or effort. You see market-carts in Manchester and other towns; and now and then a cart upon the road, plenty of carts and wagons in the towns carrying bales of cotton about, and bales of goods: lifting the things from factory to factory, or from store-house to store-house; but, on the high-road, at any distance from a town, I have not seen anything of this sort since I entered Lancashire; and as to what we, in the south, call a team of horses, I have

seen no such thing to the north of the town of Derby. Of birds, I have not seen but one single chaffinch since I came out of Derbyshire. No rooks in the fields, or flying about; not a blackbird or a thrush; and I see no house-sparrows; just about ten thousand of which are every day to be seen in my farm-yard at Barn-Elm. I suppose that these feathered gentry, who travel very quickly, do just as they do in America; that is to say, get off to the south in the winter, and come back again in the summer. The nightingale, I believe, has never been seen or heard to the north of Staffordshire; so that those persons who delight in birds, have, in the south, some compensation for the loss of the coals and the water. In the winter of 1828, the thrush, the blackbird, the bullfinch, and some other birds, sang at Barn-Elm all the winter long almost every morning. But that is a very rare spot, and, from inquiries that I have made of several persons, we have the nightingale every year three weeks earlier than they have her in Hampshire and Sussex.

LINCOLN COUNTY MEETING.

I AM about to insert the petition agreed on at this famous County Meeting, and also the speeches that were made. These things form an epoch in the history of this terrible system of debt and taxation. Great praise is due to all the gentlemen who took part in these proceedings; but particularly to COL. JOHNSON, by whom the petition was drawn up and moved; and on whose sincerity the country may rely, having a guarantee in his long-continued excellent conduct as a member of Parliament. I was afraid that the landowners had in view that which Mr. WESTERN had in view in 1822; namely, to drive back the Government to the base paper-money. It appears that the gentlemen in Lincolnshire are in earnest to obtain a reduction of the taxes, which is the only real cure for the disorders of the country. Everywhere where I have been, I have endeavoured to root out of the minds of the manufacturers, particularly the labouring part of them, the stupid notion that the distress arises either from Corn-bills, or from the greediness of their own masters. They have laid before them, the true causes, namely, double taxes; double salaries; double pay; double interest of debt; effected by a doubling of the value of money. I have brushed away all the rubbishy causes assigned by the Ministers at various times; I have exposed the folly of surplus population, and all the follies of Malthus

and Wilmot Horton. With these I have made clean work as I have gone. To prove to my hearers the monstrous error, that the Corn Bill cannot produce distress like this, I have only had to remind them, that they have had several spells of prosperity since the year 1815; and that the Corn Bill has been in existence from that day to this. I have asked them, at the same time, whether it could have been the Corn Bill that had reduced to the state of beggary, farmers and labourers of Lincolnshire and Kent. It has given me infinite pleasure to observe, during these representations of mine, masters as well as workmen, turning their heads and looking at each other, as much as to say, "How we have been deceived!" I have nowhere blinked any question; I have nowhere fostered delusion; I have nowhere endeavoured to obtain popularity by flattering the prejudices and errors of my hearers, but have everywhere maintained doctrines directly opposed to those prejudices and errors; and not one single mark of disapprobation have I received since I left London. The people of the North, whose frankness and quick-sightedness, and warm heartedness, have, ever since I first knew them, been subjects of admiration with me, such men need not to be flattered.

If the manufacturers and their men now cordially join the landowners, and farmers, and labourers: if the makers of the clothes join with the rearers of the food, we shall now see relief and renovation without confusion. All the manufacturers ought to copy the petition of the county of Lincoln, and send their petitions up to Parliament signed by hundreds and thousands of men. If they do this we are all relieved, and the country is saved: if they do not, no one can tell what is to be the result, but who is to imagine that there will not be turmoil without end, and final convulsion?

Amongst other rubbish that I have thought it necessary to sweep away in my course, I began at Halifax (I had forgotten it before) to brush away the rubbish relative to a remedy from *free trade to India*. I assured my hearers that Manchester goods are selling at Calcutta cheaper than at Manchester; that everyone who had made a shipment to India for years past, had lost a great deal by that shipment; that there was already perfectly free trade to India; that any man might send a ship to India, and send in her whatsoever goods he pleased; that, as to want of permission to prow about the country with goods, I

asked them whether they wanted any such permission after landing our goods at New York or Philadelphia. I put this question: If the goods are wanted in the interior of the country, would there not be found persons to carry them into the interior for sale, when it would be the manifest interest of the East India Company that such traffic should be carried on to the greatest possible extent? When I put these questions my hearers looked at one another, as if they were whispering "How we have been humbugged!" I find that nine out of ten of the people have hitherto believed that nobody but the East India Company could send goods to India; and that, therefore, to *open* that trade, as it is called, would cause a great outlet to English manufactures, and effectually relieve all this distress. I asked my hearers at Halifax, whether they could possibly believe, that the want of a free trade to India, as it is called, had been the cause of plunging into distress and ruin the farmers of Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Kent and Sussex.

I repeat, that if the manufacturers be wise and spirited, they will, unless they wish to be totally ruined, send up short petitions, in substance similar to that of Lincolnshire; that is to say, praying for a repeal of the malt and the beer taxes: then they will be listened to; but, on the silly stuff about corn bills, free trade to India; stuff about spinners and weavers, calculated only to set one class of the community against the other, and to enable the tax-eaters to fatten upon both, if they pursue this path of crookedness and of folly, let them look forward to an addition to their sufferings.

LINCOLN COUNTY MEETING.

SOME few weeks ago a requisition, most respectably signed by the freeholders of the county of Lincoln, was presented to Richard Thorold, Esq., the High Sheriff of the county, requesting him to convene a public meeting of the inhabitants, in order that they might have an opportunity of petitioning Parliament respecting the duties imposed upon malt and beer. The High Sheriff, as most of our readers remember, declined calling any meeting of the county, on the ground that any such petition was calculated to embarrass his Majesty's Government in the course it proposed to pursue in the next Session of Parliament. This refusal being signified to the requisitionists, some of the more active of them being magistrates, called a meeting of the county by the following notice:—

"To the Sheriff of Lincolnshire.—We, the undersigned, request that you will convene a County Meeting, to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning the Legislature on the subject of the Malt and Beer Duties:—Richard Sutton, Chas. Anderson, Robert Heron, Wm. Hutton, W. A. Johnson, Chas. Allix, Fred. Peel, Edw. Wright, Russel Cullet, J. H. Thorold, Richard Empson, Richard Ellis, W. J. Cholmeley, H. W. Sibthorpe, Andrew Balfour, John Buntt, John Bratton, John

Brown, J. Coultass, Samuel Slater, J. L. Milner, J. G. Stevenson, T. Luard, Richard Healy, Wm. Shield, Charles Reesby, S. E. Hopkinson, B. Broomhead, W. E. Welby, Robert Cramcroft, Bacon Hickman, Henry Handley, Benj. Handley, James L. Nixon, Lewis Watson, G. F. Heneage, C. D. W. Sibthorpe, J. C. L. Calcraft, Wm. Musson, John Hardy, Wm. Robinson, W. Dolby, Thos. Lowry, Jos. Roberts, J. C. Beasley, R. Duckle, W. Brightmore, G. Parnel, W. Mercer, John Garfite, James Cross, and Thos. Duckle.

"And the Sheriff having thought proper to refuse to call a County Meeting, we the undersigned Magistrates of this County, do hereby convene a Meeting to be held at the Castle Hill, Lincoln, at Twelve o'clock precisely, on Friday, the 8th day of January, 1830, in conformity with the above Requisition: Robert Heron, Frederick Peel, Charles Allix, Henry Handley."

In consequence of this notice, a meeting was held on that day in the Castle yard, in the city of Lincoln. The High Sheriff, though he refused to take any part in the meeting, offered the requisitionists the use of either the Castle-yard or the Session-house; the latter being thought too small to accommodate the number expected to attend the meeting, a scaffold on waggons was erected in the Castle-yard, and on this spot the meeting took place.

The meeting has, we believe, excited considerable attention in the county, but, owing to the unfavourable state of the weather, it was not so numerously attended as was anticipated. At half-after twelve, when the meeting commenced, there were about 800 persons present; but this number subsequently increased to nearly 2,000. On the Committee, &c., coming upon the hustings, we observed among the Gentlemen present, Sir R. Heron, Sir W. Ingleby, Sir E. F. Broomhead, Colonel Sibthorpe, M.P., Colonel Johnson, Mr. Handley, Mr. Chaplin, M.P., &c.

Mr. Handley was unanimously called upon to take the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN then addressed the meeting. He said that under any other circumstances, he should probably have shrunk from the task imposed upon him, but from the peculiar nature of the case, he did not feel warranted in doing so, nor would he, after the extraordinary conduct of the High Sheriff, say that he was unfit to represent an office which that gentleman had deserted. (Hear, hear.) It was unnecessary for him to tell the meeting, that the High Sheriff had, in the exercise of his privilege rather than that of his courtesy, refused to comply with a requisition most numerously signed, and a more respectable one had never been presented from that or any other county. (Hear, hear.) Not agreeing with the arguments which that gentleman had just put forth, relative to the embarrassments such a meeting would impose upon the Ministers, he (the Chairman) was one of four who had signed the requisition, in conformity with which they were there assembled. Having said thus much, he would not detain them longer from the more important business of the day, than to request them to hear with attention

any one who might offer himself to their notice. If things were stated which they did not wish to hear, they must be opposed by argument, and not by clamour, by which they would give that tone and character to the meeting which could not fail to impress on the country, the Parliament, and the Ministers, that the county of Lincoln had a right to be heard. He would not detain them further that cold day from the business of the meeting, and he trusted that every speaker would confine himself to that business, in order to prevent the introduction of any unnecessary matter. (Hear.)

Sir R. HERON thought that there could be but one opinion on the point of the Sheriff's thinking proper to give a flat denial to a requisition the most numerous and (after the withdrawal of his own name) the most respectable that had ever been presented on any subject to any sheriff. On what ground could he have refused? Was it on the strength of his own opinions? He (Sir Robert) hoped by this time that he had repented of such presumption. Was it by the advice of others? He (Sir Robert) would tell him that all he could have called to his counsel ought not to have had a tenth part of the weight of such a requisition as that presented to him. (Applause.) He trusted that the meeting would receive the High Sheriff's conduct with the indignation that was due to it (applause); for, had they tamely submitted to his arbitrary decision, an example would be set, by which the people of England might hereafter be deprived of their dearest rights; those of assembling for the consideration of their grievances, and of petitioning Parliament. There were persons who thought (and from the answer of the Sheriff he supposed that that gentleman was one of the number) that the meeting ought to have been called for the purpose of considering the general distress of the nation, but could any one in his senses be of such an opinion? Was not the subject before them large enough? (Hear, hear.) What ridicule would not have been thrown upon the meeting, what clamour would not have been made, if they had attempted to set themselves up as a sort of Lincoln Convention, for the purpose of superseding the duties of the British Parliament; or if they had attempted to regulate without books, papers, or documents, the affairs of the navy, the army, and the country, in the course of four hours; a thing which the Parliament, with all its advantages, found it difficult enough to perform in the course of four Sessions? Under these circumstances, he intended to move the resolution which he held in his hand, and he trusted that it would be generally confirmed by the meeting. It would, however, be necessary for him before concluding, to say a few words on the important subject on which they were assembled; but he could assure them that he would endeavour to be as concise as possible. The object for which they had met was one of the most important topics that had ever attracted the attention of the county of Lincoln. It would not, however, be necessary for him to trouble them with details respecting the tax on malt and beer; suffice it to say, that the

duty imposed on them amounted to within a fraction of 50s., or, in other words, that there was a tax of nearly 150 per cent. on the raw commodity. (Hear, hear.) This was what might be called a pretty severe tax on the agriculture of the country; but fortunately, it did not fall upon the agriculturists alone; all classes of the community concurred in opposing the tax; so that it could not now be thrown into the teeth of the landlords and farmers that they were petitioning only for themselves, and did not care what became of the rest of the people. The labourers in agriculture and manufactures were equally oppressed, and even those who were able to make the enormous sacrifice that was necessary to procure a wholesome beverage, were again checked and unable to do it on account of the miserable monopoly of the licensing system. What was the consequence of this? That they were driven to the use of ardent spirits, to the ruin of their industry, the degradation of their morals, and the destruction of their health. (Cheers.) It had been his fortune to spend a great part of his early life in Kent, at a time when the trade of smuggling was scarcely checked, and the consequence was, that the lower classes of the county universally resorted to that pernicious liquor called gin. And what was the result? Why, that there was scarcely a man who was able to do a good day's work in the whole county; to which he might add, that his father's house was every night surrounded by thieves, on the look-out for any thing that might have been left unguarded or exposed to their depredations. Such were the blessings derived from the use of ardent spirits. (Hear.) He should perform his promise of being as concise as possible; but he must entreat them, on an occasion so important as the present, not to give way to any sort of exaggeration. Men were not always aware of the mischief that arose from painting a picture too highly, or representing things as they were not really. He remembered an instance of this, which took place in that very Castle-yard, on the occasion of a public meeting being held respecting the Corn Laws. One of the persons present on that occasion stated that in the opposite port, on the Continent, there was sufficient corn to supply the consumption of the country for seven years. Had he stated seven days, instead of seven years, he (Sir Robert) thought he would have exceeded the fact. But what was the consequence? Instead of the statement being treated with the ridicule it deserved, it went the round of the public papers; was bandied backward and forward on both sides of the House of Commons; and, in more ways than one, did incalculable mischief to the cause (Hear, hear); and he was sure that he had a right to complain of it, for he was set down as the author of the assertion. In connexion with the repeal of the malt duties, a most important question was sometimes asked, How the tax was to be replaced? He was not the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and unless they were shortly to have a better Chancellor of the Exchequer than those feeble men who, of late years, had exercised, or

rather left unexercised, the important functions of that office, the country was not likely to be much better off. (Hear, hear.) But he did not pretend to say that the tax would be repealed; it was true that pamphlets had been published for the purpose of endeavouring to show that the additional consumption would be the means of restoring the amount of the tax; but his object was to petition that all the taxes should be done away with (Bravo, and a laugh); he meant all the taxes on malt and beer. In his opinion, the increased consumption would do nothing towards keeping the tax at its present produce; for supposing half the tax should be repealed, what was gained by the additional consumption might add to the amount of malt duties, but it would as certainly be absorbed by the deficiency in the amount of duties on ardent spirits. (Hear, hear.) But he would say at once that he did not wish that the tax should be replaced, because he knew that by a long, decided, and radical economy, by a new organization and diminution of the army, by a reduction of its pay and pensions, every deficiency in the taxes might be supplied. (Cheers.) A great deal of talk was made about the necessity of keeping the national faith with the public creditor; but in his opinion the doing so would be the breaking that faith with the grossest injustice towards all the rest of the community. He did not mean to say that the Government ought to be blamed for the alteration in the circulating medium, or for reducing that which was once exclusively British circulation to the circulation of all Europe; he believed that in time of peace such a course was necessary; but he objected to their now paying the interest of what was borrowed at a depreciated currency in the advanced currency of the present time. (Hear, hear.) Those who were calling out loudest respecting the national faith with the public creditor, knew that it could not be done; they knew that in the very first year of a war, the whole system must be put an end to. His object was to anticipate that time, to prevent its running to the last, and to put an end to a system which carried with it the destruction of thousands, and the ruin of millions. He trusted, therefore, that the petition would meet with the unanimous approbation of the meeting. The eyes of all England were upon them, every county was waiting for the issue: Lincolnshire had for once, at least, taken the lead; and if they gave their unanimous support to the present proposition, their resolutions would be echoed through the whole of the empire, and they and the people of England must ultimately prevail. (Cheers.)

The following is the resolution which was proposed to the meeting by the Hon. Baronet in the course of his speech:—

“Resolved,—That Richard Thorold, Esq., Sheriff of this county, by refusing to convene a County Meeting, on a requisition most unanimously signed by the Gentry, Clergy, and Yeomanry, has shown an unwarrantable contempt for the wishes of the county, and has set a most dangerous example, tending to deprive the people of England of their legitimate

rights and constitutional privileges, in a manner inconsistent with the due and impartial exercise of his official duty. Resolved, that the above resolution be printed in the county papers."

Mr. SHIELD seconded the resolution. In his opinion, the county of Lincoln had acted most wisely, and had shown its independence by being the first to come forward on this important question. The question of malt, however, was not the only one that pressed so severely upon the country; for if the importation of foreign corn was permitted to go on much longer, the end of it would be that they would not have bread to eat, and then drinking would be of very little use. (Laughter and applause.)

Sir EDWARD F. BROOMHEAD was quite of opinion that a most unconstitutional example had been set on the present occasion: the right of the people of England to meet, through the proper authorities, on any subject that was not dangerous to the public peace, was indisputable. He, however, did hope, that the mover of the resolution would revise it in one part, which appeared to him to be personally offensive to the High Sheriff: the phrase that he alluded to was, that of showing "an unwarrantable contempt." For his own part, he had not seen any of it. On the contrary, the Sheriff's letter was uncommonly civil and gentlemanlike. (Cries of No, no; laughter, and hisses.) He also begged to remain the meeting of another thing, which was, that the High Sheriff had most handsomely given the County Hall and Castle-yard for them to meet in that day. (Laughter and uproar.) If Sir Robert Heron, therefore, did not wish to withdraw the words "unwarrantable contempt," which he hoped he would—(Cries of "I hope he won't," hisses.)

Sir ROBERT HERON: I can assure you that I have always considered the High Sheriff as a man of liberal principles and gentlemanlike conduct; but my personal regard for him must not and shall not interfere with the duty which I owe to the country. (Applause.) The words that I have used, I have used after due consideration; and let me add, that they are not applied in any way to his private character, but to his public conduct.

Colonel SITHORPE said, he had great pleasure in meeting his brother freeholders and freemen, he believed he might say, on that occasion, to discuss one of the most important questions that could ever come before the public. Till he came to the hustings, he had not seen the resolution to be proposed relative to the conduct of the Sheriff. Generally, he did not coincide in the language which had been used by the Hon. Baronet. He knew nothing of the Sheriff; nothing whatever of his private character, and meant to speak of him only as he had, in the exercise of his discretion, thought right to refuse to call a county meeting, when the requisition had been most numerous signed. He knew him only as a public man, and could not use towards him any of those expressions of forbearance or civility which the Hon. Baronet seemed to desire. He agreed completely and fully

with the Hon. Baronet who had first addressed them, and cordially concurred in the proposed resolution. It was altogether a matter of public duty; and the High Sheriff, by refusing to call the meeting, had not behaved either well or respectfully to the country.—(Bravo!) During the period that he had been in London, he had attended a meeting relative to the subject they were that day called on to petition about, and he knew that the conduct of the Sheriff in refusing to call the county of Lincoln together, had been a subject of general interest and painful regret. At the meeting which he had thought it his duty to attend, he had heard the conduct of the High Sheriff censured in the warmest manner. It had been justly said that the eyes of all England were on that meeting; and he hoped, now that they had met, that they would, by their firmness, by their determination, and by their unanimity, influence other counties to follow their example; and when the whole country took up the question, he had no doubt that it would influence Ministers to discharge their duty, which on this point they had neglected, and induce them to institute such an inquiry into the distress of the country as would lead to some measure of relief. He hoped too that they would reduce the taxation which now pressed so very heavily on the country, and bore it down to ruin, and go fully into the discussion of all the causes of distress, so that the people should have no more cause to complain of their neglect. (Hear.) He had heard with shame, and he should not deserve the respect of his fellow-countrymen, he should not deserve to exist, he should have no pleasure in any of the luxuries and comforts he enjoyed, (and he had his full share of them,) he should not deserve to be there, if he had not heard with shame, that the members, on the motion of his Hon. Friend the Member for Cornwall, refused to go into any inquiry as to the cause of the great distress of the people. He had, he was happy to say, attended in his place on that occasion, though many of the representatives of the people had neglected their duty, and had given that motion all the support in his power. He trusted and hoped that the strong expression of public opinion, beginning with that meeting, would make such a profound impression on the feelings of the whole country, that the Ministry would not be able to deny to the general voice what they had refused to some individuals. He differed from the Hon. Baronet in his opinion of the words applied to the conduct of the Sheriff, and he hoped that the meeting would unanimously agree to the resolution. (Great applause.)

Sir EDWARD FRENCH BROOMHEAD said, as he understood the Hon. Baronet to mean nothing personal by the words he had objected to, he would not destroy the unanimity of the meeting by pressing his amendment.

The resolution was then put by the Chairman, and carried by acclamation. As was also a resolution, that this resolution be printed in the county papers.

Colonel JOHNSON was very happy to meet his fellow-freeholders, and he should have the

honour to present to them for their adoption a petition relative to the repeal of the duties on malt and beer. He meant not to trouble them at any length, but to stick close to the question. Sir Robert Heron had said that these duties were 150 per cent. on the cost of the article: he begged leave to correct that single observation; these duties were 200 per cent. (Hear, hear.) They were duties also which operated in the most odious and oppressive manner, affecting all the poorer classes. He hoped to call things by their proper names, and he meant to do so. They all knew the words that a publican was obliged by law to write over his door—"Licensed to sell Malt Liquors." Now, the meaning of these words was very contrary to what they were supposed to imply. Besides the duties on malt and beer, there were also duties on hops; and the meaning of these words really were—a license to collect the public revenue. If he went into a public-house and asked for a quart of beer, the landlord might be disposed to make him pay 2*d.* for it; and he would be well disposed to do this, but there was, in fact, an exciseman at his elbow, who, for every 2*d.* he charged, made him pay 4*d.* to the excise. If he went to a public-house, and was made to pay 6*d.* for a pot of beer, he should think it a great hardship; and he did not think it made any difference that 4*d.* of his went to the excise, and 2*d.* to the landlord. (Laughter.) The words, therefore, meant a license to collect the revenue of the excise. (Hear.) He did not exaggerate; he had no occasion; it was only necessary to describe the thing fairly. The duties were altogether a most hateful tax. There was also the excise duty on hops, and a man could not grow a stalk of hops for his own use, without being liable to a penalty of 20*l.* (That's true.) A man could not make his own malt in his own way; and to get rid of these odious taxes would be a great benefit to the public. He did not advocate the abolition of them as an advantage to the landlord, but to the public generally; and he hoped that they would receive the petition unanimously. The eyes of all England were on their decision. He knew that some of the Ministers thought light of county meetings; but they would not, and could not, think light of the general opinion of the country, if strongly expressed and strongly enforced by its representatives, as he hoped it would be, if that meeting set the example (Bravo, bravo!) He trusted the petition, which he would then read, would be unanimously supported. Colonel Johnson then read the following petition to the Honourable the House of Commons:—

"We, the undersigned inhabitants of the County of Lincoln, call upon your Honourable House, beseeching you earnestly, though respectfully, that you will give your undivided attention to the insupportable distress which pervades the country.

"We humbly represent that taxation, excessive as it was at the conclusion of the war, has become far more so by the change in the value of money.

"That it is incumbent on the Government

to accommodate its expenditure to this new order of things, which it has itself created.

"That the burden is now intolerable, and must be lightened.

"We, therefore, under a perfect conviction that taxes must be remitted to a great amount, beg to point out to your Honourable House the injurious nature of the taxes on malt and beer.

"That they are hostile to agriculture, and equally disadvantageous to manufacture, for they deprive us of the use of our own produce, and send millions of pounds out of the country to purchase the produce of foreign soils.

"That they deprive the people of their national beverage, forcing them to the use of noxious drugs and ardent spirits.

"That those obnoxious taxes fall principally upon the middle and labouring classes; and that the effect is to demoralise the one and to make the other dissatisfied.

"We, your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray your Honourable House that you would be pleased to repeal forthwith those odious taxes, and grant that the trade in beer may be made free."

Major HANDLEY seconded the motion for the adoption of the petition. He was confident it would be found generally acceptable. If the petition were not good, he was sure the character of Colonel Johnson would make them receive it with favour and indulgence. (Bravo!) But he did not use the character of any man to impose on them a measure of a doubtful utility, and the petition was, he thought, so good that it might well stand on its own legs. The petition went on the great principle that taxation was excessive, and was carried beyond what the nation could bear. (True, true.) It must therefore be reduced. Under such circumstances, it would follow that all taxation, even supposing it justly and fairly levied on the whole community, and the best taxation which could be levied, must be reduced; but the taxes they now wished to have repealed were neither just nor impartial; they were not levied on the whole community, but on part of it, the least able to bear the burden. They fell altogether on the middle and labouring classes. To the labouring classes beer was a necessary of life; some drink they must have; and, as they could not get beer, they took to gin, which made them unfit to live. The Government had proved its partiality by reducing the taxes on tea and coffee; which were the luxuries of the rich, which were also the produce of a foreign land, and consuming which took away the employment from our people. Beer was the produce of our own fields, or the manufacture of our own people; and using it gave employment to our own labourers. In looking at the causes of our distress, some people would not look straight forward, they looked to the right or the left, and would squit. (Bravo.) The only cause of all our distress was excessive taxation. It was taxation which deprived capital of profit, and labour of employment. The funds, too, that were taken from the industry of the country and carried into the Exchequer, were doled out among the idle and the luxurious. They

were extorted from the labour and sweat of the people, to be given to those who did nothing. (Bravo.) Those who were adverse to the repeal the petition proposed, if any such were present, might say that the Government could not do without these taxes, but he believed the resources of the Government could well spare them. They all knew that salaries had been raised when money was reduced in value, and that they had not since lowered. They ought to be lowered, and there was some public property which might be appropriated. This was a delicate subject, and he would not then say anything further on it, as he hoped he might soon have another opportunity. He believed that the resources of the country were ample, and he hoped to see them so administered that England should again acquire prosperity, and again deserve the name of Merry England. He hoped the time would yet come when songs might again be heard in honour of the can of nut-brown ale, now almost forgotten; and when every cottager, surrounded by his wife and family, might be happy with them over the nut-brown beverage of his forefathers. He hoped, too, that they would be unanimous in expressing their opinions, and that next year he should be able to wish them joy that their taxes were done away, and they all in the enjoyment of good ale.

Mr. CHAPLIN (Member for the County) always felt great pleasure in meeting the freeholders, whether they were called together by the Sheriff or by any other means. He was happy to say that the obnoxious laws which impeded county meetings had been done away, and that the magistrates had the right, which they had exercised, of calling the county together. He was always happy to meet the freeholders, to hear their opinion, and boldly to express his own. Though he differed in some respects from the gentleman who had moved the petition, he did not mean to object to it, and indeed he thought the greater part of it very good. The first part of it was not, indeed, quite strong enough; for they ought to make a strong and earnest request for the reduction of taxation. He thought they ought also to call for a full inquiry into the cause of our distress. That such distress existed nobody could deny: and to no persons was it better known than to them, many of whom, he believed, found it difficult to pay the enormous poor-rates which now fell on the county. From this pressure, and other similar ones, they would obtain no relief whatever by the beer being 4d. instead of 6d. (No, no! that won't do!) He did not mean to make any disagreeable remarks; but it was not by clamour there or elsewhere that any measure could be carried. It must be done by argument addressed to the reason of the community. The great distress which existed could not be relieved by the repeal of one tax, he was going to say this; and that there ought to be a great reduction of taxation to give them any sensible relief. He would not then go into the financial questions connected with the subject, but he would make one or two remarks. They were suffering partly from the introduction of foreign coarse wool; and it was impossible for

the farmer to thrive if the home market were supplied by foreign growths, at half the price they could sell wool for. While Ministers were allowing the productions of foreign countries to be brought into this country, every nation on the Continent was prohibiting the introduction of our commodities. He agreed to the petition, as far as it went to ask for a reduction of taxation: but he did not think that would relieve the distress, unless they also obtained protection for their own industry. The meeting must be aware that it called on the Government to abolish taxation to the amount of seven millions; and to meet this, there must be a great reduction of expenditure. To make this, both Houses of Parliament ought to be petitioned to institute a full investigation into the circumstances of the nation. He agreed fully with the petition, except that he thought the prayer of it too confined.—(Bravo.)

Mr. A. CALCRAFT was perfectly satisfied with the petition, and he hoped they would also petition against free trade. Free trade only deprived the British labourers of employment to give it to foreigners. It disabled the farmer to find employment for the labourer, and give him adequate wages. Our people must have employment before they could be prosperous. Employment and prosperity went together, and he hoped, therefore, that they would ask for that protection for their industry which was now more than ever necessary.

Colonel SIBTHORPE had before said a few words to them relative to the conduct of the Sheriff, and he would then, with permission, say a few words on the subject of the petition, and glad was he to find it brought under discussion. He coincided with his Hon. Friend (Sir R. HERON), that it would not be well to take up their time by entering into the wide field of the general distress, or to enumerate all the causes, and perhaps they were innumerable, which had led to the present state of suffering. He agreed with his Honourable Friend, (the Member for the county,) that a great deal of it was to be attributed to the shameful encouragement given to the consumption of articles of foreign growth. He had lately thought it his duty to perambulate the City of London, and, to his great regret, he had noticed that the shops were filled with foreign articles of the most trumpery description, all fancy and finery, and of no real value. (Hear, hear.) He had been into a glass shop, and the honest man he found there would rather have sold English than foreign goods; but he said nobody would buy the English, and he was obliged to keep French. At the same time when he attempted to send even a pair of decanters to France, they were seized as soon as they were landed. It was with glass and other things as with ladies' bonnets, unless they were of a peculiar kind, and got at a particular place, the person who used them was considered to be nobody. (Hear, hear, and a laugh.) Not to be nobody, people went to Paris, or bought foreign goods, instead of staying at home and consuming the produce of their own country. He liked to live in his own country, and in his own city, and to

spend his property in his own neighbourhood. He was some time ago passing down Regent-street, and he could hardly get along by the conflux of carriages which were putting down persons at two shops, that contained nothing but some new fashions imported from Paris, or from some other foreign place. For things of that kind people had to pay tenfold their value; and after they had bought them they were of no use. He rejoiced that they had come there to petition against the taxes on malt and beer, which were heavy, partial, and oppressive; affecting the labouring classes chiefly, whom they compelled to have recourse to the obnoxious liquor gin. He had bought a bottle of this, and not having the power, like the Fire-King, of resisting poisons, he had been quite satisfied with the smell. He understood that three gin-shops, in the neighbourhood of Covent-garden, sold 400 gallons of gin per month, or about 1,360 glasses each day; and he had heard of one house that had sold 350 glasses before breakfast. Porter, as at present made, was half composed of semi-pepper, quassia, liquorice, *corolus Indicus*, and *nux vomica*. If it were examined it could not be sold, and it was principally intended to give employment to informers. He had a great respect for the law, but it was impossible to approve of a law, from the punishment of which an honest man could not escape. They had often before met, and he hoped they would often again meet, to express their sentiments fearlessly and boldly, and convince the Government that they had both the power and the will to resist oppression. He hoped speedily again to meet the county, and hear the people give instructions to their representatives to promote an inquiry into the causes of our distress, and endeavour to remove it. He would not then, as the day was so very cold, trespass longer on their patience, as he should probably speak more at length when he got with them into warmer quarters, and when he and they had something better in their stomachs than the cold air.—(Applause.)

Sir E. FRENCH BROOMHEAD was of opinion that the price of beer was much too high. He was also of opinion, that the Government had acted unwisely and unfairly. It had reduced the duties on rum, on brandy, on wine, and on every thing except beer. Either the duties ought to have been left on the other articles, or the duties on beer ought to have been reduced. The consequence was, that respectable people had been driven to drink drams, who would formerly have been ashamed of it. He would be the last man to object to the comforts of the people; he did not, like some people, look on beer drinking as a crime, but he was averse to gin drinking from its ruinous consequences. The labourers of England worked better than those of some other countries, only because they were better fed; they were formerly used to have meat and beer; in harvest time they now had both, and then they probably did more work than any other people. Farmers' servants who were well fed, worked well, as they all knew, and he should like to see the time come when our labourers again got plenty of meat and beer. (B.Lavo.)

He should be glad to see the taxes on beer done away, and instead of gin, that the people should drink good ale; but unless the public-house monopoly was at the same time done away, he did not think they would gain much. This monopoly levied a tax of three millions on the people, without contributing one farthing to the revenue. In fact, it diminished the revenue, by diminishing consumption. The Government violated the most approved principles of taxation in taxing hops, and that tax also ought to be done away. So far he believed that what he had said was consistent with the views of the other gentlemen present, and he thanked the meeting for the attention it had paid him; but what he had yet to say he was afraid might not be so well received. Something had been said about public property. He hoped that nothing was meant to be undertaken against the landholder, and against the property of the church. (Voices in the crowd, "Against both!") Major Handley explained that his observations had applied to the Crown Lands.

Sir E. F. BROOMHEAD: There was a great deal of exaggeration with respect to them. They were already included in the sources of public revenue; and did not, he believed, produce more than 200,000*l.* a-year. (Take the parson's property.) He was afraid, if they demanded the abolition of too many taxes on articles of consumption, that the Government would be obliged to have recourse to an income tax; and he did not want any such thing, and he hoped none such would be adopted. He was an enemy also to free trade, unless it were all free; and while the farmer was called on to submit to a free trade in wool and in corn, he was not allowed to have a free trade in bank-notes. The people were not allowed to have free trade in public-houses, nor free trade in game, nor free trade to India, nor free trade to China, nor free trade in any thing but in the produce of their bitterest enemies. The country did not want the long coarse wool of foreigners, but with it the trade was free to the injury of the farmer. He wanted to see trade universally free, or else protection afforded to the British farmer. They would best show the moderation of their proceedings by disclaiming any intention of meddling with property; and to express his own views, he had drawn up an amendment, which he hoped Colonel Johnson would allow to form part of the petition. Sir Edward then read the following amendment:—

"Your petitioners at the same time distinctly disavow any intention to urge the adoption of measures which may endanger the public credit, or the honour and safety of the kingdom, and they especially deprecate any financial measures or arrangements which may lead to the imposition of an Income Tax in time of peace."

[The meeting, on hearing the amendment read, called out loudly, "No, no."]

Mr. WRIGHT, of Brattleby, seconded the amendment.

Colonel JOHNSON opposed it. He did not want an Income Tax: he wanted the Government expenditure reduced, and if the Chancel-

lor of the Exchequer could not reduce it, let the Ministers put him in that Right Hon. Gentleman's place, and he would reduce it twenty millions. As for public property, he wanted to have a slap at all public properties; and after that he would compromise with the public creditor on the best terms he could, but so that every person should bear his fair share of the public burdens. He wanted to see the energies of England relieved from the pressure on them, so that she might not silently suffer the aggrandisement of other Powers. He should oppose the amendment; and he hoped they would now unanimously petition against the duties on malt and beer; he hoped, too, that they would succeed in getting them taken off; and that next year he should meet them to petition for the abolition of some other taxes. (Bravo, bravo.)

Sir WILLIAM INGLEY, the other county Member, then offered himself to the notice of the meeting, and was received with some marks of approbation. He was glad to meet the county on any terms, but he thought it not very liberal in the Sheriff to refuse to call a county meeting. It was not perhaps a regular county meeting, in the absence of the Sheriff; but he felt much gratitude to the magistrates who had signed the requisition for the meeting, and under whose guidance they had assembled. He had been sorry to hear, on a recent occasion, when he had met a body of his constituents at Grantham, that they were in so bad a state; and since that time, he had busied himself in finding out some plan to give them relief. He had drawn up something which he should probably submit to the meeting, if he were not afraid of interfering with the results of that day's proceedings; and if that were the case, he should propose it at some other and more suitable opportunity. What they wanted was, a great reduction of taxation, which at present was enormous in its amount. If they could get the malt and beer duties taken off, that would be one step, one point gained, and they might afterwards gain another. He hoped he should meet the county at some future time to submit his propositions to the freeholders. The distress in Lincolnshire was very great, but it was not so great as in those parts of the kingdom where manufactures were established; and he had lately been residing in one of these, where he knew that the people were almost starving at his own door. Even in Lincoln, the distress was greater than he was aware of; till he had met some of the agriculturists at Grantham, a few days before, he could not know it to be so great as he had found it to be without attempting something for their relief. As to what had been said about the Government not reducing the taxes, and not touching public property, he knew that the taxes had for some time past been paid out of the capital of the farmer. If not taken out of the capital of the farmer, he was sure that they could not come out of their profits, and he did not know why they should be ruined to enrich the tax-gatherer and the fundholder. If the country was in such a bad state that its resources were no longer equal to its wants, the Government was bound to reduce

its expenditure, to lay its taxes on equally, and allow all to go down together, not to ruin only one class. The people ought to come forward, and he hoped that they would, to expostulate with Parliament when it was opened, in order to obtain a reduction of expenditure. Nothing but that could give us any great relief; and to show that he was in earnest, he had drawn up such a petition as he thought ought to be sent to Parliament. He had taken considerable pains with it; but he did not think that he should propose it for their consideration at that time. (Let us have it; give it us now, and a general call of the meeting for the Hon. Baronet to read the petition.) He accordingly read it as follows—

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled,

"The Humble Petition of the People of the County of Lincoln,

*"SHOWETH,—*That your petitioners are plunged into distress absolutely intolerable: that in a county so highly favoured by nature, all the proofs of decline, decay, poverty, and misery, are seen in their strongest colours; that farmers, tradesmen, and shopkeepers, are become one mass of insolvents; that thousands of virtuous, and industrious, and frugal families are either ruined, or are on the verge of ruin; and the consequent want of employment amongst the labouring classes has led to a state of want and misery such as no people on earth, much less English people, ever before had to endure.

"That your petitioners ascribe this disgraceful and fearful state of things to the changes in the value of money, arbitrarily made by your Honourable House, and unaccompanied with a reduction of the taxes; because, by that change, the taxes have, during the last fifteen years, been more than doubled in amount.

"That your petitioners, therefore, pray that your Honourable House will cause to be made a great and immediate reduction in the taxes; and that you will be pleased to begin by totally abolishing the burdensome and cruel taxes on malt, hops, leather, soap, and candles, (laughter,) all of which are intolerably oppressive to farmers, to labourers, and to all the tradesmen and others depending on the cultivation of the land.

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

It went a little beyond the requisition, as the meeting would have seen. The distress, as he had described it, was intolerable, though he might possibly have used too strong language. (It is correct.) The Hon. Baronet concluded by saying, that he hoped to see the time when the repeal of taxation, such as he prayed for, would be carried into effect. (Applause.)

Sir ROBERT HERRON begged to set the Hon. Baronet right as to county meetings. A county meeting was legal when called by the magistrates as well as when called by the Sheriff or by the Lord Lieutenant, and that was as much a county meeting as if the Sheriff had presided.

Mr. CHOLMELEY differed from the Hon. Baronet in not thinking the country in such desperate circumstances as he seemed to suppose. He might, indeed, think our circumstances desperate if he could not trace the measures which caused our distress; but every measure which had produced evil, was distinctly known, so that the steps which it was necessary to retrace, to restore our prosperity, were plainly before us. There was no cause to despair, though he, for one, must say that he thought the agriculturists had partly been the cause of their own distress. ("How, how?") They had partly caused it by their extreme apathy. Like charity, they had believed and hoped, and suffered all. The reason why the Ministers had not taken off the taxes on malt and beer was, that they, like other people, were ready to attend to the most clamorous. The Ministers had given relief to those who had been constantly and steadily asking it of them. Now, the agriculturists could hold out no longer, and, as had been said, the contest was soon coming between the fundholders and the landlords. If the agriculturists did not take care of their own interests, they might be sure the Ministers would pass them over. He formed this opinion from the eagerness he noticed in several weekly and daily journals, to decry the agriculturists; and in particular there was one journal which he noticed because of its great influence, but which displayed most lamentable ignorance on all questions connected with the agricultural interest. Its sentiments, too, were those of wishing to destroy that interest. It seemed to think that the gentlemen of that part of the country were born under a fenny atmosphere, and could not comprehend their own interest. But he would add, that the meeting would regard him as thick-witted if he did any more than touch on such a topic in such weather. He wished to see the malt and beer duties repealed, but he was afraid that this would only be like a drop in the ocean. There were many other taxes which must be repealed; many other laws which must be amended; and there were many other causes of their distress of more importance than these duties, to which he could not even allude. There was the currency also, which had added, as they all knew, one-fourth to all their charges, and had increased the value of all public taxes and salaries. By an arbitrary and most unjust change, by violent operation, their property and the property of all the industrious parts of the community had been altered in its value. (The meeting expressed some impatience at being detained.) Mr. Cholmeley therefore concluded by expressing his satisfaction at the respectability of the meeting, and declared, though he had not very sanguine hopes of attaining their object, yet the consequence of that meeting would be important, and it would not, he hoped, be without some effects on the authorities of the country.

Mr. HEALY expressed his satisfaction at hearing what had fallen from Sir W. Ingleby, as he had been one of the Hon. Baronet's tutors, and had taken some pains to make him

aware of the true situation of the country. He also expressed his satisfaction at the respectability and great numbers of the meeting.

Mr. T. SMITH said a few words to recommend Parliamentary Reform to the attention of the meeting, but the cold had made the farmers so impatient, and their usual dinner hour having nearly arrived, they cut Mr. Smith very short. He said that they could not expect any reform in the expenditure as long as the Parliament was unreformed, and he therefore hoped they would next petition for Parliamentary Reform.

Before the meeting broke up,

Colonel SIBTHORPE proposed that they should consider the propriety of calling another county meeting, to discuss the question of the general distress. (Bravo.)

Colonel JOHNSON would readily agree to the proposal, but he hoped the meeting would not be called till the weather was warmer.

The CHAIRMAN then read the petition and the amendment, and afterwards put them to the vote, when the amendment was rejected, no person but the mover, that we could see, holding up his hand for it; and the petition, as at first proposed by Col. Johnson, was unanimously agreed to.

Col. JOHNSON stated, that the petition would soon be ready for signature, and he hoped the people would sign it numerously. It would subsequently be sent round to the different market towns, and would lie there for signature.

Sir W. INGLEBY moved the thanks of the meeting to the gentlemen who first signed the requisition for calling a county meeting, and also to the magistrates who had, on the Sheriff's refusal, called the county together; and also to Mr. Handley, one of them, for his able and impartial conduct in the chair.

Sir C. F. BROOMHEAD seconded this motion, which was carried by acclamation.

Mr. HANDLEY, in the name of his brother magistrates and in his own name, returned his thanks to the meeting. He congratulated the persons present on the propriety of their proceedings; he was pleased to see so numerous and respectable an assembly; he was glad of their unanimity, and he sincerely trusted that the next time they met he should have to congratulate them on the success of their exertions, and on having obtained the object they had then met to petition for. He hoped, with Col. Johnson, they would cease to see the exciseman walking through the land, or standing in the streets. He hoped, too, that the brewers' monopoly would be done away; and that he would sell most beer who brewed it the best and cheapest. (Great applause.) Mr. Handley then declared the meeting dissolved.

Long before this period the people had gone away in considerable numbers, under the influence of the cold and damp ground, it being covered with snow. In a few minutes the Castle-yard was entirely clear, every body appearing anxious to get into warmer quarters.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 30TH, 1830.

[Price 7d.



"Your petitioner knows, as well as he knows that fire burns, that if your Honourable House pass this Bill, without greatly reducing the taxes, you will plunge the nation into a state of distress absolutely insupportable."—*Mr. Cobbett's Petition to the House of Commons, February, 1826, when the Bill for abolishing the Small Notes was in progress through the House.*

TO

MR. WESTERN,

On his Third Letter to the People of Essex.

Ripley Castle, 22d January, 1830.

SIR,

VARIOUS reasons induce me to insert in my Register your very long, very tedious, and very stupid *third* letter to your "constituents," as you call them, who may well be called your *Essex-calves*, and who deserve all that they are now getting, and a great deal more, for having chosen *you* to represent them, while there were men *like me* in the kingdom. My principal reason, however, for publishing your letter is, that I may have it *on record*. I remember when you abused me, in one of your harangues to your CALVES; and I remember how the beasts bellowed out applauses upon you. You are both properly punished now; and your punishment gives great satisfaction to me. Before I go further, I shall insert your letter: and when I have done that, I shall make some remarks upon it. I beg my readers to muster up their *patience*, and to get through the whole; for, confused mass as it is, it expresses the shuffling opinions and feelings of the cowardly and greedy part of the

landowners; and it shows at once the alarm and the imbecility of their minds.

To the Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and Inhabitants, of the County of Essex.

GENTLEMEN,

I endeavoured in my last letter to explain to you the difference between low price, the consequence of *abundance*, and low price, the effect of a *scarcity* of money and I proved to you, at all events, that misery, that famine and low price, MAY exist together; and that *high money*; price and plenty and happiness may also exist together: I think I have done more; I think I have proved that low price, when it arises from a *scarcity* and *high* value of money, a *LESSENING* of the quantity of money, as Mr. Locke calls it, is *always* productive of misery; and I at this moment dread the final catastrophe which he describes as too probably consequent upon it. Mr. Locke says: "The people *not perceiving* the money to be gone, will be jealous of each other, and each suspecting another's inequality of gain to rob him of his share, will be employing his skill and power the best he can to retrieve it again, and bring money into his own pocket in the same plenty as formerly; but this is only scrambling amongst ourselves, and helps no more against our wants, than the pulling of a short coverlet will, amongst children who lie together, preserve them from the cold; some will starve, unless the father of the family provides better, and enlarges the scanty covering. This pulling and contest is usually between the landed man and the merchant, for the labourer's share, being seldom much more than a bare subsistence, never allows that body of men time or opportunity to raise their thoughts above that, or struggle with the richer for theirs, *unless when some common and great distress, uniting them in one universal ferment, makes*

“them forget respect, and emboldens them to carve for their wants with armed force, and then sometimes they break in upon the rich and sweep all like a deluge. But this rarely happens but in the mal-administration of neglected or mismanaged government.” The whole of this passage is marvellously descriptive of our present unhappy state, and of the danger that awaits us. I ask whether, from the first moment of the LESSENING of the QUANTITY of money by Peel’s Bill (and this lessening has been ADMITTED to be one-fourth, but I say, one-half), the jealousy of one another, which Mr Locke so strikingly describes, did not take place, and if it does not exist to a great degree now? The landed man and the merchant, the manufacturer, the different traders, masters and men, landlords and tenants, and their labourers, are all pulling against each other; but this scrambling amongst ourselves, as he says, helps nothing against our wants. The father of the family must give us a sufficiency of covering, or *some will starve*; and many *are starving*, I am convinced, for the want of it, and they have suffered, and are suffering to such an extent, that statesmen must be blind if they do not see that the people will soon forget respect, and want will embolden them to carve to their wants with armed force, and break in and sweep all like a deluge. I am amazed they do not see that any alternative is preferable to the course they are pursuing. They must know, I think, that the distress is *owing* to the insufficiency of the currency necessary for the affairs of the country; at least they admit that they have caused a contraction of the currency, and that such contraction *has* occasioned a great *pressure* upon the INDUSTRY of the country, though they deny the extent of it. BUT WHY INFLECT AT ALL A GREAT PRESSURE upon the INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES? What is the use of having a *contracted currency*, a smaller quantity of money in circulation? Does it add to our security when it throws all the *industrious classes* into *difficulty*, when it almost destroys that portion of the community

by whose labour the whole are supported and fed; or when we see men actually fainting and maddening under the deprivation of their proper sustenance? Is that the way to give security to those who derive all their wealth, all their share of the common stock, and so large a share from the labour of men who are thus oppressed? See the accounts of the Huddersfield meeting of manufacturers and operatives; from which it appears there is too much reason to apprehend that the tragedy of Ireland in 1822, will be exhibited in that and other manufacturing towns, and there is in their present situation too close resemblance now: and see also the following extract from a letter of Geo. Beaumont, to the editor of the *Leeds Patriot*, of December 26, 1829, which will give you an idea of the sentiments which distress has helped to give birth to in that portion of the community:—

“Sir,—I can assure you, the generality of labourers consider that all wealth flows from them. Visit them in their wretched abodes, they will soon tell you that labour is the source of all wealth;—they will tell you that the miner explores the bowels of the earth in search of the richest treasures; the stone that builds the mansion, as well as the polished marble that beautifies the temple, is the result of labour; the ploughman breaks the sturdy turf to extract the fruits of the field, and the weaver in tattered rags produces the firm fabric that decorates the pampered lord. Sir, it is high time to be honest if one dare; the truth has been too long concealed, nay, were the real sentiments of the operative manufacturers made known to the public, it would alarm the most callous and indifferent. It would fill the minds of the wealthy with terror.”

It does appear to me an insatiation that nothing can account for, that, in spite of all this misery before their eyes, and such *proof*, such ADMISSION of the cause, our statesmen still go on LESSENING the quantity of money, and pluming themselves upon what they

call cheapness; though they ought to know, the fact is demonstrable from their own admissions, that such cheapness is only dear money, an actual SCARCITY of money; and I may fairly apply that term to the total inadequacy of our present currency to give a sufficient money-price for the products of industry and the wages of labour. They do all they can to deceive the people with the term CHEAP, as applied to bread or manufactured goods. I am bound to believe they deceive themselves first, they certainly do all they can to deceive the people, as the people will, however, soon find out. The people, I say, will soon discern that CHEAP BREAD means only DEAR money, and that such cheapness and starvation are constant attendants upon each other, and that such CHEAP manufactures and ruin are no less constant allies. What matters it that bread is at a low price, if the man's pocket is empty of money; or what matters it that a manufacturer or merchant sends cheap manufactures abroad, if his venture ends in loss instead of profit? I AM CONFIDENT THAT NEITHER MANUFACTURER NOR MERCHANT WILL MAKE ANY PROFIT TILL MANUFACTURES RETURN A HIGH MONEY PRICE; NOR WILL WORKMEN AND LABOURERS OF ANY DESCRIPTION HAVE COMFORT AND PLENTY TILL THEIR LABOUR BEARS A HIGH MONEY PRICE; NOR WILL ANY TRADE PROSPER TILL ALL PRODUCTS OF INDUSTRY FROM THE PLOUGH, THE LOOM, AND THE SAIL, BEAR A HIGH MONEY PRICE. This seeming paradox grows out of our peculiar situation. A rise in the money price, would be in effect no advance in the REAL price, either of commodities or labour, but would operate in a direct contrary manner. It would be a *diminution of taxes*, by diminishing the value of the money in which taxes are paid; but this will appear more and more clearly as I proceed. And here I enter the list with some statesmen, upon a point on which they consider themselves strongest, and on which many think they are strongest. They say, if you have not low prices foreigners will undersell you: so say I, but

they must be REAL LOW PRICES, and not LOW prices from the high value of MONEY; the REAL LOW prices are those which are comparatively LOW, arising out of the superior skill and industry of the producers, and the facilities they enjoy; if the prices become low, in consequence of the high value of money, the weight of taxation must be felt proportionably heavier, and the pressure upon industry so much more severe. Now, the statesmen, authors of Peel's Bill, want to make us believe that the present low prices are the effect only of skill and industry, and of cheap raw produce; at least such APPEARS to be their object, for the fall in price consequent upon the increased value of the currency, is always kept out of sight when subjects are discussed, which ought to induce a careful discrimination of the several causes of low price. I say such statesmen are singularly mistaken, or else they are in the habit of doing what, I believe, some politicians think perfectly justifiable, but which I certainly do not, and which, at all events, must be bad policy in the end. I mean, that in order to carry a great question, such as, in the estimate of some people, the perpetuity of Peel's Bill, they think they may employ their eloquence to confound instead of enlighten their auditors; to confuse and perplex the subject, instead of to clear and simplify it.

Mr. Huskisson said, the other day I may call it, in the House of Commons:—"What would this country have been, if the prices of our manufactures had continued at the same amount as during war? We are now the greatest manufacturers in the world. Would that have been our situation if we had not been able to compete with our foreign rivals in the market of the world? It was to the change of price that we owed this advantage of our present situation, in being able to sell our woollens and cottons abroad, the price of which was regulated by the price at home." Now it is evident, that his argument and statement here would lead his auditors to believe that the low price he spoke of, was the sole

consequence of increased skill, industry, and other facilities. I must say, it is marvellous he should so shape his argument as to allow the possibility of such a misapprehension, still more extraordinary if he should not know that three-fourths or more of the change of price is owing to the change in the *value* of the *currency*, by the operation of Peel's Bill. Can he mean to say that a *low* price, the consequence of a *diminished quantity* of money, is equally beneficial, or the same thing, as *low* price is the consequence of improved skill and industry? He cannot, surely; it would be preposterous, and is not to be presumed in a man of his knowledge; and yet it is almost impossible to know what else he does mean. Mr. Alderman Waithman had shown him, from custom-house returns, that before Peel's Bill, 36 millions of British goods exported, measured in *quantity* by what is termed official value, produced of declared, that is, money, value 54 million pounds sterling; whereas in 1828, 54 million of goods returned only 36 million of pounds sterling (fractions omitted): very true, says Mr. Huskisson, here is the price and quantity exactly reversed; this only shows that things are *CHEAPER* now than they were then; and he goes on to say this cheapness enables us to sustain our extensive foreign commerce. Now really, to impress upon his auditors the opinion that this cheapness arises from improved skill, machinery, &c., or to leave them under such possible misapprehension, is what I cannot understand. But observe, he, a little further on, says,—in 1814, before Peel's Bill, the exchanges were thirty per cent. against us, now they are in our favour, and adds, must not such a difference produce a considerable effect? What is that but proof that the value of our *MONEY* has, according to *his own admission*, since that time, *RISEN thirty per cent.*; and that *seventy* pounds sterling *now* is just as much as *one hundred* was *then*; or, that the price reduced from 100*l.* to 70*l.* is no real reduction? for that 70 pounds sterling now are worth as many francs, for instance, in exchange with

France, as 100*l.* were in 1814. Thus he proves himself that 30 per cent. according to his estimate of the *CHEAPNESS*, is in fact only so much *DEARNESS* of money, and of course gives no benefit in the foreign market, whilst at home it takes away 30 per cent. from the wages of the labourer, by whom the goods are produced, and as much from his employer, leaving the taxes and burdens of both undiminished. I trust he does not so far adopt those Parliamentary tactics, to which I have alluded, of misleading his auditors, as to intend to make them believe that this difference of the exchanges is only a balance of commercial bills, which he *knows* can occasion only a difference to a very *small* comparative amount. And yet when he says, must not *this* produce a considerable effect, it seems that he meant it to be supposed that the difference in the exchanges did *not* arise from the altered value of our currency, and that it was much in favour of our *FOREIGN* trade. Another difficulty, indeed, presents itself to my mind in the attempts to solve his meaning, from the recollection of his having, upon a former occasion, convinced the House that an *unfavourable* state of the exchanges was favourable to an increase of our exports, while it tended to check our imports from foreign parts.* Mr. Huskisson knows perfectly well, that a great many persons, in and out of the House of Commons, imagine that a rise in the price of manufactures, *though the consequence* of an *INCREASED QUANTITY* of *MONEY*, or *diminution* of its *value*, would be destructive of our foreign commerce: and no man knows better than he does, that it would produce no such effect! They say, if we have more paper, for instance, and if we are to have *war* prices again, away goes our *FOREIGN* commerce. I am surprised that such an erroneous idea should prevail, and I regret that Mr. Huskisson should, by neglecting all explanation upon this point, assist in confirming the error, rather than exposing it. But, in order to get a clear view of the subject, we will suppose that we had the *war* currency and *war* prices,

and that, in consequence, a yard of superfine cloth, which sells now for *twenty shillings*, should in such war currency sell for thirty. Why, then, the Frenchman, who sent his yard of silk to exchange for this yard of cloth, would find that such yard of silk would fetch thirty shillings in the English market, which before would fetch only twenty; and so would all other foreign commodities rise as our own rose, and thus would our foreign commerce remain precisely upon the same footing. To explain this in another way, it will be remembered, that during the war currency, one pound sterling British would only exchange for, at one time, I think, *sixteen francs*; it fluctuated generally from 16 to 20 francs; now one pound sterling will exchange for 26 francs all but 20 cents. And here, by the bye, is one decisive proof of the alteration of the value of our currency, and which shows *distinctly that so much as is the difference between 26 and 16, is rise in the value of our money*, and not *cheaper price*, as Mr. Huskisson calls it, of the commodity. In the time I allude to, 100*l.* sterling British would only exchange for 1600 francs, or one hundred pounds worth of goods, in the war price British, would only produce 1600 francs; now 64*l.* sterling British, or sixty-four pounds worth of goods British, will fetch identically the same sum, viz., 1600 francs; or one hundred pounds British will now exchange for 2600 francs instead of 1600; in other words, a manufacturer, who has goods to the value of one hundred pounds in our *present* currency, cannot afford to sell them in France for less than 2600 francs, whereas a manufacturer having *one* hundred pounds worth of goods in the *war* currency could afford to sell them for 1600 francs. If I were to argue therefore as Mr. Huskisson does, I might say, give us again our war currency, and we shall get a great advantage in our foreign trade. We can afford to sell one hundred pounds worth of goods for 1600 francs instead of 2600. It would not be more absurd than his arguing in favour of that *cheapness* which is the *consequence* of a *higher* value of money, and which higher

value of money is thus *proved* by the *exchanges*. I should have thought it was yet more obvious that any change whatever in the denomination or quality of our metallic currency would make *no* difference in regard to foreign commerce, and yet I believe the error prevails throughout; the fact is, that foreigners care not what we choose to call our money, or of what quality we make it, or what we make it pass for here, which is merely a *conventional* sign amongst ourselves. The metallic money they resolve into its *intrinsic* worth; for instance, if we were to coin a pound of silver into ninety shillings instead of sixty, which is an advance of fifty per cent., and then a pound sterling become worth thirty shillings British in the new coinage, the foreigner would see that the 30 shillings British would, in such case, contain only the same quantity of silver which twenty shillings did before, and would say, alter the coin of your country as you please; I shall only give you 26 francs for the thirty, as I would have done for the twenty shillings. This change of the silver coin would make a yard of cloth, which sells now for twenty shillings, sell for thirty in England, but the manufacturer would be as well content to take 26 francs for it in France as he was before, because the 26 francs would be equal to the thirty shillings of the new coinage. He could, indeed, afford to sell his yard of cloth lower than before, inasmuch as this alteration of our money would exactly, to the extent it was carried, lower the pressure of taxation upon him, on the present hypothesis, 50 per cent., to which extent, at least, it was increased by Peel's Bill. It is, in truth, the *pressure of taxation, occasioned by the heavy weights or high value of our money in the Peel Bill currency, that has run away with all the profit of the manufacturer, and indeed forced him to drive a losing*, instead of a profitable, trade, and of course *disabled him from paying adequate wages to his men*. But, say Mr. Huskisson and other statesmen, our exports are immensely increased; so they may be, but they turn a deaf ear to the declarations of all the exporters,

who tell them that they are *losing* instead of *gaining*. The unexampled efforts that have been made to force a trade are, I think, easily accounted for. The manufacturers and merchants of this country possessed immense capital, powers of every kind, energy and enterprise unexampled. It was hardly possible to subdue their spirit, perseverance, and power. They found all at once that the products of their industry lost fifty per cent. of their money value. The NECESSARY annual returns are wanting. They go to work naturally to increase quantity, and *force sales*, to make up this deficiency; they struggle on in the same way year after year; they struggle against each other; they compete unfairly; they even look, some of them, with complacency upon their neighbours' fall; they press down the wages of their men to the lowest possible degree they are obliged to do so. They make them work sixteen hours instead of ten; they thus go on still unsubdued, in hopes of better times; they do by these means lower the price of commodities; that is to say, by a sacrifice of their *own* profits, and exhaustion of their workmen's health and strength, and so far Mr. Huskisson may, if he pleases, exult in the cheapness of our commodities. I can allow him but very little for improved machinery and skill, because the produce of the earth and commodities, where no such improved machinery can be applicable, have become *cheaper*, as he calls it, in the same ratio as manufactures. Mr. Huskisson will say, if they did not get a profit they would turn their capital into other channels; undoubtedly they would if they could, but they cannot by any possibility; that truism in the abstract, that delusion in practice, viz., that capital and industry will fly from profitless to profitable channels, will not hold *at all* in our present state; for all trades are alike profitless. There is no hope or prospect in change, unless, indeed, they seek some more genial clime than ours is become, and that is a dreadful alternative, to be driven from their native cherished country by the ignorance and pertinacity of their rulers, year after

year, whilst sinking, to be chided for complaining, and be told by some Board of Trade minister that they are thriving more than ever; whilst another less daring statesman says, year after year, "Wait a little; depend upon it all will come round; the country will right itself." She *has* righted herself, it is true, under many a severe blow received at the hands of her statesmen; but the instrument with which she has at length been struck touches the heart, and unless it is extracted, will bring on fatal convulsion of the whole frame. Ministers next tell us that the consumption of exciseable commodities is increased, and that therefore the condition of the lower class must be comfortable; this proves too much: at least it is attempting to establish a point so at variance with the fact, and the experience and knowledge of all men, as to be quite disgusting. It is pretty strong to tell masters they are thriving when ruin stares them in the face; and next to offer *proof* of the comfortable condition of their men, when we know they are suffering, in many cases, an EXTREMITY of distress, and have been in that state for years. The increased consumption, as appears by excise revenue returns, is, I believe, in no small degree the effect of greater vigilance in the collection of those duties. Another reason is the disposition of the English to hold to that expenditure which is combined with indulgence and comfort, giving up in preference many necessities. And then I beg you to consider our case always that of a lion caught in the toils of an insidious foe: he struggles with his wondrous power for a long time against the gripe of the subtle cords that bind his limbs, and moves as erect almost as if he did not feel them; but he will at last sink under exhaustion, and so shall we sink, and our exhaustion is beginning to be very perceptible. In fact, I have always contended, and it cannot be denied, that when we were struck by that insidious instrument, the most destructive which ever man levelled against the welfare and happiness of a country, we were in a state of extraordinary health and strength, and, dreadful as was the blow, we have made

such gigantic efforts, that those who are themselves yet untouched, and whose thoughts wander little beyond their own selfish atmosphere, are hardly conscious of the depth of the wound that has been inflicted upon the more industrious and less fortunate millions, who are now indeed beginning to smart almost to desperation under it.

Mr. Huskisson's advocacy of Peel's Bill, or joint authorship I might say, with a little junta of the learned, at all events his advocacy of the bill, and the *prices* thereby *fixed* upon commodities and labour, astonishes me more than that of any other statesman of the party, because, in 1815, he in so striking and remarkable a manner insisted always upon the necessity of high prices after the war. In the debate, upon the Corn Bill in 1815, he said there was a *great diminution* in the *value of money*; that the farmers' charges were doubled; that to talk of prices returning to what they were before the war, was to inculcate a most dangerous error; if the entire rental was given up it would not be possible. He then adverted to the amount of taxation before the war, which he said did not exceed sixteen millions, whereas he could not calculate upon a peace establishment much below sixty millions. Would this, he said, make no difference in the *money* price of articles? and then reiterated his surprise that any body should contemplate a price of corn less than very near the double of what it was before the war. Now it is quite clear that his good sense and good feeling would alike revolt at the idea of such doubling of the price of corn by means of *scarcity* of corn; he meant, of course, a doubling consequent upon the DIFFERENT MONEY in which the prices were told, nor could he imagine the possibility of corn bearing a high price, and other commodities and labour a low price; he could only mean that the war had effected such changes that every product of industry and the wages of labour must return *double* the quantity of *money* that they did before the war, or the fifty or sixty millions of taxes could not be borne by the country. What arguments induced him to substitute his present very

opposite opinions in the place of those, so rational, which he then entertained, I have no clue to discover; a material change of circumstances may make a different course of action necessary, but no change of circumstances occurred between 1815 and 1819. He certainly is subject to a change of vision at different times of the day; his admiration of the Corn Bill of 1815, which, on behalf of *all the interests* of the country, he earnestly recommended to the adoption of the House; his lamentation, in 1828, from the bottom of his soul, over the mass of evil and misery and destruction of capital which that same law had, in the course of its twelve years' operation, produced, are remarkable proofs of this propensity to see subjects in different points of view at different times. I do not make these remarks in order to impugn his patriotism, his talents, or his industry, but to show that the old adage, *Humanum est errare*, applies to him as well as to others; that he is not oracular, as many gentlemen in the House of Commons seem to think. He certainly possesses very considerable influence in the House, especially upon such subjects as that I am now discussing, and it is desirable to prove that he is not an *infallible* guide. At one or other of the periods I have alluded to, he must have been egregiously wrong, and at the earliest of those periods he could neither plead youth nor inexperience nor want of information to extenuate his errors.

In reference to Peel's Bill, perhaps he thought with Mr. Ricardo and others, that it would only make a difference of price to the extent of four per cent., and that the Legislature having, with singular concurrence of opinions amongst the statesmen on opposite sides of the House, acted upon this idea, it would be better to drag the country through any difficulties, and counteract the mischief by sinister operations, than expose to the people the astounding errors into which their rulers had fallen. He might be too deeply impressed also with the difficulty of undoing what they had done. I can give him and others credit for their motives, but not for their wis-

dom, in pursuing this course ; there is nothing like dealing fairly and openly with the people ; depend upon it the credit of the country would never have suffered a moment under the avowal of an error honestly made ; and that there is always on the other hand great danger if the people discover that false lights have been held out to them, and they find themselves deceived.

I beg now to call the particular attention of landowners and farmers to some opinions I shall submit to them, and which may not be in accord altogether with some established notions, and *appear* at variance with some I myself entertain. In the first place I declare my conviction, that the most perfect exclusion of foreign corn would not give a price of wheat above an AVERAGE of 45s. by the Winchester quarter, *if Peel's Bill is to remain and be in full force.* In the next place I do believe, *that if we had now the war currency*, we might at *this moment* open the ports freely to foreign corn, and that *the price would rise materially notwithstanding*, and be maintained permanently on an adequate scale. The price of every thing would rise ; *wages would rise also* ; indeed if the wages of labour did not rise, the price of corn would not, and never can (except from a scarcity of corn), because the laborious classes are the great consumers, and the markets must be governed by their ability to purchase, and we should have plenty of money and plenty of corn. The price would rise upon the Continent simultaneously with the price here. Prices upon the Continent are in a variety of ways affected, and, in the dealings of the Continent with us, in a great measure governed by *our* currency laws ; and the Continent has felt, in a material degree, the dire effects of the contraction of the currency of this country, being, in truth, a diminution of the aggregate circulating medium of all nations in commercial intercourse with us. The high prices at which ~~wine~~, during the war, the Continent could sell us grain, were, in a great measure, the *necessary* result of our war currency ; or, in other words, *cheap money*, and

the restoration of that same currency here, would restore the same prices abroad as measured in that currency ; the whole character of foreign competition would be at once altered by the change, and its ill effects neutralised. In corroboration of the embarrassments produced throughout the Continent, by the contraction of the currency and consequent low money prices forced on them by Peel's Bill, I refer to the report of the Committee of 1821, where it is stated that a proportion of the depression of prices prevailing in other countries, is to be ascribed to the restoration of our currency, which restoration *the Committee stated to have deranged, in some degree, the markets of every part of the civilized world.*

I do not by any means intend to admit that I think a permanent importation of corn desirable or safe, because *there is nothing I should so much dread as reliance upon foreign countries for any portion of our daily food.* I think our independence would be gone, our people would be the subjects of those who fed them. I think we have AMPLE means to feed ourselves in general, and to extract a surplus of any other country when we WANT it ; in short, with superior wealth we should always have the best chance to extract occasional supply from our neighbours ; but I contend that we can grow and bring to market, corn as CHEAP as any country in the world ; by *cheap*, I mean REALLY cheap, that is, with as little cost of labour and seed ; our soil and climate taken altogether are as favourable as that of other countries. Set the prime of our soil against the prime of other countries ; compare, in like manner, the middling quality and bad ; and we shall be found little, if any, inferior for the growth of wheat. Our facilities of conveyance to market, lighten considerably the price ; then the force of superior capital and skill are wonderfully effective to insure and to increase produce. I say then, we can grow it *at as low a labour price* as any nation upon the Continent. More than the first half of the last century, our price was as low, and often lower, so that we had a

large export trade of wheat. It is our necessary taxes then, that disable us in competition with the foreign grower, and render protection necessary to save our own agriculture from extinction. Now, as it has been proved in a thousand ways, that Peel's Bill effectively increased taxation to such an enormous and unnecessary extent, as compared with taxation, paid in the war currency, so the return to the war currency would lighten taxation in the same degree; and with our present war taxes so **LIGHTENED**, and looking to the stock of corn in this country and on the Continent, I at this moment should not entertain any fear of injury to the agriculture of this country from the competition of the foreign grower. I shall be asked, what would become of the consumers, with this rise of the *money* price; why, I say that their powers of commanding the necessaries of life by augmented wages of labour would be increased, and consequently the *consumption* would be increased to the infinite relief and comfort of the people. Who are the consumers? Why, the industrious and laborious classes are consumers, the great consumers. Statesmen argue as if the producer was one sort of animal, and the consumer another; which is too absurd. The producers are the principal consumers, and they could and would consume a great deal more than they do now. We should hear no more of over-production or surplus population. Depend upon it, we have yet ample powers of production and consumption too, if we were not chained to the earth by the shackles of that fatal bill.

I have heard many people say, the war currency we know would relieve us for a time, but we could not keep it. But why not? I say we could keep it, and for this obvious reason, that we want it; we require it to carry on our financial and commercial operations; we cannot go on without it; we are expiring for the want of it; our commerce is sterile of profit, and our revenue is drawn from capital instead of income, and will, ere long, materially decline; and our public creditor, and all other creditors, will be in

jeopardy. We are beginning to knock down the fives into four, and four into three, by hocus-pocus operations upon the funds; a miserable attempt, and is only an earnest of what the fundholders may expect. I say, then, we cannot keep our **PRESENT** currency. We could, with the greatest advantage, use and *safely keep* the *war* currency. But it is said, with such an increase of currency, our paper would lose all value. Why so, I ask again? Our paper is credit, and our *credit* is unshaken. Our credit is even better established than ever by this tremendous trial it has undergone. Our integrity and faith are evinced in a most extraordinary manner by our persevering almost to destruction, to accomplish what is beyond all human power; namely, to pay our creditors twice as much as we borrowed of them. The paper or credit of a country will go down, when that country issuing it cannot fulfil its engagements, or when a greater quantity of credit currency is issued than the commerce of the country requires. But that would not be our ease; we could absorb nearly as much if not quite, as we had in circulation during the war. Fictitious wealth is then talked of, as if the *medium* of exchange constituted wealth. It is true that gold and silver are valuable commodities; but as money, they are a dead weight, instead of adding to our wealth. What is the national debt but a credit upon the industry of the country? To employ the precious metals in payment of debt and taxes; to attempt it, indeed, (for the thing is impossible,) would beggar the country at once.

I have extended this letter to such a length, I am obliged to conclude it very abruptly. I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your faithful and obedient Servant,

CHAS. C. WESTERN.

Felix Hall, Jan. 16th. 1830.

Now, Sir, the only part of this stupid farrago, that I shall here particularly mention, is that where you quote the old tax-eating Whig, Mr. Locke. And this is your great offence in my eyes, and one for which you ought to lose

your estate by the means that are now at work. You know well that *I am teacher upon this subject*; that I foresaw all, foretold all, laid down every principle, described every cause and every effect, years ago. But your *insolent aristocratic pride* would not allow you to acknowledge this; and so you endeavour to hatch up an *authority* in the *very shallow* essay of Locke, who had, and could have, no knowledge upon the subject, as *that subject now presents itself to us*.

Locke is in error; his doctrine is false; and his reasoning on it is nonsense. His doctrine is this: that *LESSENING* of the quantity of money in a country must *always* produce distress. And *why*? Because all those who were before in the habit of having certain quantities of money in their hands, are *all striving* to get out of the *lessened* quantity as much as they got out of the larger quantity. What poor unmeaning stuff is this? What a *REASON* is this for the distress arising out of a lessened quantity of money!

If one-half, or any other proportion, of the money of a country, were annihilated *to-night*, for instance; if, to put the case plain, the money were nothing but sovereigns; and, in the morning, we were to find all the sovereigns turned into shillings; what injury or inconvenience would that produce? The shilling would purchase just as much as the sovereign did before. No valuable thing would become less valuable. Not the smallest disturbance would there be in the pecuniary affairs of any part of the community. No injustice would be done to any man. What does the old tax-eating Whig mean, then, by his children under the "*too-small coverlet*"? The coverlet would not be diminished in effect.

"O yes," you will say, "for all *debtors, or mortgagors, all payers of annuities, all tax-payers, would, in virtue of their contracts, or of the tax laws, be compelled to pay in sovereigns, and must, therefore, be ruined.*" Very true; but your tax-eating Whig says not a word about *this sort of effect*: he only talks about the incon-

venience arising from *the scrambling of men to get their former proportion of money*. If, indeed, he had seen the true cause of distress, in such a case, and had stated it, as I have done, a thousand times over, in my warnings to the Government and Parliament, you might have quoted him with some show of reason; but, as it is, your quoting of Locke is just the same as saying: "Cobbett has told me all about it; but, O God! is it not better to be a beggar, than to acknowledge myself to have been taught by him"! Yes, it is, Western: be a beggar, for God's sake! And, in company with the far greater part of your brothers of the *wise Collective*, be sport, be a subject of laughter and of mockery for

WM. COBBETT.

NORTHERN TOUR.

Leeds, 26th Jan. 1830.
Night.

ON Monday, the 18th, I went to Huddersfield, where my friends had met with great difficulty in providing a suitable place. They at last got a room, which was well filled, and yielded me much more money than I either expected or wished. From Huddersfield, I proceeded to Dewsbury on the 19th, where I lectured in a school-room to about four or five hundred persons. This is a very public-spirited and excellent town. My reception was of the most gratifying kind, by all ranks and degrees of the people. I soon found myself surrounded at the inn, by some of the most opulent men in the town, whose kind and hospitable treatment will never be effaced from my recollection.

On the 20th I came on to Leeds; and, after having stopped a little while to speak with my friend Mr. Foster, of the *Patriot* newspaper; my old and firm friend, Mr. Mann, the bookseller; Mr. Heaps, and some other friends, we proceeded on to Sir William Ingilby's, at Ripley Castle, which very beautiful place, and still more beautiful village, are situated on the Glasgow mail road, twenty miles to the north of Leeds.

Here I found myself at the most northernly point that I had ever been in my whole life; for the most northerly at which I had ever been in America, was far nearer to the south, several degrees nearer to the south, than any part of Devonshire. Our reception and treatment by this member for the county of Lincoln, was indeed, such as I expected; such indeed, as I was worthy of, from an English gentleman of great good sense; great knowledge of the world, and perfect independence. There are yet some scores of such men left; and the only wonder with me is that they should suffer their estates to be frittered away by bands of loan-mongers, Jews, and greedy reptiles, by whom they suffer themselves to be plundered. However, if they continue obstinately to support those bands, and set at defiance the reasonable prayers of the people, it is just that they should suffer, and suffer they most assuredly will. They will be stripped of their all, by little and little, and the common people will get their rights in spite of them.

I have just returned from the theatre in this fine and opulent town, which may be called the London of Yorkshire, and in which I have been received with an enthusiasm which I should in vain endeavour to describe. Here, as in all other places, there prevails *theatrical distress* to an exceeding degree; but I have filled, and over-filled, the whole house, pit, boxes and galleries. Here, particularly, I have made a point of exposing all the nonsense about the distress having arisen from the Corn Bill, from the *East India monopoly*, as it is called, and from the other causes hatched by the Ministers and the Parliament, and by the various silly projectors, who seem willing to abandon even their own souls, rather than abandon the vile system of loans and jobs and paper-money.

I was glad to have a rest of three days at Ripley, having caught a cold at Huddersfield, which however has continued, though it has not been severe enough to prevent me from giving these three lectures at Leeds.

The weather has been almost incessant hard frost, with a considerable

quantity of snow. From Leeds to Ripley we went in a heavy snow-storm, and were compelled to take four horses on account of the heaviness of the road. The snow had fallen so fast, and the drift had been so great and the night was so dark, that the post-boys got out of the road on the edge of a moor, just on this side Harrogate; and we were within a very few inches of being over-set; but we got out of the carriage, and assisted the post-boys, and arrived at Ripley a little before eight o'clock. While I was standing out in the snow, I really began to blame myself for having so frequently jeered poor Burdett for having skulked from a Westminster meeting, on the ground of not daring to encounter a "*heavy fall of snow*."

The part of Yorkshire between Leeds and Ripley is a farming country. About ten miles of the road goes through the estate of Lascelles, who is now called Lord Harewood, from a village which lies in nearly the middle of the estate. The history of this family of Lascelles would be truly entertaining if one had the time to give it. I know them, however, only as the thorough-going supporters of Pitt and his successors in all those measures which have brought the nation into its present state: but I ought not to omit to observe, with regard to the present Lord, that he manfully opposed the vile dead-body bill, which was thrown out by the Lords in the last session of Parliament. His Lordship opposed it, too, upon the right ground; namely, that the Parliament had no more right to pass a law to sell the dead bodies of the people, than they had a right to pass a law to sell their live bodies.

To-morrow morning we set off for Sheffield, where I shall lecture to-morrow and the next day, unless my cold should increase. I have strong invitations to stop at Wakefield, and at Barnsley; but if I go to those places, it must be after I have been at Sheffield. It will be with great reluctance that I shall miss those towns, but I am afraid that it will be inevitable. From Sheffield I go to Nottingham, a place that I have always wanted to see. Thence I will, if I can, proceed to Leicester, and then

to Wolverhampton, and then hasten back to London, without attempting, at this trip, to stop at any other place.

At Birmingham I shall not, I think, attempt to stop this time. This is the only place where I have met with any impediment as to a place for lecturing. When there before, the theatre could not be had, because Mr. Lewis, the lessee, was not present to give his consent, he being with his company at Liverpool. Having written from Liverpool that Mr. Lewis had given his consent, my Birmingham correspondent informs me, that the *proprietors* of the theatre (who had referred us to Mr. Lewis), having had Mr. Lewis's consent announced to them, **REFUSED TO GIVE THEIR CONSENT!** Besides the theatre, there was only one place sufficiently large; namely, a *repository*, owned by a Mr. Beardsworth, of which he had freely given the use for the delivery of the speeches of Mr. Attwood; but the use of which he would not consent to give to me. This was the place where I meant to take the bull by the horns, and this was the place where the bull-keepers seem to have been determined, that I should have no opportunity of doing it. I clearly understand the real cause of the impediments; and the people of Birmingham will understand it too. I hear of a grand scheme there for settling on foot an association to obtain *Parliamentary Reform*; and that, too, by persons who abused the reformers as much as any persons in this kingdom, and who have always set their faces against a reduction of the expenditure. Give these persons the base paper-money back again; give them but eternal depreciation; give them iron at ten pounds a ton instead of fifty shillings; give them but these, with liberty to take five per cent. for the loan of mere bits of paper, and from them you will never hear another word about Parliamentary Reform. I know all their motives; the people of Birmingham ought to know them too; and if any of my friends there can find a proper place at any future day, I will then go thither, and do that which I now should have done.

I reckon to be at Nottingham on Sunday the 31st, or before. If I quit it on the 3d, I shall be at Leicester on the 4th, at Wolverhampton on the 6th, and in London on the 8th of February.

NORFOLK COUNTY MEETING.

THIS meeting appears to have been, through the tricks and intrigues of the Whigs, rendered a mere despicable farce. Resolutions were proposed by the Whigs: it was proposed to amend them by resolutions brought forward by the *Tories*, as they are called. The Sheriff put the ayes upon both, and the negative upon neither; and then he determined that the Whig resolutions had the majority. Sir Thomas Beevor, in a speech which contained more sense than those of all the other speakers put together, had declared his intention of moving another resolution if Mr. Wodehouse's were rejected, or rather, as soon as it had been disposed of; but as soon as the Sheriff had determined that the Whig resolutions had been carried, the Sheriff bolted; Sir Thomas Beevor was deprived of an opportunity of moving his amendment, and, indeed, there *appears to have been no petition adopted at all*. The last resolution of the Whigs was, that a petition should be immediately prepared, founded on the resolutions; but no such petition was ever put to the meeting by the Sheriff. It is pretended, that there was a motion made and carried in the confusion, relative to the petition; and this is what is to be palmed upon the country. The reporter of the *Morning Chronicle* has this remark: "We are requested by a member of the committee of requisitionists to state, that during the confusion, after the passing of Mr. Bulwer's resolutions, a motion was proposed and carried relative to a petition. All that we can say is, that we were within a yard of the chairman, and *heard nothing of it.*"

Thus, then, the Old Daddy and his crew are going to palm upon the country a petition *never agreed to by the meeting*. They did not dare suffer Sir

Thomas Beevor's petition to be put : they were sure that it would be carried. They have resorted to this barefaced trick, in order to avoid a defeat which they would have been sure to experience. However, all their base schemes and tricks will avail them nothing. Soon after I get to London, I INTEND TO PAY NORWICH A VISIT ; and if I do not blow all their tricks and schemes into the air, I will be content, for the rest of my life, to bear the name of DADDY COKE, instead of that of

WM. COBBETT.

I insert below, the *Morning Chronicle* account of the Norfolk Meeting, having neither time nor room for further comment.

NORFOLK COUNTY MEETING.

ON Saturday, the freeholders, and other inhabitants of this county, were called together to agree to a petition to Parliament on the subject of the malt tax. We gave an account of a similar meeting of the county of Lincoln last week, where a petition for the repeal of the malt and beer taxes was agreed to. Similar petitions in various hundreds of the county of Norfolk, have already been got up ; and a few weeks ago, it was wished by upwards of sixty gentlemen of the county, that the High Sheriff should be called upon to summon a meeting of the whole county.

The following is the requisition on which the meeting was called :—

"To the High Sheriff of the County of Norfolk. Sir, we the undersigned Freeholders, and others, of the County of Norfolk, request that you will convene a County Meeting, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of presenting a Petition to Parliament for the Repeal of the Malt Duties.

Signed by

"The Right Hon. Lord J. Townshend.

Thomas Trench Berney, Esq.

W. E. L. Bulwer, Esq.

Thomas H. Batcheler, Esq.

Rev. J. W. Flavell, Henry Blyth, Esq.

John Culley, Esq.

Gwyn Etheridge, Esq.

Thomas Tuck, Esq.

"Richard England, Esq.
Richard Dewing, Esq.
Charles Whaites, Esq.
Robert Leamon, Esq.

and a most numerous and respectable body of proprietors and occupiers of land in the county of Norfolk."

"In pursuance of the above Requisition, I do hereby convene a County Meeting, to be held in the Shire-hall, at the Castle of Norwich, on Saturday, the 16th day of January next, at twelve o'clock at noon.

"ANDREW FOUNTAINE, Sheriff.

"Narford, Dec. 28, 1829."

The meeting being appointed to take place at the Shire-hall, a considerable number of persons assembled in the precincts and avenues of that building, shortly after eleven o'clock. The arrangement for admission, however, was most miserable : a few favoured individuals were allowed to slip in at private doors by stealth, and so to obtain the best seats in the court, while immense numbers of the most respectable freeholders not only had to kick their heels for nearly an hour in the avenues or the open air, but likewise had the satisfaction of being sneered and laughed at by the Sheriffs' javelin-men—a set of respectables, who, on the strength of their red velvet breeches, their top boots, and their imitation spears, thought themselves " gods indeed."

At a little after twelve o'clock, the doors being thrown open, the Crown Court in the Shire-hall was crowded to excess. The High Sheriff, on entering the court, was received with applause ; and having taken the chair, the business of the day commenced.

Among the noblemen and gentlemen present, we observed Lord Sutfield, Lord Charles Townshend, Sir Thomas Beevor, Mr. Coke, Mr. Wodehouse (the two Members for the county), Mr. Bulwer, Mr. Postle, Colonel Harvey, Archdeacon Bathurst, Mr. Palmer, &c. There were upwards of 1,500 persons present.

The HIGH SHERIFF said, that having received a requisition, most respectfully signed, to call a county meeting on the subject of the malt tax, he had obeyed

the call of the gentlemen who had signed it, and he trusted that the proceedings of the day would be conducted in such a manner as to reflect credit on the county.

Mr. W. E. L. BULWER rose to address the meeting. He said, that as to there being great distress in the country, there could be no question; and however gentlemen might differ as to the cause, he thought that they must at all events agree that the object which the requisitionists had in view would be one mode of relieving the public from the burdens under which they were labouring. (Hear, hear.) It was on this ground that they had been called upon to meet to petition the Parliament for a repeal of the tax upon malt, a tax which was highly obnoxious to the labouring classes of the community both in its effect and its principle; but besides this, it was a tax which might be said to fall heavily on the whole of the community, for it affected both the producer and the consumer. (Hear, hear.) The impolicy of the malt tax was observable in the consequences with which it was attended; and on this point it might be said, that the duty itself was the least of its evils; the restrictions upon the trade were so numerous, that, as far as regarded the poor, they amounted to an absolute prohibition, so that those who most needed the article were absolutely excluded from it. (Applause.) Many indirect advantages would be derived to the public from the removal of the malt tax; the consequence of the price being lowered would be, that double the quantity would be consumed; the result of which would be not only that that which was grown at home would find a ready and brisk sale, but that a considerable quantity would be imported, by which the manufacturers would be able to get rid of their goods in exchange. (Hear, hear.) The principal advantage, however, of such a repeal would accrue to the labourer and the industrious poor of the country; and that would be no small advantage. No one could see with indifference the state in which that class of persons was now placed. No person could see with indifference the labourer

sinking into the listless and unprofitable pauper, without feeling in all its force that whatever encouraged their industry was a matter of no small importance to the public and the Legislature. (Applause.) He believed it was the opinion of some that the meeting ought to take into consideration in what manner the Government could best spare the amount of the malt tax, and that they should back their petition with pointing out the means of replacing the deficiency that would be occasioned. With this opinion he did not agree. (Cheers.) He did not think that a public meeting was called upon to exercise legislative discretion; it was enough for them to know that there was a grievance, and to pray for its redress. (Hear, hear.) It would then remain with the Government to see in what manner such redress could best be effected, and what financial arrangements were necessary to afford the relief required. All that the meeting could claim was, that the Ministry should make all possible retrenchment. (Cheers.) These were the best financial arrangements they could propose, and the best rule for the Government to follow in the execution of its duty. Regarding the proposed repeal (as he did) as the probable means of bettering the lower orders of the people, he thought that it was a subject which went far beyond the question of revenue. He considered it to be a subject pregnant with great moral consequences; and whatever way the Government might view it; whether merely as a tax, or as something much beyond, he trusted that they would at least afford the question their most serious attention. (Cheers.) Mr. Bulwer concluded by moving the following resolutions:

"1. That this meeting, in common with the inhabitants of every District in the United Kingdom, feels and laments the general distress which pervades almost every class of the community.

"2. That both the cultivators of land, and the manufacturers of goods, are placed in such circumstances as to be no longer able to dispose of their respective productions to advantage; and in proportion as their means dimi-

nish their difficulties increase, being obliged to maintain as paupers all those to whom they can no longer give profitable employment.

" 3. That the want of due employment for the labouring and industrious classes has increased pauperism and its attendant evils, crime and moral degradation, so rapidly, as to demand the most serious attention of the Legislature.

" 4. That among other causes to which this lamentable state of suffering and degradation may be attributed, none is more prominent than the overwhelming burden of taxation, beneath which the country groans.

" 5. That the taxes which call more especially for alleviation, are those which bear upon the industry of the country; and affect the necessities of life; and upon these grounds there is none more prejudicial in all its bearings than that upon malt.

" 6. That the duty on malt is an oppressive burden upon all classes, more particularly upon the cultivators of the soil, by narrowing the market for their staple produce, barley, to an extent which would hardly be credited, but from the well-known fact, that the consumption of malt is now considerably less than it was a century ago, though the quantity of land now in cultivation is at least one-third more, and the population more than doubled.

" 7. That under the vexatious operation of the existing laws, the price of malt is enhanced beyond the actual duty, thus bearing with double weight upon the consumer, while, to the revenue, the expense of collecting the same is a heavy drawback.

" 8. That the repeal of the duties on malt would greatly benefit the consumer generally, but more especially would it relieve the labouring and industrious classes, by placing within their reach the means of brewing their own beer, and baking their own bread; by the want of which they are now driven to the use of ardent spirits, to the destruction of their health and morals.

" 9. That petitions to both Houses of Parliament, founded on the foregoing resolutions, and praying for the

total repeal of the duties on malt, be immediately prepared."

Much applause followed the reading of the resolutions.

Mr. POSTLE: Being one of the requisitionists for the calling of the meeting, and having had the honour of co-operating with those gentlemen, he rose with much pleasure to second the resolutions which had been so ably proposed. It would have been quite unnecessary for him to say a word, even if Mr. Bulwer had not addressed the meeting, in order to persuade a body of the people to petition for the repeal of so heavy a burden as that of the malt tax. (Applause). At a meeting of the sixty magistrates, it had been a matter of discussion whether it would be better to restrict themselves only to the malt tax at the present meeting, or to carry the question further. It had there been judged, and, as he thought, wisely, that if they wished to afford any prospect of success to their exertions, if they wished to give the least chance to the attainment of their object, they were bound to take care not to ask too much; and that to ask the Ministers to repeal both the malt and beer tax would be hopeless, as he did not believe that the Government could spare the produce of both these taxes at once. The Ministry, for anything he knew, might be anxious to relieve the burdens of the people, but it would not be any relief to take off one tax, and then to substitute another equally oppressive in its place. (Applause). They had no reason to doubt that the Duke of Wellington and his colleagues were anxious to economise as far as was in their power (applause, and a laugh); but to relieve the people as they ought and required to be relieved, was not the work of a day, nor of a year; no, it would be the work of much time and great consideration. A private gentleman, if he found that he was living too fast, had it in his power, at any time, to stop short. and get rid of his horses and his servants; he might alter his residence, or he might go on the Continent, and put his estate to nurse; but this was not the case with the Ministers of a nation; and he

therefore repeated, that if the meeting wished to attain its object, they must be careful not to ask too much. There was likewise another consideration which demanded their attention; if they asked for the remission of both the malt and beer tax, there would be a danger of a property tax being imposed upon the country; and not one confined exclusively to mortgages on property and government securities, but likewise extending to all landed property. Now, if this were the case, would not the members of Parliament be sure to oppose any thing that was likely to produce a tax calculated to bear so hard upon themselves? In the Upper House, in particular, where they were all men of landed property, every exertion would be made, under such circumstances, to prevent the remission prayed for. This being the feelings of the requisitionists, it became a matter of consideration with them for the repeal of which tax they should pray; and, after due deliberation, the preference being given to the malt tax, the present meeting was called, and for this reason — because it was considered that if they could procure the repeal of the malt tax, that would virtually be the repeal of the tax upon beer (cheers); and in that case not only would the brewer be enabled to reduce the price of his beer, but the price would be still more materially reduced by the labourer being enabled to brew for himself; nor did this refer to the labourer in husbandry alone; it was applicable to every individual throughout the kingdom. This might be thought only to refer to the small ale, but for his own part he was no enemy to the poor man having his pot of strong beer too (applause); it was a luxury which, after his toil, he had a right to enjoy; nor was he, when passing a public-house, horrified if he heard the rattle of the skittles, for why should not the poor man have his pastimes and amusements as well as the rich? (Applause.) It had been urged by some that the praying for the repeal of this or that particular tax was a sort of interference with the plans of the Minister; but suppose the Minister wished to relieve the people from a portion of

the taxes which they were enduring, what could a Minister wish for more than to have the particular tax pointed out which was deemed most oppressive? (Applause.) Surely, those who paid the taxes were the best judges of their weight. He did not mean to say that it would not be better to have a general modification of the malt tax, together with the beer tax and the licensing system, for no one wished more heartily than he did that the whole licensing system should undergo a revision. The faults of the present mode were both numerous and important; in his opinion, the magistrates should not be intrusted with any discretionary power (cheers); and the certificate which was now required as a recommendation should be sufficient to make it imperative on the magistrates to grant the license, without its being left only to their option. (Applause.) A reduction only of the duty on malt was objectionable, because, if the Ministers were to leave the tax in that state, the same army of excisemen would still be required. (Cheers). For himself, he was in the habit of sending his own barley to be made into malt, and he was charged 2s. the coomb, with the duty; but if the duty were entirely taken off, he could afford to sell it at 4s. 6d. the bushel. If any portion of the duty, however, was left, the malting would still be open to the excise (Hear, hear); and no one but the licensed maltster would be able to sell it; and for any other person to attempt it, or to meddle at all in the matter, would be ruin. In illustration of this, he knew a case in point, which had happened a few years ago. When the tax on salt existed, there was a duty on it of 16s. the bushel. This duty was afterwards lowered to 2s. the bushel, and, for agricultural use, to 6d.

(To be continued.)

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"Without great quantities of paper-money, the interest of the Debt cannot be paid out of the taxes; for though standing armies and gagging-bills and power-of-imprisonment-bills are dreadful things, their effect is not of that kind which enables people to pay taxes. In all human probability, then, the whole of the interest of the Debt, and all the sinecures and pensions and salaries, and all the expenses of a thundering standing army, will continue to be made up by taxes, by loans from the bank, by exchequer bills, by every species of contrivance, to the last possible moment; and until the whole of the paper-system, amidst the war of opinions, of projects, of interests and of passions, shall go to pieces, like a ship upon the rocks."—MR. COBBETT'S LEAVE-TAKING ADDRESS, dated *Liverpool*. 28th March, 1817, just before he set sail for *Long Island*.

NORTHERN TOUR.

(Continued from page 152.)

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Sheffield, 31st January, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

UPON this occasion, I address myself particularly to *you*, because, that which I have to say, after giving an account of my progress, is, in my opinion, deeply interesting to you.

In my last, I gave some account of my proceedings up to Tuesday night, the 26th instant, when I gave my third lecture at Leeds. I should in vain endeavour to give an adequate description of the pleasure which I felt at my reception, and at the effect which I produced in that fine and opulent capital of this great county of York; for the *capital* it is in fact, though not in name. On the first evening, the play-house, which is pretty spacious, was not completely filled in all its parts; but on the

second and the third, it was filled brim full, boxes, pit and gallery; besides a dozen or two of gentlemen who were accommodated with seats on the stage. Owing to a cold which I took at Huddersfield, and which I spoke of before, I was, as the players call it, not in very good voice; but the audience made allowance for that, and very wisely preferred sense to sound. I never was more delighted than with my audience at Leeds; and what I set the highest value on, is, that I find I produced a prodigious effect in that important town. There had been a meeting at Doncaster, a few days before I went to Leeds from Ripley, where one of the speakers, a Mr. BECKET DENISON had said, speaking of the taxes, that there must be an application of the *pruning hook* or of the *sponge*. This gentleman is a banker, I believe: he is one of the Becketts connected with the Lowthers; and he is a brother, or very near relation of that Sir John Becket who is the Judge Advocate General. So that, at last, others can talk of the pruning hook and the sponge, as well as I.

I cannot quit the subject of Leeds, without acknowledging the friendly attentions that I received from many gentlemen there, particularly from Mr. FOSTER, of that excellent provincial paper, the "*LEEDS PATRIOT*"; from Mr. HOBBS, Mr. MANN, and Dr. METCALFE. Here too, I had the pleasure to see for the first time, that Mr. DICKENSON, who detected the spy, OLIVER, and thereby saved, perhaps, scores of the lives of his countrymen; a merit, however, which was claimed by the great *Liar of the North*, commonly so called, who has been fattening for ten years upon the reputation of having performed this great service to Yorkshire. This great *Liar of the North* hid his head while I was in the town, came sneaking to the play-house, wrapped up in a sort of disguise; but I dare say he will break loose again in due time. Let him rave; and I do really feel sorrow that my

friend Mr. FOSTER, or any body else, should suffer themselves to be drawn aside for a moment from objects of real public importance, by the persevering lies and audacity of a grub-worm like this, who produces no effect in the way of thwarting their endeavours; who is, in fact, nullified by events and circumstances, and who can dupe none but those perverse fools who ought to be duped and ruined.

From Leeds I proceeded on to this place, not being able to stop at either Wakefield or Barnsley, except merely to change horses. The people in those towns were apprised of the time that I should pass through them; and, at each place, great numbers assembled to see me, to shake me by the hand, and to request me to stop. I was so hoarse as not to be able to make the post-boy hear me when I called to him; and, therefore, it would have been useless to stop; yet I promised to go back if my time and my voice would allow me. They do not; and I have written to the gentlemen of those places to inform them, that when I go to Scotland in the spring, I will not fail to stop in those towns, in order to express my gratitude to them. All the way along, from Leeds to Sheffield, it is coal and iron, and iron and coal. It was dark before we reached Sheffield; so that we saw the iron furnaces in all the horrible splendour of their everlasting blaze. Nothing can be conceived more grand or more terrific than the yellow waves of fire that incessantly issue from the top of these furnaces, some of which are close by the way-side. Nature has placed the beds of iron and the beds of coal alongside of each other, and art has taught man to make one to operate upon the other, as to turn the iron-stone into liquid matter, which is drained off from the bottom of the furnace, and afterwards moulded into blocks and bars, and all sorts of things. The combustibles are put into the top of the furnace, which stands thirty, forty, or fifty feet up in the air, and the ever-blazing mouth of which is kept supplied with coal and coke and iron-stone, from little iron wagons forced up

by steam, and brought down again to be re-filled. It is a surprising thing to behold; and it is impossible to behold it without being convinced that, whatever other nations may do with cotton and with wool, they will never equal England with regard to things made of iron and steel. This Sheffield, and the land all about it, is one bed of iron and coal. They call it black Sheffield, and black enough it is; but from this one town and its environs go nine-tenths of the knives that are used in the whole world; there being, I understand, no knives made at Birmingham; the manufacture of which place consists of the larger sort of implements, of locks of all sorts, and guns and swords, and of all the endless articles of hardware which go to the furnishing of a house. As to the land, viewed in the way of agriculture, it really does appear to be very little worth. I have not seen, except at Harewood and Ripley, a stack of wheat since I came into Yorkshire; and even there, the whole I saw; and all that I have seen since I came into Yorkshire; and all that I saw during a ride of six miles that I took into Derbyshire the day before yesterday; all put together would not make the one-half of what I have many times seen in one single rick-yard of the vales of Wiltshire. But this is all very proper: these coal-diggers, and iron-melters, and knife-makers, compel us to send the food to them, which, indeed, we do very cheerfully, in exchange for the produce of their rocks, and the wondrous works of their hands.

The trade of Sheffield has fallen off less in proportion than that of the other manufacturing districts. North America, and particularly the United States, where the people have so much victuals to cut, form a great branch of the custom of this town. If the people of Sheffield could only receive a tenth part of what their knives sell for by retail in America, Sheffield might pave its streets with silver. A gross of knives and forks is sold to the Americans for less than three knives and forks can be bought at retail in a country store in America. No fear of rivalry in this

trade. The Americans may lay on their tariff, and double it, and triple it ; but as long as they continue to *cut* their victuals, from Sheffield they must have the things to cut it with.

The ragged hills all round about this town are bespangled with groups of houses inhabited by the working cutlers. They have not suffered like the working weavers ; for, to make knives, there must be the hand of man. Therefore, machinery cannot come to destroy the wages of the labourer. The home demand has been very much diminished ; but still the depression has here not been what it has been, and what it is, where the machinery can be brought into play. We are here just upon the borders of Derbyshire, a nook of which runs up and separates Yorkshire from Nottinghamshire. I went to a village, the day before yesterday, called *Mosborough*, the whole of the people of which are employed in the making of *sickles* and *scythes* ; and where, as I was told, they are very well off even in these times. A prodigious quantity of these things go to the United States of America. In short, there are about twelve millions of people there, continually consuming these things ; and the hardware merchants here have their agents and their stores in the great towns of America ; which country, as far as relates to this branch of business, is still a part of old England. Upon my arriving here on Wednesday night, the 27th instant, I by no means intended to lecture until I should be a little recovered from my cold ; but, to my great mortification, I found that the lecture had been advertised, and that great numbers of persons had actually assembled. To send them out again, and give back the money, was a thing not to be attempted : I, therefore, went to the Music Hall, the place which had been taken for the purpose, gave them a specimen of the state of my voice, asked them whether I should proceed, and they, answering in the affirmative, on I went. I then rested until yesterday, and shall conclude my labours here to-morrow, and then proceed to "*fair Nottingham*," as we used to sing when

I was a boy, in celebrating the glorious exploits of "ROBIN HOOD and LITTLE JOHN." By the by, as we went from Huddersfield to Dewsbury, we passed by a hill which is celebrated as being the burial-place of the famed Robin Hood, of whom the people in this country talk to this day.

At Nottingham, they have advertised for my lecturing at the play-house, for the 3d, 4th, and 5th of February, and for a public breakfast to be given to me on the first of those days, I having declined a dinner agreeably to my original notification, and my friends insisting upon something or other in that sort of way. It is very curious that I have always had a very great desire to see Nottingham. This desire certainly originated in the great interest that I used to take, and that all country boys took, in the history of Robin Hood, in the record of whose achievements, which were so well calculated to excite admiration in country boys, this Nottingham, with the word "*fair*" always before it, was so often mentioned. The word *fair*, as used by our forefathers, meant fine ; for we frequently read in old descriptions of parts of the country of such a district or such a parish, containing a *fair* mansion, and the like ; so that this town appears to have been celebrated as a very fine place, even in ancient times ; but within the last thirty years, Nottingham has stood high in my estimation, from the conduct of its people ; from their public spirit ; from their excellent sense as to public matters ; from the noble struggle which they have made from the beginning of the French war to the present hour ; if only forty towns in England equal in size to Nottingham had followed its bright example, there would have been no French war against liberty ; the Debt would have been now nearly paid off, and we should have known nothing of those manifold miseries which now afflict, and those greater miseries which now menace, the country. The French would not have been in Cadiz ; the Russians would not have been at Constantinople ; the Americans would not have been in the Floridas ; we should not

have had to dread the combined fleets of America, France and Russia; and, which is the worst of all, we should not have seen the jails four times as big as they were; and should not have seen Englishmen reduced to such a state of misery as for the honest labouring man to be fed worse than the felons in the jails.

From Nottingham I intend to go to Leicester, on Saturday, the 6th of February, and to lecture there that night, if I shall have voice enough left for the purpose. Thence I intended to go to Wolverhampton; but my time will not permit; besides the probable deficiency in point of voice: and I hereby beg my friends at Wolverhampton to be assured, that I give up that place for the present with great regret, and will not fail to pay my respects to them in my way to modern Athens, in the spring. If I quit Leicester on Sunday, the 7th, I shall be in London on Monday, the 8th, and shall give a lecture at the MECHANICS' INSTITUTE, on Thursday, the 11th. This will depend upon the state of my voice; but further notice of which I will give in London, before the time shall arrive.

And now, my friends, readers of the Register, let me call your attention to that in which you have all a very deep interest, particularly if you have property dependent on the measures of the Government. What that Government will do, it is impossible for us even to guess. If it proceed in its present course, we may prepare for that convulsion, for which MURRAY'S *Quarterly Review* bids us prepare. If the King's Speech (which will appear before you can possibly see this) recommend to the Parliament to take the question of the currency, or the state of the country; if it recommend to the Parliament to take these, or either of them into *consideration*, then lay your account with a return to the base paper-money; to a raising of prices, and all the consequences which I shall mention more particularly by and by. And if, during the first debate, you perceive the Ministers to be prepared for appointing a committee to inquire into the causes of

the prevalent distress, then you may be sure that a return to the base paper-money is intended; and if there be a return to that base paper-money, then be prepared for it.

The consequence of a return to the base paper-money, no matter under what shape or in what name, is, that there must very soon be a stoppage of gold payments at the Bank. The banks about the country will be the agents for circulating the Bank of England paper, which will be issued on no security but that of the stock which the Bank holds, and which will, therefore, be a Government paper to all intents and purposes. The exchanges will immediately be against us all over the world. The French funds, and all other funds, will immediately rise all over England; because we shall be paying our dividends in depreciated paper, while their dividends will be payable in gold. If, therefore, you have money in the funds, as it is called, sell your stock instantly, and turn it into gold; for it is very probable that a sovereign will very soon sell for forty shillings in paper, if a measure so fatal as this were now to be adopted. If you have money lodged in the Bank, or with bankers, withdraw it and turn it into gold, unless you have an assurance from the conduct of the Government and the Parliament, that there is to be no return to a depreciated paper-money. Observe, that this measure, if it be resorted to, which I trust it will not, for how is it possible to believe that the Duke of Wellington, after his solemn declarations, will return to such a measure! If, however, the measure should be resorted to, do not expect any warning: it must come like a thief in the night: there must be no discussions on the matter; for, the moment people perceived that their stock or their deposits were about to be paid in a depreciated paper, they would rush to the Bank and to all the country bankers, and turn every scrap of paper that they held into so much gold. No man in his senses would fail to do this: it would be done as surely as that men love to save themselves from destruction. Therefore, if done at all, the stoppage of gold payments must

take place by order in Council, just as it did in the year 1797; and, very likely, on the very same day of the year, namely, on the 26th day of February!

See, then, the situation in which you would stand, if you had debts due to you; contracts unfulfilled of which you would be the receiver. In both these cases, you would be paid in depreciated money; if you had money in the funds, or money deposited with bankers, this money, the moment a stoppage took place at the Bank, would not be worth in reality one-half of what it is worth now. Therefore, be upon your guard: be prepared in time: get the gold, for that cannot deceive you. If you were to sell out, and lay by the gold, and if, after all, the Government and Parliament did not return to the base paper-money, you could lose but a trifle, a mere trifle of interest, while, on the other hand, you must and would lose one-half of your money if the legal tender were to come and find your money in the hands of others. Be therefore prepared, my friends. Scores of men, since I have been from home, have come to me on purpose to thank me for having given that advice to them, by following which they have saved their fortunes; or, at least, saved themselves from ruin. Be you advised now, then: be you on your guard now; and do not stand hesitating and doubting about the matter: get the gold, trust nobody, have no outstanding credits anywhere, draw all close about you; diminish your expenses as much as possible; and be snugly prepared for the grand catastrophe.

It is said by some, that the paper-money, if put out again, will be put out with limitations and restrictions, and will not be suffered to be out in such quantities as to expose the banks to blowing up. Now observe, what is the object of putting out the paper-money? It is to cause *prices to rise*. Prices cannot rise in consequence of any additional quantity of money, without a depreciation of the money; that is to say, without making the paper-money less valuable than the gold; so that the very object of putting out the paper-

money is to cause the value of the money to be less than it is now. It would be useless to put out a small quantity of the paper-money; because that would not bring the relief that is wanted. The quantity put out must be large; and it must be made a legal tender, or it could not be kept out; so that, here would be open and avowed bankruptcy; an openly declared inability to pay in gold; on every exchange in the world, England would be written up for a bankrupt nation; its paper-money would be assignats to all intents and purposes; and never could the nation recover from that state, without passing through a series of convulsions something like those which marked the progress of the French Revolution.

The paper-money being made legal tender, all men must receive it in payments of debt; all mortgagees and annuitants must receive it in payment of interest; the fundholders must receive it in payment of their dividends; the Government must receive it in payment of taxes; for the remainder of the present leases, landlords must receive it in payment of rents; but the gold, of which there is now a great quantity everywhere throughout the country, would assert its right of superior value. As far as sensible men were enabled to hoard, they would hoard it; but a part of it must be used as currency still; and as every man, after the experience that we have had, would wish to possess gold in preference to paper, the gold sovereign will pass for more than a pound in paper, and men would carry on their private transactions very frequently in gold. Hence would come, in a very short time, *two prices* in buying and selling: a paper price and a money price. The law of legal tender could not interfere here. The tender would be legal in the case of debts, contracts, dividends, and taxes; but ROBESPIERRE, and ROBESPIERRE only, ever dreamed of a law to prevent men from making bargains, specifying a distinction between the paper and the gold. Therefore, we should make that distinction in a very short time. A man who had been paid once in legal tender, would take care

the next time to be paid in gold, or in a greater quantity of paper in proportion to the depreciation of that paper. When I was in France, a little before the reign of ROBESPIERRE, I used to send a guinea to almost any shop in St. Omer's, and receive about 120 or 130 francs for it in paper. When I went into the market, which I always did to get the butter, while I was at lodgings at St. Omer's, the market women used to say, when I asked the price of a piece of butter, "Six francs, Sir; but if you pay in money, *one franc*," or thereabouts. So will it be in England in a very short time, if horrible bankruptey and legal tender make their appearance again. Six one-pound notes for a pig; but if you pay in money, a sovereign. This is TWO PRICES; and as PARRE said long ago, two prices are the passing-bell of paper-money.

Then, look at the situation of the Government: collecting its taxes in worthless rags; paying its soldiers two-pence in reality, instead of thirteen-pence a day. No one will give the tax-gatherer a bit of hard money: all the hard money will be kept hoarded, or will be confined to the traffic between man and man. In short, the Government and Parliament have, ever since the year 1819, been attempting to accomplish that most impossible of all impossible things; namely, the compelling of a nation to pay in real money debts contracted and appointments made in depreciated money.

Some men imagine, that because the nation experienced little distress during the war, while legal tender existed, it would experience no distress now if we to return to the legal tender. These men forget that the circumstances have totally changed; that the commerce of all the world was then at our command; that foreigners could not come here except by special license; that England was the place of deposit for all the riches of Europe; that there were no means of sending the gold out of the country; that the gold was, in fact, not in circulation at all, the greater part having been sent away by the Government; that individuals had no chan-

nels through which to send it; that there was no open market for it; and that the people did not understand^a as they now understand, the doctrine of depreciation, and the vast superiority of gold over paper. Vain, therefore, is the hope that a legal tender paper would not now lead to two prices. Who would venture to keep buying a parcel of paper-money, having no fixed value, liable to lose one-half of its worth in the course of six months? Every one would be anxious to have some gold, and as much as possible. Every man who went abroad must take some gold to pay his expenses. Therefore, men would seek to have gold; and, in order to obtain it, they would make their sales for gold. Whatever he might want to pay rent, to pay taxes, to pay interest on mortgage, to pay annuities, he would be content to have in paper; but whatever he wanted to keep by him for any time at all, he would take care to have in gold. There would be a paper price and a gold price, as there was in the market of St. Omer's, and the Government would have to receive the paper, and the gold would remain amongst the people. ROBESPIERRE passed a law to put people to death for making this distinction; he would insist that assignats and gold should circulate side by side; and, after having shed rivers of blood to accomplish his purpose, came the just guillotine which put an end to his law and his life.

Thus, my friends, you are warned in time: be sensible, be wise: turn into gold every thing that you can, and then sleep soundly in the night, and in the day-time calmly view the progress of events. If you disregard my advice; if you treat it with suspicion; if you hesitate to act upon it; and if ruin fall upon you, the fault will not be mine. If you have any thing to sell, and can obtain any thing near the value of it for ready money, sell it now, and turn the proceeds into gold, and keep this gold until the end of the session of Parliament, which is now about to begin. I tell you again, that if legal tender come, it will come like a thief in the night.

Be vigilant; be prudent; act at once,
and believe me

Your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Look at the motto to this paper; look well at it; read it a dozen times over: in such an hour, how precious will be a sovereign in gold!

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.

THE last notice that I gave about this work, was, that the next Number would be published on the 10th of February. I then thought that I should be in town sooner than I shall be there. I must, therefore, put it off until the first of March, when I shall continue it monthly regularly until the work be completed. Since I have been from home, scores of persons have come to me to thank me for writing this book, especially young men; which is calculated to give me, and does give me, a great deal of pleasure and of pride. A very good-looking rather young man introduced himself to me at Leeds, with a request to shake me by the hand, and as he held my hand in his, he said, "I have to thank this hand for making me a sober man." And certainly I do believe that I have done more in this way than all the parsons in the kingdom; than all the teachers of all the sorts of religion put together. I write that which men will read, and remember as well as read; and my little books will be read with delight and advantage, when all the dull rubbish of all the lazy parsons, and all the mongrel teachers, will have been used for the singeing of fowls, or for purposes more vile.

BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL UNION.

THIS is a very important matter. We see, at last, then, the middle class uniting with the working classes. Everywhere where I have been, I have endeavoured to show the necessity of

such union. The boroughmongers have long contrived to divide these two classes, for purposes much too obvious to mention. At last, the middle class begins to perceive that it must be totally sacrificed, unless it make a stand, and a stand it cannot make unsupported by the lower class. The declaration, or address, put forth by the leaders in this union, is evidently from the pen of Mr. THOMAS ARTWOOD: and, like every thing else that comes from his pen, exhibits a great deal of knowledge and a great deal of talent. The main object of the union is to obtain for these two classes their share of the representation in Parliament. Were I disposed to be as ill-natured as some people have been towards me, I might call this *inconsistent* in Mr. ARTWOOD, seeing that, only last year, he disapproved of my wishing for reform, until the grand question of the currency should be settled. I do not call this inconsistency in him: he has seen reason to change his mind; he has seen reason to convince him that the nation cannot be saved without admitting the people at large to a share in the representation. This now seems to be the opinion of all men of any sense and sincerity. Everywhere you hear men exclaim, that no effort is of any avail, or can be of any avail, as long as the House of Commons shall be constituted as it is. It is in vain to attempt to disguise this fact. Reform or convulsion is our choice. It is now twenty years since I contended in print over and over again, that as long as the paper bubble could be kept up we should have no reform; and now that the bubble seems to be drawing towards the close of its destructive existence, reform appears to be approaching almost of its own accord.

There is an article in the *QUARTERLY REVIEW* that has excited a great deal of public attention. It calls for a *reform of Parliament*; it calls for an *adjustment*; it calls, in short, for what I have been calling for so many years. It calls for those very things which it applauded the Ministers for in 1817, for endeavouring to stifle by their dungeon and gagging bills. Strange change! But no-

thing like the changes that we have yet to behold. We shall see such changes before three years are over our heads ; or, at any rate, in a comparatively short space of time, as no nation ever yet saw. The people everywhere are in full expectation of these changes : you meet with not a man who is not prepared for them ; and it is very curious that every one seems to look forward to them as the only ground of hope. I look upon this Birmingham address as a matter of great public importance, and as such, I insert it here, recommending my readers to go through it with the greatest attention.

BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL UNION,
FOR THE PROTECTION OF PUBLIC
RIGHTS.

The experience of the last fifteen years, must certainly have convinced the most incredulous that the rights and interests of the middle and lower classes of the people, are not efficiently represented in the Commons' House of Parliament. A very few observations will be sufficient to place this important subject beyond the possibility of doubt.

In the year 1819, a bill was passed into a law, under the assumption that it would add only *four per cent.* to the national taxes and burdens. It is now very generally acknowledged that the bill thus passed into a law, has added *cent. per cent.* to the national burdens ; instead of *four per cent.*, that it is literally *doubled*, or is in the undeniable process of *doubling*, the real weight, and the real value of every tax, rent, and monied obligation, in the kingdom. Ten years have since elapsed : and yet, to this day, no adequate effort has been made by the representatives of the people to reduce the taxes in a degree corresponding with the increase which has thus been *surreptitiously* effected in their weight and pressure ! What further proof is required of the absolute necessity of reform ?

Nor has any attempt been made by the legislature to retrace their steps, and to rectify the grievous oppression which has thus been occasioned. On the contrary, the fatal error is now coolly acknowledged, and the country is gravely assured, by the very men who benefit by the measure, that it is *now too late to retreat ! !*

At three different periods, during the operation of this fatal measure, and now a fourth time, the industrious classes of the community generally, have been reduced to a state of distress which has heretofore been unexampled in its general extent and severity. At each of these periods, the profits of productive capital and industry have been destroyed,

or so much reduced, as no longer to afford the just and necessary inducements to the employment of labour. The working classes of the country have thus been thrown generally out of employment, or they have been compelled to endure more labour than nature can support, or their fair and reasonable earnings have been sacrificed, in order to prevent the ruin of their employers.

Strange and unnatural as this state of things evidently is, it has, more than once, been attended with anomalies which have rendered it ten times more unnatural still. The markets have been glutted with food and clothing on the one hand, and with a hungry and naked population on the other. The most eminent parliamentary authorities have declared that the *leaves* have been too many for the *moules*, and that the *moules* have been too many for the *leaves*, *at the very same time !*

It is most certain, that if the rights and interests of the industrious classes of the community had been properly represented in Parliament, a general state of distress, attended with anomalies like these, would have commanded the instant attention of the House of Commons. The *cause* of the distress would have been ascertained, and the proper remedy would have been applied without delay. But, what has been the conduct of the House of Commons ? To this very day, the *cause* of these strange and unnatural, and distressful anomalies, has never once been inquired into ! At three different periods, when this vital subject has been brought before the House of Commons, *they have literally refused to allow its investigation !* In the year 1822, Mr. Western gave notice of a motion to inquire into the *cause* of the national distress. *The House of Commons refused to grant the inquiry !* In 1827, Mr. Edward Davenport gave notice of a similar motion. *The House of Commons refused to grant the inquiry !* In the last year, Sir Richard Vyvyan gave notice of a similar motion. *And again the House of Commons refused to grant the inquiry !* Upon three different occasions, the House of Commons has thus exposed itself to the suspicion of either a total *unwillingness*, or a total *inability*, to protect the most vital interests of the country.

Here, then, we have *proof* that the rights and interests of the great mass of the community are not properly represented in Parliament. A triple proof has been added to every argument which had previously been drawn from reason and experience, that an effectual representation of the industrious classes in the Commons' House of Parliament is alike necessary to the welfare of the people, and the safety of the throne.

Nor is this state of things much to be wondered at, when the present state and composition of the Commons' House of Parliament are considered. That honourable House, in its present state, is evidently too far removed in habits, wealth, and station, from the wants and interests of the lower and middle classes

of the people, to have any just views respecting them, or any close identity of feeling with them. The great aristocratical interests of all kinds are well represented there. The landed interest, the church, the law, the monied interest;—all these have engrossed, as it were, the House of Commons into their own hands, the members of that honourable House being all immediately and closely connected with those great interests. *But the interests of industry and of trade have scarcely any representatives at all!* These, the most vital interests of the nation, the sources of all its wealth and of all its strength, are comparatively *unrepresented*; whilst every interest connected in any way with the *national burdens* is represented in the fullest degree! If any few individual members of the House of Commons should happen to be concerned in trade, it may be truly said that such members are in general far more concerned in interests hostile to trade, than in trade itself. They are, too often, rich and retired capitalists, who have, perhaps, left *one-tenth* of their wealth in trade, and have withdrawn the other *nine-tenths* from active occupation. It is, therefore, of but little consequence to them whether trade flourishes or not. It is possible, indeed, that upon some occasions, these rich and retired capitalists may derive a jealous and morbid satisfaction from the sufferings of their competitors in trade; and after having availed themselves of the facilities of *credit*, to accumulate their own fortunes, they may possibly contemplate, with pleasure, the removal of those facilities from others, and their hopeless and unavailing struggles to follow in the same career.

Undoubtedly, it is essential to the national welfare that this state of things should be changed. The "*Citizens and Burgesses*" of the House of Commons should, in general, be real "*Citizens and Burgesses*;" men engaged in trade, and actively concerned in it; and having their fortunes and their prospects in life committed in it. The present members of the House of Commons, although called "*Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses*," are *practically* all "*Knights of the Shire*;" inasmuch as they are generally possessed of the same fortunes, and living under the same habits, influences, and impressions as "*Knights of the Shire*." It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the members of the House of Commons should exhibit, generally, a total ignorance of trade, and of the wants and interests of the industrious classes of the community; and too frequently an indisposition to inquire into the distresses of the trade, or to give themselves any great trouble in relieving them.

It is idle to blame this kind of conduct in them. It is in the nature of man to look principally to his own interest. *It is the public themselves who are to blame, for having allowed a state of things to grow up in which the public interests are entrusted into improper hands.* If the public had kept a proper guard over their own concerns; if they had sent to Parliamen-

tal "*Citizens and Burgesses*," selected from among themselves, and having the same interests as themselves, acquainted with the same wants, and modes, and means, and living under the same habits, influences, and impressions as themselves, then the rights and interests of the industrious classes would have been properly guarded and secured. *This was the practice in the better days of the constitution; and it must become the practice again; or there can be no prosperity, no liberty, no security for this injured and degraded nation.*

But it is not merely of the want of a community of interest, of feeling, and of knowledge in the House of Commons, that the industrious classes have a right to complain. A majority of that honourable House is generally believed to be elected by a few hundred rich individuals only; and near one hundred of its members are exposed to the suspicion of having their judgments biassed by the influence of emoluments drawn from the public purse. The interests of the mass of the people are thus exposed to dangers on all sides, and protected on none. Ignorance, imbecility, and indifference, on the one hand; power, influence, and perhaps corruption, on the other; all these combine to render the cause of the industrious classes hopeless in England, unless some measures can be devised for restoring to those important classes that legal control over the legislative functions, which the constitution has originally placed in their hands. Without this, it is probable that the reward of industry will be permanently destroyed; and that the merchants, manufacturers, farmers, and traders of the united kingdom will be reduced to a state of general poverty and degradation; whilst the working classes will be driven down in their wages, and deprived of employment generally, until they have no other resource but the overcrowded workhouse for their support.

From all these considerations, it follows, therefore, that an effectual reform in the Commons' House of Parliament is absolutely necessary for the welfare and security of the country.

But how is reform to be obtained? Is it reasonable to expect that the men whose ignorance and imbecility have caused the national injuries and distresses, should voluntarily reform themselves? The thing is not possible. What then must we do? Shall we have recourse to a vigour trenching upon the law? God forbid. Fortunately for us, and for our country, the constitution has yet preserved to us some conservatory principles, to which we may have recourse, and by means of which we may hope that this great and vital object may be accomplished in a just, legal, and peaceful way.

The exercise of those principles, however, is surrounded with many legal difficulties and dangers, which can only be counteracted by a general union and organization of the industrious classes, and which render counsel, caution, and direction, necessary at every step.

The soundest legal advice, the most inflexible integrity, the most generous, upright, and honourable motives, and the most dutiful submission to the laws, are all required to ensure ultimate success.

Under these circumstances, therefore, it is necessary to form a general political union and organization of the industrious classes, and to appoint a political council, to inquire, consult, consider, and determine, and report from time to time, upon the legal rights which yet remain to us, and upon the political measures which it may be legal and advisable to have recourse to. It is necessary also, to provide permanent funds for the defrayment of the necessary legal expenses, which may be incurred, under the direction of the POLITICAL COUNCIL; for money is the *sinew of law*; and without great expense, no great object can be secured.

But it is not alone in the cause of *reform*, that union, and counsel, and organization, and co-operation, are necessary on the part of the industrious classes. The benefits which even the present state of the representation is capable of administering, are not properly secured to the public from the want of some organized and efficient means of bringing the interests and opinions, and the wants and modes and means of the community to the knowledge of the legislative bodies. It is an old proverb, that "*what is every one's business is no one's business*," and, therefore, the common business of "*every one*," is generally attended to by *none*. What more important business can "*every one*" have, than that of bringing the interests and the wants of the community to the knowledge of the legislative councils? However desirous both Houses of Parliament may be of promoting the happiness and welfare of the community, they have not sufficient means of obtaining a knowledge of their wants and interests, nor of the measures necessary for their gratification and protection. Bred up in the lap of luxury, and surrounded by bands of flatterers and parasites, and of interested and designing men, whose business is to deceive and misrepresent, the members of the legislature have no sufficient means of coming to a knowledge of the wide-spread havoc which their own measures produce throughout the country. A casual town's meeting now and then, without system, consistency, or permanency of object, or operation, and, perhaps, a county meeting at distant intervals, still more precarious and irregular, combined with dubious and generally delusive representations from the public press; these furnish, at present, almost the only means of bringing the constituent and the legislative bodies into useful and efficient contact with each other. Hence, the pernicious legislation under which the country now suffers. Hence, the innumerable acts of parliament, which are passed to day and repealed to-morrow, which are passed again on the third day, and again counteracted on the fourth, and which, whether passed, or repealed, or counteracted, or continued in force, have still a constant and increasing

tendency to trench upon the rights and interests of the industrious classes of the community. If those important classes of men had been properly protected by political unions among themselves, if they had possessed political councils in all the great towns and districts, with ample funds at their command, and with such intellect and integrity as their own ranks abundantly afford; under these circumstances, it would not have been possible for those innumerable acts to have been passed, which now *hem in*, as it were, the rights and liberties of the subject on every side, and render it almost impossible for the *poor man* to move, without *trenching upon a law*. Societies of this kind, would have watched closely the proceedings of the legislature, they would have sounded the alarm on the approach of danger; they would have pointed out every rash, unjust, destructive or oppressive measure, the very moment it was first agitated; and there is no reason to believe that Parliament would not have listened to remonstrances thus timely, constitutionally, and efficiently supplied. The *tax receivers*, would have been reduced in their capital and income, in the same degree as the *tax payers*; or they would, at any rate, never have been permitted to build up their own aggrandisement out of the plunder and degradation of the *tax payers*! The *taxes* of the country, instead of pressing almost exclusively upon the *poor*, would have been made to press justly and equally upon the *rich*; instead of *throttling*, as it were, the industry of the country, and consigning the struggling tradesman to the gaol, they would have been collected out of the accumulations and superfluities of the nation, and not out of its difficulties, embarrassments, and distresses. The prosperity of *all* would have been preserved; and *all* would have been brought to contribute *equally* to the national emergencies, according to their respective means.

Undoubtedly, it is just and necessary that the taxes of the country should be reduced in the same degree as the price of labour is reduced, and as the value of the money in which they are collected is increased. We estimate this reduction of taxes at full *one-half* their present amount. By a measure of this kind, much distress and injury must certainly be experienced among the *tax receivers* and dependents of the Government. But this distress and injury have already been experienced in a *sevenfold degree* by the *tax payers*. The same justice *ought* to exist for one as for the other. We could have wished that all distress and injury might have been prevented, among either of these great divisions of society, by a just and proper adaptation of the money of the country, to the existing state of the taxes, rents, debts, contracts, and obligations of the country. By this great measure, all the distress which the country has endured, *might have been prevented*. By this great measure, all the distress which the country now suffers, *may yet be relieved*. By this great measure, the general state of prosperity which existed

in the years 1824 and 1825, may yet be restored, and rendered permanent throughout the country.

All this was and is in the power of the Government, unless indeed the devastation of agriculture, combined with the exclusion of foreign grain from our markets, have already destroyed the stock of provisions necessary for the support of the population.

But the Government have refused this just, wholesome, and necessary measure. Instead of adjusting the measure of value, they have decreed that the country shall be forced through the rugged path of adjusting the innumerable things which it measures!! Instead of accommodating their money to the existing habits and associations of men's minds, and to the state of prices, taxes, contracts, wages, rents, debts, and obligations existing among the present generation of men, they have thought proper to force back all those great interests into conformity with an ancient, obsolete, and unfit standard of value! It is through this rugged road, that the Government compels the nation to travel. Be it so then. The Government have chosen their own path. It is but just that it should lead them to the same reckoning as it brings the country. It is but just that the taxes of the Government should be reduced in the same degree as the wages of labour. The Government will give to us the ancient prices and the ancient wages. We will give to them the ancient taxes and the ancient salaries. All their salaries, payments, and expenses were doubled in depreciated money. But they were not doubled in the ancient moneys. Nor shall they so be doubled with our consent. We will give them one-half the present moneyed amount of the taxes. We will give them the full amount of the property and labour which we contracted to give them when the present taxes were imposed. But we will not willingly give them one shilling more. This is the line of conduct which the Government forces upon us. The taxes of the country are now doubled in real value by the increase which is effected in the value of the money in which they are collected. And when the present monetary measures of the Government shall have produced their full effect in forcing down the prices of British property and labour to the continental level, there can then be no doubt that the pressure of the taxes upon the industrious classes will be double what it now is.

Unless the taxes, therefore, are reduced in the same degree as the value of money is raised, all the property and all the labour of the country will be laid prostrate at the feet of the Government! Therefore the taxes must be reduced.

One other subject requires the most serious investigation. No one can have read the Bank Reports of the two Houses of Parliament, upon which the Act, which has had the effect of confiscating the property and labour of the industrious classes, was founded in 1819, without being struck with the remarkable discrepancy which exists between the evidence given, and the decision come to. Almost every

witness that was examined, gave warning of the general distress which such a tremendous measure must produce; but when the distress came, it was strangely and perversely attributed to every possible cause that could be imagined, excepting only the one which the witnesses had pointed out and foretold!! Nor can any one have attended to the proceedings of Parliament for the last ten years, without being still more forcibly struck with the oblique and pertinacious determination which has been constantly exhibited, or refuse all further inquiry into this most important subject. The subject indeed has been shunned as a very pestilence, as if it were not possible to allude to it without some great and undefined danger, which it was of the last importance to avoid. In the mean while, it is undoubted that this very measure has occasioned hundreds of millions sterling of profit to some parties, whilst much greater losses have been occasioned to others. Now, if any part of this enormous and unjust profit should have found its way corruptly into the pockets of members of Parliament, who may possibly have made both the Parliament and the country their dupes, the national justice most certainly requires that such members of Parliament should be brought to trial, and to condign punishment.

When the notorious South Sea Scheme was exposed and brought to light about a hundred years ago, the whole country resounded with petitions from all quarters, calling for justice on the heads of the guilty. In this nefarious conspiracy, members of Parliament, lords of the treasury, chancellors of the exchequer, and secretaries of state, were found implicated; and all were brought to justice. An Act of Parliament was passed to prevent the parties implicated from leaving the kingdom, and also from alienating their estates and effects. Another Act of Parliament was passed for the purpose of inquiring into the private fortunes of the directors and promoters of the scheme; and of compelling them to give up the plunder which they had made. Under this Act of Parliament, the directors were compelled to give up from their private fortunes the sum of 1,700,000*l.*, an immense sum in those days, which was afterwards distributed among their victims as some small compensation for the losses which they had sustained. Upon the present occasion, there can be no doubt that the losses and injuries which have already been inflicted by the Act of 1819, have been a hundred times greater than any which attended the South Sea Scheme. It is, therefore, of the highest importance, that an effectual Parliamentary inquiry should be instituted into this mysterious subject, and that any members of Parliament, who may corruptly have derived profit from the national injuries, should be compelled to give up such profit for the purpose of distributing it among the victims of their policy, or of otherwise appropriating it as circumstances may require.

Thousands of respectable families have been ruined. Tens of thousands have been more

or less impoverished and deprived of the hard-earned fruits of their honest industry. Hundreds of thousands of valuable workmen have been deprived of employment, and reduced to a state of indigence and degradation. The whole country has been covered with difficulties, discords, and anxieties; with losses, injuries, and privations; with broken fortunes; with broken hearts. Who has done these things? *A national investigation must be instituted.*

On whatsoever side we turn our eyes, we thus find subjects of the highest public importance, every where demanding the public attention, and every where requiring the legal interference of the industrious classes. The vindication of the NATIONAL JUSTICE, the equalisation and reduction of the NATIONAL TAXES, the protection of public rights, THE REDRESS OF PUBLIC WRONGS, the necessity of REFORM IN PARLIAMENT, and the relief of the NATIONAL DISTRESS, *all require that the NATIONAL MIND should slumber no more.*

Under these views and impressions it is, therefore, that we propose to form, in BIRMINGHAM, a GENERAL POLITICAL UNION of the INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, for the PROTECTION OF PUBLIC RIGHTS. We are forbidden to exercise the constitutional privilege of electing MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT; but we are not forbidden to appoint *councils of our own*, under whose guidance we may act, and through whose means we may bring the moral force of the public opinion, to act legally upon the legislative functions. By means of these *councils*, dependent on the breath of the PEOPLE, and representing the true interests of the PEOPLE, we may yet hope to have the RIGHTS, LIBERTIES, and INTERESTS OF ALL, peacefully and legally restored and secured. We shall, at any rate, succeed in collecting and organizing the public opinion, and in bringing the public wrongs and grievances to the knowledge of the legislative bodies, and more particularly of the Crown itself, the natural refuge of the people under all complaints against the House of Commons. Our gracious King still possesses high and extensive prerogatives regarding the elections of members of Parliament, and those prerogatives we cannot doubt that he will put in force, for the protection of his faithful people, whenever their wants and interests shall have been fully and efficiently ascertained.

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7th.—To promote *peace*, union, and concord, among all classes of his Majesty's subjects, and to guide and direct the public mind into uniform, peaceful, and legitimate operations; instead of leaving it to waste its strength in loose, desultory, and unconnected exertions, or to carve to its own objects, unguided, unassisted, and uncontrolled.

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3rd.—All persons becoming members of the Union, are expected to contribute such donations and annual or quarterly subscriptions as they can conveniently afford, the subscriptions not being less than 1s. per quarter.

4th.—A general annual meeting of the members of the Union takes place on the first Monday in July. The members of the Union also meet whenever called together by order of the Political Council, or by a requisition signed by the chairman or deputy chairman of the Political Council, and countersigned by the secretary; or by a requisition signed by any seven of the Political Council, or by not less than 200 members of the Union. No general meeting can be held unless the requisition is advertised in a Birmingham newspaper, or otherwise is placarded in fifty streets of the town. The Secretary produces the books for inspection at all general meetings.

5th.—The general meetings of the members of the Union choose annually, on the first Monday in July, the POLITICAL COUNCIL of not less than 36 individuals; into whose hands the disposition and expenditure of the funds of the Society, and the general management of its concerns for the ensuing year, are confided.

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16th.—The subscriptions of noblemen and gentlemen, are invited in support of the POLITICAL UNION; the objects of which being strictly conservatory, are calculated in restoring the just rights and interests of the INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, to confirm the CONSTITUTIONAL PRIVILEGES of the ARISTOCRACY, and to preserve every class of the community from the common anarchy which threatens all.

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7th.—Never to forget that by the exercise of the above qualities, we shall produce the

peaceful display of an immense, organized, moral power, which cannot be despised or disregarded; but that, if we do not keep clear of the *innumerable and intricate laws* which surround us, the *lawyer* and the *soldier* will probably break in upon us, and render all our exertions vain.

The following are the duties of the MEMBERS of the POLITICAL COUNCIL:

1st.—To endeavour, to the utmost of their power, to carry into effect the OBJECTS of the POLITICAL UNION, by every just, legal, and peaceful means.

2nd.—To use none other than just, legal, and peaceful means.

3rd.—To seek no private objects of their own, and to use the funds of the society solely in promoting the objects of the society.

4th.—To watch closely the proceedings of the Legislature, and to present petitions and remonstrances to the Crown and Legislative Bodies, whenever the rights, liberties, and interests of the lower and middle classes of the community are invaded; or, whenever they can be restored or secured.

5th.—To endeavour to devise the means of preserving the peace and order of this town and neighbourhood, during any political convulsions which may be brought upon the country, through the distress occasioned by the mismanagement of public affairs.

6th.—To consider and report upon the legality and practicability of holding CENTRAL MEETINGS of DELEGATES from the INDUSTRIAL CLASSES, in the same manner as similar kinds of MEETINGS were lately held by the DELEGATES of the *Agriculturalists*, assembled at Henderson's Hotel.

7th.—To consider the means of organizing a system of operations, whereby the PUBLIC PRESS may be influenced to act generally in support of the PUBLIC INTERESTS.

8th.—In all their proceedings, to look chiefly to the recovery and preservation of the RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF THE LOWER AND MIDDLE CLASSES OF THE PEOPLE, taking care never to sanction any measures which are calculated to circumscribe or endanger any just rights or immunities of the privileged orders.

These, then, are the VIEWS AND OBJECTS, and these are the RULES, REGULATIONS, and PROVISIONS under which we propose to form the POLITICAL UNION FOR THE PROTECTION OF PUBLIC RIGHTS. We respectfully submit them to our FELLOW-TOWNSMEN, for their sanction and support, and for such corrections and improvements as they may suggest.

In seeking a reform in the Commons' House of Parliament, we think it proper to declare that we make no complaint against the House of Lords. That Right Honourable House fulfils its duty as an intermediate body between the Crown and the people; and it has often stood forward in defence of popular rights, when those rights have been endangered. But, by some means or other, the influence of

the House of Lords breaking out from its proper sphere, has gradually extended itself to the elections of the members of the House of Commons, and this latter House, thus partaking of the station, habits, and modes of thinking of the Upper House, has, consequently, lost its original character, and become inefficient for the discharge of the duties prescribed to it by the constitution.

Nor have we any fault to find in the general frame and fabric of our excellent constitution. On the contrary, we readily acknowledge, what all experience confirms, that no system could possibly be devised, better suited to the genius and habits of the British people. We only find fault with the present state and composition of the *People's own House*, where, in our judgment, the interests and rights of the people are not properly understood; and, consequently, not properly defended and secured. If we should succeed in obtaining a just and effectual reform in this honourable House, it will be happy for us, and for all classes of our countrymen; for it is now sufficiently evident that through the mismanagement and inefficiency of the House of Commons, the aristocracy themselves are beginning to feel the injuries and the dangers to which the industrious classes have so long and so cruelly been exposed. We call, therefore, with confidence upon the ancient aristocracy of the land to come forward, and take their proper station at the head of the people, in this great crisis of the national affairs. They have, formerly, defended their country against the open exercise of tyrannical power. We trust that they will now, also, defend it against the silent and undermining encroachments of a corrupt borough influence, which deprives them of their just political power, and threatens their interest in common with our own.

Above all things, we rely upon the benevolence and paternal affection of our good and patriot King. We deprecate sincerely the insidious and criminal attempts, which we frequently witness, to hold up our gracious Sovereign before the eyes of his people in an unworthy and derogatory light; and those equally insidious efforts which are also made to hold up before the Royal eyes, the faithful and affectionate subjects of his Majesty, as disaffected to his Royal person, or to his kingly office and Government. All these attempts we deprecate, as calculated and intended to sow distrust and dislike between his Majesty and his faithful and loyal people, in order that the guilty parties concerned in these calumnies may find the means of controlling and circumscribing the Royal prerogatives, on the one hand, and the just rights and liberties of the people, on the other. It is with this guilty object that these atrocious calumnies are propagated. It shall be our study to counteract them, as far as lies in our humble power, by exhibiting, upon every occasion, the most sincere attachment to the sacred person of the King, and the most dutiful submission to the laws.

If our fellow townsmen should think proper to act upon the plan which we have laid down, and if their example should be followed up by similar Unions throughout the country, we cannot but anticipate the most important benefits to the LOWER AND MIDDLE CLASSES of the community. These classes will thus possess representative bodies of their own, chosen annually by themselves, and entirely dependent upon themselves; by means of which they will be enabled to act upon the national legislature in a just, legal, and efficient way. The PUBLIC OPINION, instead of being scattered and diffused throughout the country, and concealed within the breasts of individuals, will be collected and concentrated in influential masses; and in those masses it will be guided and directed into wholesome and legal operation upon the legislature of the country.

We have given great power to the Political Council. In all organized bodies, power must exist somewhere, or there can be no order, no discipline, no unity of object or operation. Under the present operation of the public opinion, every thing is disjointed and inefficient. One man petitions for one object, a second petitions for another; a third moves to-day, a fourth moves to-morrow; a fifth recommends one line of conduct, a sixth recommends another. All this is futile. What, for example, could be expected to a military body acting upon principles like these? The exertions of a whole army would come to nothing. So it is with the moral army of public opinion. To become efficient, it must have organization, order, discipline, and unity of object and operation. It must be animated with one common mind. It must move to one common object. It must move through the same road, and at the same time. Without this, we can do nothing. By a moral discipline of this kind, if we have virtue to act upon it, we can do every thing that is just and proper for us to do. It is, therefore, that we have made obedience to the Council an indispensable rule of our Society. But, in return for this, we have made the Council entirely dependent upon the General Meetings of the Union. By these means, we hope that we establish a system, which combines the order, unity, and effect of discipline, with the force and freedom of popular enthusiasm.

In carrying this great object into effect, we use no violence, and we allow none. Far from us, and far from our righteous cause, be the use of means which we deprecate in others, and which no circumstances could justify in us, so long as our last remaining liberties are left to us; and as the KING'S THRONE presents a bulwark, under which his faithful people may find a shelter from the oppressor's wrong. We seek no wrong to others. We only seek justice for ourselves and for our country. We put in force two constitutional rights; the right of meeting together, peacefully and legally; and the right of petitioning Parliament. We only meet, consult, resolve, and petition. We discuss the effect of public mea-

sures upon our own affairs, and we take the proper legal steps for securing our own redress. In a great national emergency, when the legislature has lost its *land marks*, and its guides to the national welfare, we bring forwards the intelligence, the public spirit, and the practical knowledge of the industrious classes, to the aid of the legislative councils.

In any common state of things, tradesmen and mechanics might not, perhaps, be called upon to interfere in political subjects. Each individual is perhaps more beneficially employed for himself, and for his country, in confining his industry within his own particular occupation. This *might be the case*, when the public affairs are both honestly and rationally conducted; but it is not so now. The public business is now become the best private business for every man to attend to. Without attention to public affairs, indeed, there is now no security for private interests. Until the public business is better conducted, it is in vain that the industrious classes use diligence, and prudence, and economy, and anxiety, in the management of their respective affairs. It is in vain that they "rise up early, and late take rest, and eat the bread of carefulness;" they do but realise the fabled torments of the wretch condemned to waste his labours in "continually rolling a stone up hill, which continually recoils to crush his own head." Thus, in a great degree, has been the situation of the industrious classes in England for several years. The men who have occupied their capital in productive power, in working the great duties upon which the existence of mankind depends; these men have grown poor, as the reward of their industry and virtue! But the men who have locked up their capital in a chest, have found it daily increasing in value!! These men have reaped riches, as the reward of idleness and sloth!! The reward of industry, indeed, may be said to be destroyed in England. "The Ox is muzzled that treadeth out the corn." Error succeeds error, and folly succeeds folly, until the nation is at last brought into such a state that the most careless and superficial observer may perceive, that great political changes must take place.

It is under these circumstances, therefore, that we deem it necessary that the industrious classes of the community should come forward in their own defence, and put in force the political functions which the constitution and the law allow them to exercise. Under better circumstances, and under a less complex state of society, the legislature, as it is, might perhaps be competent to restore and secure the national prosperity. But fatal experience has sufficiently proved, for fifteen years together, that, under the existing state of things, the legislature, as it is, is not competent to protect the most vital interests of the country. At this very moment, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, trade, the shipping interest, the colonial interest, every great interest of the nation that is vital to its welfare, to its honour,

to its safety, to its very existence, is suffering under calamities the most afflicting, and dangers the most appalling, which *both the Ministers and the Parliament themselves have expressed their inability to relieve!!* What then have we to do, but to look after our own affairs? Is the national mind to slumber for ever? It is time that this state of things should come to an end. If any exertions of ours can conduce to this great result, those exertions shall not be wanting.

Thomas Attwood
Joshua Scholefield
G. F. Muntz
Edward Hobson
John Lawrence
Charles Jones
John Slater
Benjamin Hadley
Thomas Todd
Felix Luckcock
John Betts
Charles Grafton
Matthew Dixon
Joseph Bodington
Henry Knight
John Dyer
William Pare
Joseph Hadley

Joseph Russell
Urban Luckcock
Thomas Shorthouse
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Josias Emes
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William Beach
J. B. Oram
John Allday
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William Birken
D. B. Smith
John Winfield
T. C. Salt
Thos. Parsons, jun.

Birmingham, Jan. 25, 1830.

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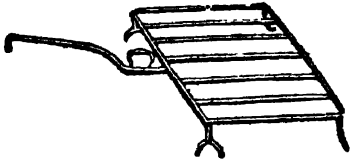
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 69.—No. 7.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 13TH, 1830.

[Price 7d.]



"Adopt any measure that shall extensively affect the community; let that effect be deeply mischievous, and at once all the admiration of even your generalship is swept away for ever: away goes your name from the corners of the streets, and down comes your picture from the sign-posts."—REGISTER, LETTER TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, 23d February, 1828.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER. *On the Opening of Parliament.*

Barn-Elm Farm, 10th February, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

THE "Collective Wisdom" has assembled; and as far as one can judge from its proceedings hitherto, there is to be a deadly strife between the landowners, generally speaking, and the Ministry. Before, however, I proceed further, I ought to insert the Speech from the Throne, by which the Parliament was opened.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"We are commanded by his Majesty to inform you, that his Majesty receives from all Foreign Powers the strongest assurances of their desire to maintain and cultivate the most friendly relations with this country.

"His Majesty has seen with satisfaction that the war between Russia and the Ottoman Porte has been brought to a conclusion.

"The efforts of his Majesty to accomplish the main objects of the Treaty of the 6th July, 1827, have been unremitted.

"His Majesty having recently concerted with his Allies, measures for the pacification and final settlement of Greece, trusts that he shall be enabled, at an early period, to communicate to you the particulars of this arrangement, with such information as may explain the course which his Majesty has pursued throughout the progress of these important transactions.

"His Majesty laments that he is unable to

announce to you the prospect of a reconciliation between the Princes of the House of Braganza.

"His Majesty has not yet deemed it expedient to re-establish upon their ancient footing his Majesty's diplomatic relations with the kingdom of Portugal; but the numerous embarrassments arising from the continued interruptions of these relations, increase his Majesty's desire to effect the termination of so serious an evil.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"His Majesty has directed the Estimates for the current year to be laid before you. They have been framed with every attention to economy; and it will be satisfactory to you to learn that his Majesty will be enabled to propose a considerable reduction in the amount of the public expenditure, without impairing the efficiency of our naval or military establishments.

"We are commanded by his Majesty to inform you, that although the national income, during the last year, has not attained the full amount at which it had been estimated, the diminution is not such as to cause any doubt as to the future prosperity of the Revenue.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"His Majesty commands us to acquaint you that his attention has been of late earnestly directed to various important considerations connected with improvements in the general administration of the law.

"His Majesty has directed that measures shall be submitted for your deliberation, of which some are calculated, in the opinion of his Majesty, to facilitate and expedite the course of justice in different parts of the United Kingdom, and others appear to be necessary preliminaries to a revision of the practice and proceedings of the Superior Courts.

"We are commanded to assure you that his Majesty feels confident that you will give your best attention and assistance to subjects of such deep and lasting concern to the well-being of his people.

"His Majesty commands us to inform you that the export in the last year, of British produce and manufactures, has exceeded that of any former year.

"His Majesty laments, that notwithstanding this indication of active commerce, distress should prevail among the agricultural and manufacturing classes in some parts of the United Kingdom.

"It would be most gratifying to the paternal feelings of his Majesty to be enabled to propose for your consideration measures calculated to remove the difficulties of any portion of his subjects, and at the same time compatible with the general and permanent interests of his people.

"It is from a deep solicitude for those inte-

H

rests that his Majesty is impressed with the necessity of acting with extreme caution in reference to this important subject.

"His Majesty feels assured that you will concur with him in assigning due weight to the effect of unfavourable seasons, and to the operation of other causes which are beyond the reach of legislative control or remedy.

"Above all, his Majesty is convinced that no pressure of temporary difficulty will induce you to relax the determination which you have uniformly manifested, to maintain inviolate the public credit, and thus to uphold the high character and the permanent welfare of the country."

Of all the Speeches from the Throne, delivered within my recollection, none has ever been so timid as this; and it is curious that such a piece of timidity should have been brought forth under the auspices, and, indeed, should have been the work of the "greatest captain of the age." Just what I predicted has taken place: the landowners, generally speaking, are, you can clearly see by the debates, for a return to the small paper-money; that is to say, for an issue of assignats, and a declaration of national insolvency. This is the great question. All the other matters that were talked of, are of no importance at all when compared with this. It is clear that the majority of the House of Commons, and of the House of Lords, too, wish for a return to the base paper-money; and it is equally clear, that the Ministers mean to make their stand against that proposition. LORD STANHOPE's amendment in the House of Lords, and KNATCHBULL's amendment in the House of Commons, were merely intended to show hostility to the Minister; a mere skirmishing by way of preparation; but, at the bottom, the meaning was this: "we will drive you from the heavy coin, and make you take again to the base paper-money."

The Duke of Wellington seems to be resolved not to give way upon this point; and I am very proud of that; for I have contended all over the country that he could not, and that he would not, give way upon this point. I have said that they might turn him out for any thing that I knew; but that it was impossible that he should give way. As for his colleagues, I would not answer; but,

for himself, I have always insisted that it was impossible. We will now, before we go further, hear what he said himself upon this subject. His speech contained a great deal of matter relating to other topics; but I think it absolutely necessary to preserve here, and to convey to you in a convenient form, all that he said with regard to the *cause of the distress*, and with regard to the *currency*.

"But the last topic of the noble Earl's speech is the most important of all, although in that respect he has paid but little attention to the recommendation in his Majesty's Speech. In that Speech his Majesty says that 'It is from a deep solicitude for the permanent interests of his people that his Majesty is impressed with the necessity of acting with extreme caution in reference to the important subject of proposing measures for the relief of any portion of his subjects.' But the noble Earl does not attend to this recommendation, nor does he take time to consider the question, but he comes forward at once with a measure of relief, and that measure is of no less consequence than an alteration in the currency. The noble Earl calls on your Lordships to act directly contrary to the advice of his Majesty, and at once to pledge yourselves without inquiry to an alteration in the currency. The noble Earl talks of the Speech from the Throne, as if it manifested a neglect of, and indifference to, the present distressed state of the country. There is no man that can more deeply feel or more sincerely lament these distresses than I do; and it would be difficult for any man, who should hold the situation which I at present fill, without being well aware of such distresses when they exist, and without deeply and sincerely regretting them. The noble Earl says, that his Majesty in his Speech attributes these distresses to the seasons. But what does his Majesty really say? He says 'That he feels assured that the two Houses of Parliament will concur with him in assigning due weight to the effect of

“ ‘ unfavourable seasons, and to the operation of other causes which are beyond the reach of legislative control or remedy.’ Surely the noble Earl does not mean to deny that due weight ought to be assigned to those causes, and I cannot conceive how the noble Earl can draw any inference from these words implying an indifference on the part of his Majesty or of his Ministers to the distresses of his subjects. I must now call your Lordships’ attention to another most important consideration connected with the distress. There is another class of distress, quite distinct from that already referred to, which really exists to a considerable degree among the manufacturers. But I should like to know whether this has not been caused by the employment of machinery, and the application of steam to various branches of manufacture. Competition, too, has arisen abroad; there is a great desire in all people to become manufacturers, and there are new manufactures established in all the countries of the world. Now I beg leave to ask if the employment of machinery abroad, and the employment of steam to all manufacturing purposes, is not calculated to contribute to the distress of our manufacturers? This is one of the causes referred to by his Majesty in his Speech, and your Lordships must consider whether this is or not one of the causes over which Parliament could not possibly have any control? Can Parliament, my Lords, prevent the competition of foreigners? Can this House interfere to prevent the application of machinery and steam to manufactures? or can there be a doubt that the application of steam and the employment of machinery, with the competition of foreigners, have made it necessary for the manufacturers to give the men they employ as small wages as possible? All these circumstances have combined to produce the distress complained of. The noble Earl opposite says that the distress is general, and universal, and unexampled. I am afraid the distress is general, but at the same time there

“ are some symptoms in the country which show, notwithstanding the distress, that the country is advancing in prosperity. I say that this is proved by documents. If the exports of Great Britain have gone on increasing for some years; if they were greater last year than any former year; if the amount of our exports are now greater than ever they were before, I say, not only that these are the strongest symptoms of the prosperity of the country increasing, but that the distress cannot be so great and unexampled as the noble Earl would make it. There is not a rail-road, nor a common road, nor a canal in the country, on which the traffic has not increased every year during the last few years, and particularly in the last year. It may be true that there is a diminution of the manufacturers’ profits; it may be true that the profits are not so great as they were; but if there were no profit there would be no employment; but the traffic was unexampled, which could not possibly take place unless some advantage were derived from it. It is true that the advantages are not so great as they were ten or twenty years ago, but still there were advantages; and where such an extensive and increasing traffic exists, there cannot be such extreme distress as the noble Earl represents. There is another circumstance well worthy of your Lordships’ attention. There is a large class of retail dealers in this country; are they in distress? They fill every town, and almost every village, they are able to pay large rents for fine new houses. I ask if this is a sign of distress? Or is it a sign of distress that they are able to build fine new houses in every part of every town? These are facts, my Lords; and, say what you please, they prove, notwithstanding the distress in some parts of the country, that on the whole the country is still rising in prosperity, and that there are some persons not afflicted with distress. Now, my Lords, I wish to say a few words on the remedies proposed by the noble Earl,

" who seems to have completely mis-
 " understood the arguments of my noble
 " Friend. The noble Viscount stated
 " that the revenue in 1815 was eighty
 " millions sterling, that taxes were first
 " of all repealed to the amount of eight-
 " teen millions, and afterwards to the
 " amount of nine millions, making in
 " all twenty-seven millions; and he
 " says that the revenue now produces
 " in a sound currency as great an amount
 " as it produced in a depreciated curren-
 " cy. Those persons who consume the
 " articles which produce the revenue,
 " must be able to purchase them, or the
 " revenue could not exist. The in-
 " crease of the revenue is a proof, then,
 " that consumption has increased full
 " one-third since the time when the
 " taxes were reduced. It is impossible
 " that the country in which the revenue,
 " in a period of fifteen years, has risen
 " one-third, can suffer great distress.
 " The noble Earl who spoke last, refer-
 " red the distress to a deficient curren-
 " cy. He, however, would have a paper
 " circulation. Now, I will tell the
 " noble Earl that the largest amount
 " of currency in circulation at any time
 " during the Bank-Restriction Act, was
 " sixty-four millions sterling. The Bank
 " of England notes were thirty millions;
 " country bank paper, twenty-three
 " millions; gold, four millions; and
 " silver, seven millions. But in 1830
 " the amount of Bank of England paper
 " in circulation is, 19,900,000*l.*; of
 " Country Bank paper, 9,200,000*l.*;
 " of gold, 28,000,000*l.*; and of silver,
 " 8,000,000*l.*; making a total of
 " 65,100,000*l.* It is certain, therefore,
 " that there is more money in circula-
 " tion now than there was at any period
 " of the Bank Restriction. There can
 " be no want, therefore, of more cur-
 " rency. The noble Earl, indeed,
 " says he wants an extended cur-
 " rency; but what he in fact wants is
 " not an extended currency, but an un-
 " limited currency. He would give
 " an unlimited power to certain in-
 " dividuals, not to the Crown, to
 " coin as much money as they please.
 " The noble Lord wants to give them
 " the power of lending as much capital

" to other individuals as they think pro-
 " per. (Hear, hear.) Thus, what the
 " noble Earl wants; what I say the
 " country cannot have—(cheers)—with-
 " out incurring that ruin from which it
 " so narrowly escaped in 1825, is an
 " unlimited paper currency. The noble
 " Earl says, in the West of England a
 " man cannot borrow money, though
 " his corn-yard and his barns are full.
 " The banker will not lend his own
 " capital, he says, because he cannot
 " make a profit of it; but the banker
 " would make a profit by discounting
 " bills, with which he is not content,
 " and he will not lend because he can-
 " not have also the profit of issuing 1*l.*
 " notes. What is wanted by these gen-
 " tlemen; what the noble Earl would
 " vote for to-night; is not more circu-
 " lation, but an unlimited circulation.
 " He would give a power to indivi-
 " duals to make any quantity of money
 " they pleased, which they might then
 " lend to individuals without any secu-
 " rity whatever. There are plenty of
 " proofs that there is no want of money
 " in the country. Never, at any period,
 " was there a greater quantity of capital
 " ready to be embarked in any scheme
 " whatever. Any man who could set
 " on foot a scheme with some plausibi-
 " lity, was sure to obtain money to
 " carry it into execution. There was
 " no power in Europe or America, nei-
 " ther Portugal nor Brazil; there was
 " no government, however bankrupt;
 " which could not get money to borrow
 " in England. No man who possessed
 " anything like tolerable security, need
 " want money. There was never more
 " capital ready to be employed than at
 " this moment. I am sorry to trouble
 " your Lordships at such great length,
 " but I thought it necessary to reply to
 " the noble Earl's speech. My Lords,
 " in answer to all the declarations which
 " your Lordships have heard to-night,
 " respecting the evils of free trade, of a
 " change in the currency, and other
 " things, I have one fact to state, and
 " it is this: since the year 1815, and
 " principally since the Bank Restriction
 " was taken off, measures have been
 " adopted to relieve the country of taxes,

"to the amount of twenty-seven millions sterling; and measures have been also adopted to reduce the charge for national debt between three and four millions a-year, that being the interest on nearly a hundred millions sterling. I beg your Lordships will bear this circumstance in mind; and, let me tell you, that all the advantages of a so-called equitable adjustment, will never equal the advantage already obtained from measures of this description. We have relieved the country, since the Bank-Restriction Act was repealed, of taxes to the amount of nine millions, and of a considerable portion of the charge for the national debt. When I say, We, I do not take this credit on myself; it is due to the noble Lord on the cross-bench (Lord Bexley), and to the noble Viscount opposite (Lord Goderich); but I entreat your Lordships not to deprive the present government, the present administration, of the power of imitating them. We have adopted measures of economy which will hereafter be submitted to your Lordships; measures for saving every shilling which is not absolutely necessary for the honour and welfare of the country; and we only desire that the same confidence may be placed in us as was placed in them, that we may be enabled to carry our plans of reform and economy into execution."

Here we have, then, not only the resolution expressed to adhere to the present currency, but his reasons for so adhering. I do not agree with the reasons; but I applaud the resolution. In the second day's debate the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave his reasons in words rather more full; and, as his speech was conveniently short, we must have it at full length; because we shall have to refer to it again and again before this question be "*set at rest for ever*," as sensible CANNING said it was in the year 1819. CANNING, in 1822, said that a reformed Parliament would never have passed PEELE'S BILL; and that that was one of the reasons why reform would not have been a good thing. The question which was then

set at rest for ever, according to this empty-headed bawler, is now the only question worthy of the attention of the public; and it has now to be settled, indeed. There is a part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech, which I have marked with italics, or, rather, two parts, to which parts I request your particular attention, as they pledged the Ministry not to depart from the present system of the currency.

"THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that when he had yesterday stated that he considered the great object of those who moved the amendment was connected with an alteration of the standard of value, he had been met, on their parts, with the disclaimer of any such intention. He thanked, therefore, the honourable Member who had just taken his seat, for the clear and explicit statement given of his objections to that system, which, after a full consideration of the matter, Parliament had thought proper to adopt. That honourable Gentleman had drawn a fearful picture of what he considered would be the consequences of an adherence to that system; but if Parliament had ever determined to have changed that system, he would indeed have had an opportunity of describing distresses, not only as dreadful, but more real, than those on which he had been recently dilating. Did the honourable Member forget that the system of which he complained had been ten years established? And could he be ignorant of the fact, that in a community like this, distinguished, perhaps, above all others for the variety and extent of its engagements and pecuniary transactions, occurring from day to day; could he, in such a community, forbear to see how large a proportion of transactions must have taken place within that period, under the standard which he now proposed to get rid of? (Hear.) If so, did he not see that that which was perhaps, practicable in 1820 or 1821, was utterly impracticable now? (Hear.) Whatever might be the difficulties and distress occasioned by adhering to the present system, it would not only be

"highly inconvenient but improper for
 "Parliament now to attempt to change
 "it. (Hear, hear.) Did the hon. Mem-
 "ber think that if he were now in pos-
 "session of power, he would ever be able
 "to carry through that House a measure
 "for the reduction of the standard of
 "value? If he ever made the attempt
 "he must do it in the usual way,
 "and the delays which the forms of
 "Parliament would interpose, would
 "offer opportunities for petitions and
 "remonstrances to pour in from all
 "quarters, and there would be such a
 "general mass of confusion that it would
 "be impossible for Parliament to carry
 "the measure of alteration into effect.
 "The hon. Member had denied that
 "the augmented commerce of any par-
 "ticular year afforded any evidence of
 "the prosperity of those engaged in it.
 "He would admit that, in one particular
 "year, commerce might not have been
 "profitably carried on; but was that
 "the first occasion on which the hon-
 "ourable Member had told them that
 "the trade of the country was carried
 "on at a sacrifice by the traders? They
 "had heard that statement at least dur-
 "ing the last five or six years from the
 "honourable Member; and though he
 "might be inclined to admit that for
 "one year, or even for two years, such
 "was the fact, he would ask whether
 "it was in the power of any man to
 "deem it possible, that for a regular
 "period of years, individuals would
 "embark in commercial, trading, and
 "manufacturing concerns, in which they
 "could suffer nothing but continual
 "loss? The honourable Member had
 "alluded to the official returns as de-
 "lusive; but he must have known, if
 "he understood them at all, that the
 "returns were not made on their
 "actual value, which would con-
 "stantly vary, and could never, there-
 "fore, give for a long period an accu-
 "rate idea of the matter, but upon a
 "standard, which every one at all ac-
 "quainted with official business per-
 "fectly understood, and which gave a
 "just and proper estimate of their in-
 "crease or decrease during any particu-
 "lar period. Now, the increase for the

"last three years had been progressive;
 "and their amount during that which
 "had just expired, was greater than in
 "any of the antecedent years. Surely,
 "this increase could not have proceeded
 "on the sacrifice of the capital of those
 "who were engaged in the trade. The
 "hon. Member encouraged the opinion,
 "that the Government were insensible
 "to the distresses of the country. He
 "(the Chancellor of the Exchequer)
 "denied the fact; they were as deeply
 "sensible of those distresses as the ho-
 "nourable Member; but they did not
 "think it a good proof of the sympathy
 "they felt, to withdraw the expression
 "of all hope of amendment when they
 "thought that good grounds for that
 "hope still existed. They rather felt
 "it to be more consistent; what the
 "people, who are both rational and
 "sensible, required; to state fairly
 "the opinion they entertained. He re-
 "minded honourable Members that, by
 "concurring with the address, they did
 "not pledge themselves to any one
 "mode of proceeding with respect to
 "the distresses or the remedies that
 "might be proposed."

Mr. Attwood, in the second day's de-
 bate, insisted that, in spite of the asser-
 tions of the Ministers, the *currency of
 the country must be changed*. Such was
 the tone of Mr. WESTERN, and of sever-
 al others; and there is not the smallest
 doubt that a grand trial of strength will
 take place upon this subject. As a symp-
 tom of the prospects of the Duke, nothing
 appears to me stronger, and more wor-
 thy of attention, than the sudden tacking
 about of "Westminster's Pride and Eng-
 land's Glory." The MARQUIS OF BRAND-
 FORD having introduced the question
 of Parliamentary Reform, this Baronet
 seems to have made it an occasion for
 answering the speech of the Duke of
 WELLINGTON; and, after some intro-
 ductory matter, he proceeded, according
 to the *Morning Chronicle*, in the follow-
 ing words, in which, as you will per-
 ceive, he deals with the Duke in a man-
 ner more unceremonious than any Min-
 ister has been spoken of for a long space
 of time. He calls upon the House of
 Commons not to give confidence to the

Minister; to resume the confidence which they had bestowed on him; to have confidence in themselves; for that the time was now come when they must do something to save the country. After inserting this speech of the Baronet, which, observe, is a mere specimen of the sentiments of the land-people in general, as far as relates to the Duke, I shall proceed to offer you my opinion with regard to the great question on which the Ministers will be at issue with a large part of the Parliament.

"He felt considerable alarm, indeed, for the state of the country, when he considered what had passed in another place, of which, he believed, they all had some knowledge; when he had seen the Prime Minister display, what, to his mind, was a total insensibility (Hear, hear), and a complete unacquaintance with the interest of the country (cheers); with a disposition not to acknowledge the difficulties and distress of the country; but, on the contrary, with a disposition to stifle all complaint and inquiry, and persuade the public that the universal calamity which was felt in every part of the country (Hear, hear), was only partial, temporary, and slight; of a nature to cure itself, and not requiring the attention of the legislature. He felt alarm when he knew that this distress was attributed to improvements in our machinery, to the application of steam (Hear, hear), to those other ingenious contrivances to which all scientific men justly attributed all the prosperity of the country; when he saw that an opinion of that nature was entertained by the Prime Minister. (Hear, hear.) Whatever respect he might have for the Noble Duke's talents in the field, and no man had a greater respect, he could form no other opinion of him as a Minister for this country, than he himself had formed a short time, a little month, he believed, before the noble Duke accepted his present situation, when he said that he should consider himself destitute of common reason, and fit only for another place, if he could entertain the idea of filling the office

"of Prime Minister. The noble Duke might not then have done justice to himself; but it was not for him to form a different opinion of the noble Duke's qualifications. (Hear, hear.) He would not then go into the merits of another question, which the noble Duke had discussed; a question which pressed on the consideration of every man, which was of vital importance, and affected the interests of all classes, the question of the currency (Hear, hear); but he might, at least, say, that question could not be got rid of. (Hear, hear.) Parliament might by its votes negative whatever propositions might be submitted to it; but the question of the currency would press itself on their attention, because the country could not bear the pressure of the difficulties, of which it was the cause, which were said to be temporary, but which had now continued for 15 years, increasing every year, and being now greater than at the beginning. (Hear, hear.) He was astonished when he knew that the Government stated that the circulating medium was now greater than it was at any time of the depreciated currency. This was an assertion not to be met by arguments, not by any statement of facts, but by the assertion that it was not true, and that it was impossible that it could be true. (Hear, hear.) This was borne out by a statement that there were 28 millions of gold in circulation. He professed that it seemed to him impossible that any man at all acquainted with the subject; any man who had read the works, in which that question had been discussed with transcendent ability out of the House; it was impossible that any man acquainted with the subject, could maintain that there were 28 millions of gold in circulation in this country. These things showed him that it was necessary for the House of Commons not to place too much confidence in the Prime Minister who could make such statements. They had long forborne, out of tenderness to the noble Duke, to scrutinise his measures, regarding the noble Duke as the means of conferring the great-

"est benefit on this country which
 "ever a man had conferred, and which
 "he only, of all the men in England,
 "could have carried into effect, pro-
 "ducing the greatest amelioration in
 "our situation; but having done that,
 "the confidence that had been bestowed
 "on the noble Duke must be resumed;
 "they must have confidence in them-
 "selves, for the time was come when
 "many other things must be done.
 "(Hear, hear.) The country could not
 "stand still: Not half a century ago
 "there was no hope of carrying that
 "measure which had now been providen-
 "tially carried; he said providen-
 "tially, considering that it had been
 "brought about by means which sur-
 "passed all expectation, and seemed
 "not within the ordinary scope of hu-
 "man means; but the state of the
 "country had become such, that doing
 "justice could not be longer deferred,
 "and the Government had no other
 "choice than to do justice, or involve
 "the country in civil contention. He
 "gave due credit to the noble Duke
 "that he was sensible to the alteration
 "which had taken place, and that if he
 "should adopt any other measure the
 "Government could not be carried on,
 "unless by means they must all shudder
 "to contemplate. Under these circum-
 "stances, satisfied that the House of
 "Commons, which was misnamed the
 "House of Commons, for it was not the
 "house of the commons of England, but
 "a house of representatives of certain
 "peers, contrary to the law, and con-
 "trary to the constitution; a House of
 "Commons in which, of the supposed
 "representatives of the people, eight or
 "nine represented the noble Lord whose
 "son had last night moved the address
 "(Hear, hear); a House of Commons,
 "which was stated to be most corrupt,
 "and at which the corruption stared
 "them so much in the face, that they
 "themselves had been obliged to find a
 "remedy; a corruption, too, which was
 "known all over the country; of which
 "the whole world was aware; and the
 "House of Commons knew that all the
 "world knew it; a House of Commons
 "which would not be long suffered.

"When the people were contending
 "with bold and increasing freedom for
 "their privileges, they would not long
 "submit to a grievance which was the
 "root of all other grievances, and which
 "enabled the Ministers to govern the
 "country by means of this subservient
 "House of Commons; under these cir-
 "cumstances, and with such a House of
 "Commons, he knew no single subject
 "of equal importance which could come
 "before them. But he hoped, and he
 "implored the noble Lord; assuring
 "him that no man would give him a
 "more sincere support than he would,
 "at a proper time; that no man was
 "more anxious than he was to bring
 "the subject fairly before them, and
 "therefore he hoped the noble Lord
 "would give him credit for his good in-
 "tentions, and for having no other wish
 "than to procure for the subject a full
 "consideration; and not from any mo-
 "tives of personal convenience; he im-
 "plored the noble Lord not then to
 "press the subject. He assured the
 "noble Lord that he did not feel him-
 "self capable of then doing justice to
 "the subject, and he hoped it would be
 "brought forward at some other time,
 "when he should be able to give it that
 "support he was anxious to give it.
 "The honourable Baronet concluded
 "by again requesting the noble Lord
 "not to press the motion at that time."

Now, the thing which it would be
 valuable for me to communicate to you,
 is, a knowledge of *what will be done*
 with regard to this currency affair. I
 cannot know, of course; and I do be-
 lieve that the Minister himself does not
 know; because his majority may aban-
 don him; and it is a rather general
 opinion that it will abandon him. The
 whole nation all except the tax-receivers
 are in a state of deplorable distress;
 but, amongst the merchants, manufac-
 turers and traders, who have any solid
 property, there is generally an opinion
 prevailing that ruin still greater would
 be the consequence of a return to the
 base paper-money, in which opinion not
 a few of the country bankers partake.
 Generally speaking, I know it to be a
 fact, that the trading part of the com-

munity can see no hope of real relief in a return to the base paper-money, and that they are anxiously looking for relief from a great reduction of the taxes. Those who have any solid property, have debts due to them; their engagements and their plans have been bot-tomed upon the supposition of a conti-nuance of the present currency. They saw the ruin of 1825 and 1826, and they naturally dread the return of it. They are, therefore, almost to a man, on the side of the Minister; and if distress they must still submit to, they would rather submit to it in this shape than go back to the currency of robbery and of panic.

Not thus is it with the land-people. Theirs is the church; theirs are the sinecures, pensions, and pay; theirs are all the emoluments arising from the present system of expenditure. The church, for instance, can lose nothing by a return to the base paper-money; for it comes when it likes, and takes the tenth of the produce in kind. So it is with the lay impropriators: the rest of the community may be affected in the changes of the value of money: a trades-man's book-debts, for instance, may be reduced to one-half their value; but the tithe-owner comes and takes his tenth of the produce of the soil, unless you give him money adequate to that tenth, be the value of the money what it may. Then observe, the land-owner has, in five-sixths of the instances, a mortgage on his land. Lowering the value of money, lowers the interest which he has to pay; while at the same time it lowers in effect the share of interest which he has to pay to the fundholder. Therefore, the landowners and the clergy, who are only another species of land-owners, are anxious for a return to the small paper-money; and the question is, will they be able to effect this *in spite of the Minister*? I really can offer no decided opinion upon this point; nor can any of us be able to judge of the matter until we have seen some decided trial of strength in the House of Commons.

It is very certain, that, if there be no return to the base paper-money, and no

reduction of taxation to any great extent, the landowners will soon receive that which they deserve to receive, namely, no rents at all. This is certain; Mr. ESTCOURT, with the magistrates of Wiltshire at his back, agreed to a petition, the other day, stating that their estates were passing away from under their hands. Dr. BLACK laughed at me, about a year ago, when I said that the grand struggle between the land and the funds was approaching. The Doctor will find that the struggle has come at last. In my leave-taking address, when SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH drove me off to America, I said, "Now, then, I am quite sure that the funding system cannot last long. I know it with little less certainty than I know that winter will follow the next summer. It may last two years, perhaps; it may last three or four years; but I defy any measures, any powers, or any events, to save it from destruction, from the end of a few years. The question, therefore, is, not whether the funding system will be destroyed; nor is it a question whether the boroughmongering system will continue as long as the funding system continues; for I am convinced that it will, seeing that it appears to be impossible to carry on the funding system any longer without the boroughmongering system; but the grand and vital question is, whether the boroughmongering system can support itself amidst all the uproar and turmoil of the breaking up of the funding system."

Do we not now behold the struggle? Do we not now see the boroughmongering system begin to tremble? Do we not now see men who never before dreamed of parliamentary reform, now anxious to call in the people to assist them in shaking off the deadly load of the Debt?

However, the great majority of the landowners are for suffering all to remain in its present form; to leave every thing wearing its present outward appearance, and for shaking off the load quietly, while they retain as much as possible of the emoluments which they themselves derive from the taxes. They

dare not face an *equitable adjustment*: they would, therefore, change the value of money; reduce the Debt and mortgages in that way; and would, unseen, as it were, get their rents and be able to live on without that open breach which would inevitably produce a reform of the Commons' House of Parliament. By adhering to the present currency, we shall be brought either to a vast reduction of the taxes, and to an equitable adjustment, or to a blowing-up of the whole system. The scheme of the landowners could last only for a while; and it must end in a convulsive revolution.

But, with regard to the constitutionality of opposition to the Ministers upon this ground, I am disposed to ask, what *right* the Parliament has to interfere with the King in the exercise of his great prerogative in the making and issuing of money? This is a prerogative exclusively belonging to the crown: as such it has been exercised in all times: to appoint certain persons, bankers or others, to issue money to be current amongst the King's subjects, is clearly an invasion of the King's undoubted right. What is so vital as money; what so necessary to the safety of the people as to have this money of fixed and determinate value? To imitate the King's coin is treason; and surely the current money ought to proceed from no other source; no individual, and no body of individuals, ought to have the power of making money; and such never was the case in any well regulated or well ordered state in the world. The Parliament, it appears to me, can have no right to set aside the coin of the King, or, by any contrivance, to render it of less than its real, intrinsic, and accustomed value.

It may be asked, then, what is the Parliament to do under circumstances like the present, when the money has been made double in value to what it was some time ago, and when the amount of the taxes and salaries and expenditure of every sort had been, in fact, doubled? Why, the proper office of the Parliament, is, **TO REDUCE THE TAXES**; to refuse to grant taxes;

to withhold the payment of taxes; to repeal taxes, until the amount of the taxes be as low as the necessity of the case shall require. This is the proper office of the Parliament. It finds the nation plunged into distress; it says that this distress arises from a change in the value of the money, which has more than doubled the amount of the taxes; but he finds the King's coin in circulation; he finds the money to be of its ancient value; but it finds the burden too heavy for the people; therefore why not reduce the weight of the burden? What has the Parliament to do in providing for the expenditure? it is for the King and his Ministers to look to that matter; it is for them to frame establishments agreeably to the means put into their hands by the Parliament; and it is for the Parliament to take care that the people be not over-burdened; to take care that they be not plunged into distress and starvation by the monstrous burden of the taxes.

Therefore, the Duke of Wellington will be supported by every good man in the country in his resistance of all attempts to debase the King's coin or to let loose a band of usurpers of the King's prerogative of making money. But if the Parliament, confining itself to its proper province, proceed to the reduction of taxes; if they listen to the prayers of the counties and towns and parishes, and begin by abolishing the tax upon malt, and let the currency alone; and if the Duke opposed such abolition, then, indeed, he would be to blame. There he stands receiving the taxes such as they are; and if the Parliament continue to put the same sum of taxes into his hands, how is he to blame if he continue to expend it? It is not for him to propose the reduction of taxes: it is for the guardians of the public purse, to propose such reduction; and it is for them, too, to propose that equitable adjustment of contracts which their divers acts have now rendered so necessary. All this is so plain, so obvious is the duty of the Parliament, that one wonders how they can amuse themselves with childish schemes about the currency. We have got the *King's coin*:

we have got it at last: prices will accommodate themselves to the quantity of money in the country: the people are in the depth of misery: commotion is staring us in the face, owing to the hunger of the people; and all the world knows that this arises from the overburden of the taxes. What, therefore, has the Parliament to do but to reduce those taxes, and to let the King's coin remain that which it was for so many ages.

As a specimen of the state of the country, I take the following article from the *Windsor Express*, copied into one of the London papers. "On Wednesday last the village of North Marston was thrown into a state of great agitation, in consequence of a disturbance amongst the labouring poor, arising, it is said, out of the following circumstance:—One of the overseers was paying the poor at his house, when a young lad called for his allowance, amounting to three shillings. The overseer refused to pay him more than two shillings and three-pence. The pauper, however, refused to leave the house unless he was paid the remainder. An attempt was then made to turn him out, when some of the men interfered, and the constable, being present, eventually took four of them into custody. This proceeding aroused the indignation of the poor of the village, who, being joined by a number of the poor from the adjoining parish of Oving, declared that the men in custody should not be taken to prison unless they were all taken there. Such was the threatening aspect of affairs, that the other overseer, Mr. Kingham, fled for safety, under the apprehension of his life being in danger. Fifty of them, armed with sticks, proceeded to the house of a magistrate in the neighbourhood, the Rev. Mr. Archer, of Whitchurch. Lord Nugent (who is highly respected by the poor of the neighbourhood) being at his seat at Lilies, about two miles distant, proceeded to Whitchurch, accompanied by his brother-in-law, Captain Poulett, who, in conjunction with Mr. Archer, investigated the

case; and, after hearing the different statements, they discharged the men, considering that both parties were to blame. They further conciliated the poor, by assuring them that justice should be done in attending to their complaints, and advised them to return peaceably to their homes, which advice was instantly complied with. This prudent step taken by the worthy magistrates, it is believed, was the means of preventing much evil, as, from the excited state of feeling which prevailed among the assembled poor, had a different line of conduct been pursued towards them, it is more than probable that consequences of the most serious nature would have ensued. At Aylesbury, Lord Nugent has suggested the propriety, as a temporary expedient of farmers paying a portion of their rates in corn, and of paying, with the consent of the receiver, a part of his allowance in produce instead of money; the poor may thus get a third more, and the farmer finds a customer at home; which would be easier to the latter than paying in money."

This is the fearful object to contemplate! and this is precisely what I warned the DUKE of WELLINGTON of on the 1st of March, 1828, soon after he came into office. My words were these, "My Lord Duke, the history of the two nations furnishes sufficient proof that the English are not to be expected to starve quietly; merely because the House of Commons has obtained proof that the Irish so starve. There may be, and there are, some instances in which innocent and industrious individuals who have, of late years, been starved to death in England; but these instances are partial; they are very few in number compared with the whole number of the people. Never will you see a whole parish of the people of England quietly yield up their breath under the pangs of hunger. They will have food, by one means or another; and if the bill, which the newspapers ascribed to Mr. SLAVERY, and which was described as taking relief away from all persons

“able to work ; if this bill were passed
 “to-morrow, that which is now, that
 “scanty portion which assistant-over-
 “seers and select vestries and contrac-
 “tors for the keeping of poor-houses ;
 “if this scanty portion of relief which
 “is now extracted from these, were
 “withheld ; the next day, double the
 “amount of it would be taken by acts
 “which are denominated thefts. And,
 “where are the means of suppressing
 “these thefts ? We are not here talk-
 “ing of robbers and thieves, who rob
 “and thief for gain or idleness : we
 “are not talking of the exception, but
 “of the rule ; we are not talking of the
 “few, but of the many : not of the hun-
 “dreds, but of the millions. It is not
 “here a factious party, or an insurrec-
 “tion to be suppressed : it is the great
 “mass of the people ; and, my Lord
 “Duke, we are manifestly approaching
 “very fast towards that state of things
 “which is a great deal more perilous
 “than a civil war, though that is peril-
 “ous enough.

The above account is from Bucking-
 hamshire, which is only a strong in-
 stance of what is going on all over the
 country. Almost every where the
 farmers are unable to pay the rates
 in sufficient amount to feed the poverty-
 stricken labourers ; but these latter will
 be fed. They regard a supply of food
 as *their right*, and they *justly so regard*
it. The poor receive only *six millions*
 of taxes in relief ; and while sixty mil-
 lions of taxes are collected by the Go-
 vernment, surely a part of this might be
 deducted in order to add to the relief of
 the poor. It is a fact, enough to astound
 the world, that the money paid for *col-
 lecting and managing* the taxes ; the
 money swallowed up by the tax-ga-
 therers themselves, *amounts to as much*
as is expended in the relief of all the
poor ?

This is the matter for the House of
 Commons to take hold of : to meddle
 with this matter is their proper province ;
 yet, not a word do we ever hear upon
 the subject from the lips of any one of
 the members. As to the working
 people themselves, they see not the real
 cause of their misery. Nature and rea-

son bid them look for sustenance to the
 land which they till. They see nobody
 but the farmer interposing between
 them and what they deem their fair
 share of the food : on the farmer, there-
 fore, they fall as their enemy. The
 farmer looks to his landlord in vain ;
 and thus these parties are left to carry
 on the deadly strife with each other.

LORD NUGENT's scheme for enabling
 the farmers to pay the poor-rates *in*
kind, while it shows the inexpressible
 poverty of the latter, is well calculated
 to keep up in the people a correct idea
 of *their right to a share of the produce* ;
 and to produce, in their minds, a series
 of calculations with regard to the ex-
 tent of that share. There needed only
 this one fact to prove to every man of
 any reason, the wretched situation of
 the country, the immediate cause of
 which wretchedness is the arbitrary
 change which has been made in the
 value of money. This last change was
 made by the bill of 1826 ; and how
 often have I had to repeat the memora-
 ble words of my petition, presented to
 the House while that bill was lying be-
 fore it and not yet passed, namely,
 “Your petitioner knows as well as he
 “knows that fire burns, that if your
 “honourable House shall pass that
 “bill without reducing the taxes to the
 “amount at which they were before the
 “small paper-money was put out, you
 “will reduce the people of this country
 “to a state of distress absolutely insup-
 “portable.” Now, then, are not the
 words of this petition verified ? Is not
 the state of distress absolutely insup-
 portable ? Upon turning to the petition
 since I wrote the last sentence, I find
 the exact words to have been these :
 “That, in the above-mentioned bill,
 “your humble petitioner sees a design
 “to cause gold and silver to be the cir-
 “culating money of England ; that he
 “knows, as well as he knows that fire
 “burns, that if gold and silver be the
 “circulating money of England, more
 “than half the present amount of taxes
 “cannot be levied, without producing
 “ruin and wretchedness absolutely in-
 “supportable ; and that, therefore, he
 “most humbly, but most earnestly,

prays your honourable House to reduce the taxes to an amount not exceeding that which was their amount before the small paper-money supplied the coin of his Majesty."

Such was my prayer when this bill was passed. The ruin and the wretchedness are come, and they are absolutely insupportable. Insolvencies, bankruptcies, suicides, battles in villages between overseers and paupers; insubordination every where; such a state of things never witnessed before in any country upon earth; all produced by acts of the Parliament; and the Parliament fully warned beforehand of the danger of passing every one of those acts. There is no remedy but in the taking off of the taxes; and it is my decided opinion that this remedy, to any thing like an efficient extent, will not be adopted by the Parliament.

People of property, farmers, traders, every body, that have pecuniary engagements or dealings, are full of anxiety as to what will be done. In my last Register, I took particular pains to point out all the consequences of a return to the base paper-money. A great majority of the people of property engaged in trade, abhor the thought of such return: nobody but insolvents, or hair-brained speculators; nobody but men mortgaged up to their eyes, or sharing largely in the emoluments of the system, wish for a return to that gambling and swindling system. GOULBURN, taking directly from the last Register, is right for once; and the DUKE is as strong as Hercules if he stand on the basis of the King's coin. Indeed, it is impossible for him to retract without covering himself with everlasting shame. If the Parliament, on the contrary, abandon the silly project of a return to the base paper-money, and insist on a reduction of the taxes, they will have all the country with them; but this I think they will not do. The chances are, therefore, that *nothing efficient will be done*; that we shall go drawling on from bad to worse, till, at last, my old and thousand-times repeated prophecy will be verified, and that the whole of the paper-system, "amidst the war of opi-

nions of projects, of interests, and of passions, will go to pieces like a ship upon the rocks."

Before the publication of the next Register, we may be able to discover the designs, and the probable powers of the parties engaged in this struggle. At any rate, there can be no harm in *getting gold*. I observed, in the last Register, that if the base paper-money were again resorted to, the banks must all be protected against demands for gold; and that, therefore, the thing must be done by order in Council, and must come upon us like a thief in the night; for that, if done by act of Parliament, the forms of the House would give so much time for runs, that there would not be a single sovereign left in any bank, and that all would be confusion even before the bill were passed. Now, it is very material to observe, that if the Parliament beat the Minister, and carry this measure in despite of him, the Parliament must proceed *by bill*, and not by order in Council; let every one observe this well. MR. GOULBURN seems to have hit upon this nail very neatly. In his answer to MR. ARTWOOD, he said that the delays which the form of Parliament would interpose, would create such a mass of confusion, that it would be *impossible for Parliament to carry the measure of alteration into effect*. This, without irony, was sensible, GOULBURN. So that, before such a measure can be adopted, the DUKE must be turned out; a new Ministry must be formed; and they may proceed with their order in Council; but, even this would be very difficult work; for, if the DUKE were ousted, the intention for ousting him would be known; and the vote which would compel him to retire, would be a signal for a general run upon the banks. The DUKE, therefore, is strong upon this ground still; and he is weak only in case of an attack upon the taxes. He is happily bound to the King's coin: bound, it is fair to believe, from a sense of duty; but he is bound and doubly bound by his own safety; by his own tenure of place; for, observe, if he be turned out by a vote of Parliament, he sinks for ever in the estimation of Eng-

land and of Europe too: he has to make a stand for his fame: make a stand he certainly will; and, if he make it on the ground of the currency, he ought to be triumphant.

If I were in the Duke's place now, if I had been in his place in the month of January 1828, if the King had accepted of my offer at that time, there would, at this day, have been no distress in England. I would, long ago, have put in force the equitable adjustment as prayed for in the Norfolk Petition. All would have been tranquillity and harmony at home; the French would have been out of Cadiz, and the Russians would not have been in Turkey: Lord Nugent would not have had to propose the payment of poor-rates in kind, and the workmen of Huddersfield would not be living upon two-pence halfpenny a day. The tax-eaters would, indeed, have ceased to revel while the labourers were starving, but WILMOT HORTON, would have been spared the trouble of projecting a mortgage on the poor-rates, in order to thin the population of the country. But if I were in the situation in which the Duke is now, this is what I would do: I would stick to the coin of the King; I would give no countenance to paper-money of any description, not even to the ingenious WM. MABERLY; I would countenance the Parliament in the reducing of taxes; but if they got the small paper-money, they should get it by bill; and, if by that bill they blew the system up, it should be their own work. I would object to no reduction of taxes; I would pay the dividends as far as I could with the taxes that were left me; I would propose Parliamentary reform, I would follow with my equitable adjustment, holding the Norfolk Petition in my hand; I would *keep my place*, and would have, as I should deserve, the blessings of the country. I must not dismiss this address to you, my friends, without a word or two more on the project of Mr. Maberly; namely, putting out exchequer bills to the amount of four or five millions, so low as for *one pound*, making these bills a legal tender in all respects whatsoever. This would be a

barefaced issue of assignats. The things could not circulate while the Bank was open for payment in gold. It would be a bare-faced government paper-money, and would very soon blow the whole system up. The very proposition proves that there is no rational hope of saving this system: a man could not have thought of such a thing until every rational means had been viewed with despair. Ah! the THING is driven up into a corner at last: after all its shuffles and all its tricks, I have it now safe in the corner: it has been trying to push by me several times; but, at last, I have it safe; it has only just room to turn its body about; and, in a very few months, I shall have it safe by the head, and shall lead it to my shop and dose it as easily as a nurse doses a child.

That you, my friends, will rejoice with me upon this occasion, I am certain. We can remember the time when this insolent thing shook the halter in our faces, and rattled in our ears the keys of the dungeon. One of my objects in my tour to the North, was, to see, and to exult in company with, those who had so long been suffering in common with me. Let us now wait: let us see the next move that the THING will make, and be you assured, in the meanwhile, that it can make no move which will not be to its own discomfiture and to our honour.

I remain, my friends,
your faithful and obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

NORTHERN TOUR.

ON Monday, the 1st of February, I delivered the third lecture at Sheffield; and, on Tuesday morning, or rather, noon, set off for Nottingham through Chesterfield and Mansfield, carrying with me the most grateful recollection of the very kind treatment which I received at Sheffield; and my son and daughter not forgetting the beautiful sight which they had beheld in those exhibitions, called the show-rooms, in that place of wonderful ingenuity and

industry. The weather was very severe when we left Sheffield, and we saw the poor partridges in the fields very hard pushed for any thing to support life. I saw one covey amongst a flock of sheep, living upon the seeds of the hay which had been given to the latter. The sheep themselves do not mind cold and snow if they have food, but, in many places, they were scraping the snow in order to get at the grass. They are of the Leicester breed, and, in spite of the weather, seem to look very well.

As we proceeded on towards Nottingham, we found the country more a farming country, with large barns and ricks about them; and, until we came to Sherwood Forest, it seemed, as far as we could judge, to be a country rather fertile than otherwise. We arrived at Nottingham about six o'clock on Tuesday evening, and found a committee of gentlemen ready to receive us, and to give us an invitation to a public breakfast to be held the next morning at nine o'clock, in the Thurland Hall, which is said to have been the banquetting-room of King Charles the First, and which, in some sharing of the good things of this country, fell to the lot of the fortunate Duke of Newcastle, who is also, it seems, the present owner of a fine tract, called Nottingham Park, and of other formerly crown property in and about this ancient and beautiful town. The breakfast took place at nine o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, the 3d of February. There were present not much short of two hundred gentlemen; and this, never having seen one of the parties before in my life to my knowledge, except two gentlemen from Derby and one from Manchester, I felt to be the greatest honour that I had ever received in the whole course of my life. Here was no personal attachment at work; for none of the parties had ever seen me, that I knew of: it was purely the respect shown by this number of sensible and well-educated men, not to me personally, but to those exertions for which I had endured twenty long years of calumnies from all the bribed and base reptiles of the country.

I felt the full weight of this upon my mind, when I rose to say a few words in the way of thanks for the honour conferred upon me; in those few words, I observed that the mere getting upon the table was enough; that they, the company, were too well instructed to need instruction from me; that my business there was to show them the man that had so long fought, and at last overcome, the hydra of stupidity and oppression; and that their business there was to join me in rejoicing upon the occasion. The breakfast itself, upon any occasion, would not have been of much value to the far greater part of us; but it was, in all respects, worthy of the donors, worthy of the town, which, in almost all respects that I can mention, exceeds all the towns that I ever saw in my life. A fine, most extensive and most beautiful marketplace; lofty, strong, and neat buildings; elegant shops, clean-dressed people, active and intelligent men, and sprightly and beautiful women. The environs of the town are as fine as the town itself. Open on all sides; fine prospects; the town itself presents great inequality of hill and dale; and all this without any of that beggarly, any of that squalid misery, which to me has been the great drawback in the merits of so many other places. As to my own treatment, and that of the members of my family who were with me, it would be invidious to make distinctions, in a case where the kindness, the hospitality and generosity have been uniform; but, at Nottingham we had more leisure, the tour being, in some sort, at an end; and the attentions which we received were in proportion to that leisure; and excited in a particular manner, perhaps, by the hoariness which I still retain from my cold caught in Yorkshire, and which seemed to require more than ordinary attention. Where there are so many persons to whom so many acknowledgments are due from me and my family, I am restrained from naming any; but every one will be well assured that his or her kindness to me and my sons and daughter, have been duly appreciated, and will never be forgotten. After three lectures

on the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday nights, we prepared to quit Nottingham for Leicester; but, before we came off, it being Saturday, and the market day morning, a gentleman took me to see the meat market, which was the finest, with regard to the quality of the meat, its cutting-up, its cleanness and every other thing belonging to it, that I had ever seen in my life. This is a matter of which I am a very competent judge, having seen the London markets and that of Philadelphia, and being a great connoisseur with regard to the article of meat. I saw here a greater number of fine sirloins of beef than I had ever seen in any one market before. After I got back to the inn, I hankered after one of these sirloins of beef, went back, had it sewed up in cloths, and brought it to London. It was not of the largest size; but with the third part of the suet left in, it weighed 61lbs. and was whiter and fatter than any one of the same size that I ever saw before. The butchers told me that the oxen were bought in Lincolnshire, and that a great part of the sirloins had that morning been sent off to London sewed up in cloths. I have always sought for this Lincolnshire beef in Newgate market. It comes sewed up in cloths, the rump and sirloin in one piece.

We got to Leicester, through very rough weather, on Saturday evening, 6th of February, and I intended to give a lecture in a work-room which had been prepared for the purpose; but we had omitted to write from Nottingham, and, owing to that omission, no notice of the lecture had been given. Our friends wanted us to stop until Monday; but my appointments at home rendered that impossible.

On Sunday morning, the 7th of February, we found that a thaw had come in the night; and when we got to Birchill, where we slept on Sunday, we found there had been a heavy rain. On Monday morning, we set off for Kensington, finding less and less snow as we approached London; and when I got to Barn-Elm, which I did before it was dark, scarcely a bit of snow was to

be seen; so that, during the fifty-three days of my absence, the frost and snow lasted all but the last day; thus terminated a journey of 667 miles, during which I made *seven and twenty speeches*, occupying, in the whole, about *sixty-one hours*, and returning on the very day that the frost broke up, and made it, in some measure, necessary that I should be again at home.

TO THE FARMERS.

Barn-Elm Farm, 11th February, 1830.

BROTHER SUFFERERS,

I HAVE been to condole with the sons of cotton, woollen, iron and steel; and now I will go and condole *with you*, my dear brethren of the earth. I intend to deliver a lecture in London, on Thursday, the 18th instant; and then to set off for *Norwich*, to lecture there. I shall see, in my way, what is doing at *Bury St. Edmund's*. In the mean while I shall be glad to hear from any friend at either of those places, relative to a proper place to lecture in. The sooner such friends have the goodness to write, the better. After Norfolk and Suffolk, I shall take *Kent and Sussex*.

Comfort yourselves, dear brethren, as well as you can; for, be assured, that you will never see the pretty little notes again.

WM. COBBETT.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20TH, 1830.

[Price 7d.



“ Have not I, then, a clear and indisputable right to blame you and your colleagues for whatever calamities the nation has now to endure? For sixteen, nay, for twenty years, have you not been warned by me of all the dangers that you have brought upon the country? Have you, then, *any excuse to plead*? — LETTER TO STERN-PATH MAN, *Register*, 11th May, 1822.

TO THE

READERS OF THE REGISTER.

On the Prospect which we have now before us.

Kensington, 16th February, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

I HAVE presented a petition to be presented to the House of Commons, containing, in the first place, a recital of the several instances in which it has been *warned by me* of the dangers to which its measures would expose the country; and in the next place, giving it one more warning with regard to the future. I here insert this petition for your perusal, and that you may have it to refer to as events shall come on. I have always, for many years past, taken care to have my predictions recorded, and that, too, in the papers of some sort or another belonging to the House itself. I have adhered to this course in the present instance: whoever lives a few years, will see the predictions verified; which predictions I have now, in this very petition, conveyed to this most honourable and most wonderful House, which sits under a law made to protect it against the contempt of the people, to govern whom it is daily making laws. When I have inserted the petition, I

shall have a good deal to say to you upon the subjects of it.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in parliament assembled.

The petition of William Cobbett (farmer of the parish of Barnes, in the county of Surrey), being dated this 15th day of February, 1830,

Most humbly sheweth,

That your petitioner perceives, with great alarm, that there are persons who appear to be combining for the purpose of inducing your honourable House to pass laws to cause the King's coin to be again supplanted by a fictitious currency, consisting of worthless rags; a measure which, if adopted, would deprive the people of that protection which they derive from the most important of all the prerogatives of the Crown, and would, in the firm conviction of your petitioner, finally and even speedily expose the nation to the horrors naturally resulting from an extinction of all measure of value.

That your petitioner, in order to induce your honourable House not totally to disregard this his opinion, begs to be permitted to state the following facts to your honourable House; that is to say,

1. That, in the year 1817, your petitioner, together with some thousands of the people of Hampshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and other counties, sent to your honourable House a petition, humbly praying, that you would be pleased to reduce the interest of the Debt, and all public salaries and pay, in proportion to the then-augmented value of money; that you would be pleased to reduce the standing army; that you would be pleased to reduce all the taxes, and to abolish the taxes on malt, hops, leather, soap, and candles; and that we the said petitioners, most humbly and respectfully besought your honourable House to believe, that, unless measures of this description were adopted in time, the final consequence must be distress so

- general and so great as to expose the whole frame of society to dissolution.
2. That your honourable House was pleased to give to these humble representations and prayers, no answer other than that which the petitioners found in a law, which your honourable House hastily passed, to enable the King's Ministers to shut them up in prisons and in dungeons without being confronted with their accusers, without crime specified in the commitment, and without the power of appeal to the Act of Habeas Corpus; and that in consequence of this law, many of the petitioners were thus imprisoned, cut off from all communication with wives, children, and friends, and deprived of the use of pen, ink, and paper; that some of these petitioners died in prison; that the rest, after long suffering, were sent forth from the dungeons, without any trial, without any hearing, without any knowledge of the offences imputed to them, totally ruined in their affairs, some finding that their wives and children had perished for want, and all cut off from the possibility of obtaining redress, your honourable House having in the meanwhile, passed a Bill of Indemnity bearing harmless all those, of whatever rank or degree, who had, in their treatment of those unhappy men, gone even beyond the severity of the imprisonment law itself.
 3. That, in the year 1818, your humble petitioner having fled to Long Island, in order to avoid the dungeons and the treatment aforementioned, and having heard of an intention on the part of your Honourable House to cause a return to the ancient measure of value, lost not a moment in praying your honourable House not to cause such return, without, at the same time, passing a law making an equitable adjustment with regard to the interest of the Debt, with regard to all contracts between man and man, and without a reduction of the taxes to, at least, one half of their then nominal amount, humbly beseeching your honourable House to be assured, that, if your honourable House caused a return to the ancient measure of value without adopting these concomitant measures, you would, in effect, more than double the amount of the taxes, cause a violation of all contracts, fatten the usurers at the expense of the industrious classes, and would plunge the country into confusion and misery indescribable.
 4. That, in the year 1819, your honourable House, totally disregarding this solemn warning of your humble petitioner, though he had enforced it with arguments wholly unanswerable, actually passed a law for re-establishing the ancient measure of value, and that, too, without any of those concomitant measures so earnestly prayed for by your humble petitioner.
 5. That, in the year 1822, that distress, the coming of which had been so clearly and so confidently predicted by your humble petitioner, was spreading itself over the country with such fearful strides, that your honourable House repealed, in effect, the most material part of the law of 1819, leaving, however, other parts, which, in time, your humble petitioner knew must, if left without remedy, tend to produce a convulsive revolution.
 6. That, in the year 1823, your humble petitioner, together with a great majority of his brother freeholders of the county of Norfolk, sent to your honourable House a petition, praying you, while yet there was time, to pass laws for the making of an equitable adjustment of all contracts, not excepting the contracts with those who were receiving interest on account of the Debt; praying you to abolish all unnecessary expenses; praying you to abolish the taxes on malt, hops, leather, soap, and candles; praying you to apply certain portions of public property to public purposes; praying you to restore the people to the enjoyment of their right of freely choosing their representatives in Parliament: and imploring your honourable House to believe, that, without these measures, there would be great danger arise to that constitution which had, in former times, been a source of so much greatness and happiness to England.
 7. That your honourable House, while you received, and caused to be printed this our humble petition, did not condescend to pay the smallest attention to its earnest prayers and its solemn warnings, though these were speedily followed by similar prayers and warnings, expressed in petitions from the counties of Cambridge, Hereford, and Surrey.
 8. That in the year 1826, the consequence of this inattention made its hideous appearance in a panic, which, according to the confession of one of the King's Ministers, had, at one time, brought the country to "*within forty eight hours of barter*"; that in this state of alarm, your honourable House passed a bill to abolish all notes under five pounds on the 5th of April, 1829; that while the bill was on the table of your honourable House, and before it was passed, your humble petitioner sent to your honourable House a petition, praying you to pass the bill, but not without reducing the taxes to the amount at which they stood before the small paper money supplanted the coin of his Majesty, solemnly warning your honourable House, that if the said bill were passed and enforced, without such reduction, it would produce throughout the kingdom ruin and wretchedness absolutely insupportable; that your honourable House, not condescending even after all that had passed, to listen to this humble supplication and solemn warning of your petitioner, passed and have

enforced, the said bill, and that the unhappy people are now smarting and writhing under the consequences.'

That your humble petitioner, begs to be permitted to express **■** hope, that your honourable house will not, after the recital of this series of facts, at once so striking and so notorious, deem it an affront offered to the wisdom of your honourable House, if he entertain an **expectation**, that you will now at last condescend to lend an ear to his humble representations and prayers with regard to the present and the future.

That it is his decided conviction, that, if your honourable House shall unhappily entertain, or give countenance to, any measure for again debasing the currency, without, at the same time, closing the bank against demands for gold, and making the paper a legal tender, there will be a general run on all the banks; that another panic will ensue; that the gold will be buried; that there will be no measure of value; and that all law and all the rights of property will yield to the ungovernable ravings of hunger and to the unbridled indulgence of the dreadful passion of revenge.

That, if your honourable House adopt the said measure of debasement, and at the same time close the banks against demands for gold, and that if you do this in a manner so sudden as to prevent the run above-mentioned, your humble petitioner beseeches your honourable House to reflect on the awful consequences of *two distinct prices* in all dealings, one price in paper, and another price in money; an event which has always taken place under similar circumstances; an event clearly inevitable in the case contemplated; an event that has always proved, and that always must prove, the *death of paper-money*; an event that has never failed to be attended with the total destruction of every thing called credit; an event that must, your humble petitioner is convinced, produce in this country, a convulsive, if not a sanguinary, revolution.

That, however, your humble peti-

tioner fears, as he thinks that all men must fear, that if the King's coin continue to be the measure of value, without a reduction of the taxes to the amount at which they stood previous to the issue of the small paper-money, civil society will be shaken to its very base; that already, even though the law of 1826 has not yet produced one tenth part of its inevitable effects, all property begins to feel its insecurity; that the manufacturer, the merchant, and the trader, whether wholesale or retail, are carrying on business without profit, and living on their capital, or on the capital of their creditors; that the landlord finds even the rigid law of distraint insufficient for the obtaining of his rent; that the farmer finds his stock and all his means melt imperceptibly away, while the increasing wants of the unemployed labourer augments the demands on those diminished means; and that, while all these classes are suffering the extreme of both bodily and mental anguish, they behold the receivers of the more than doubled taxes, wallowing in luxurious waste, and glittering in insulting splendour.

That your humble petitioner hopes that your honourable House will not interpret into any want of respect towards your honourable House an expression of his earnest hope, that you will be pleased while there is yet time, seriously to reflect on the catastrophe to which this state of things naturally tends; that, even at this moment, hundreds of thousands of the manufacturing labourers obtain their miserable pittance in great part from the voluntary contributions of those amongst the next class whose means are not yet exhausted, the law having long since failed to enforce a collection of rates sufficient for the purpose, and that, in the manufacturing districts, to the dolings of charity on the one hand and the menace of military force on the other, is to be ascribed the keeping of the peace amongst a people the most industrious and the most expert and ingenious in the whole world.

That, in the agricultural part of the kingdom, that is to say, in nineteen

twentieths of it, the prospect is infinitely more full of peril; that the people of England have a clear right, in law as well as in reason, to food, raiment, and fuel, out of the produce or proceeds of the land of England; that if they cannot obtain these out of their own means, or by their labour, they have a right to them in the shape of parochial relief; that they know their rights in this respect; that already they have in divers instances, shown a determination not to lie down and groan out their souls under the unspeakable pangs of hunger; that already they have in several instances, enforced their demands of relief with cudgels in their hands; that, in every case they have been tranquillised by a yielding to their demands; and that your humble petitioner beseeches your honourable House to reflect, while there is time for reflection, on the swiftness of the spreading of this species of contagion, and to put to yourselves the solemn question of, *what could be done if half a county here and half a county there were in a state of commotion, arising from hunger, and urged on by all the hostile passions known to the breast of man?*

That such is a possible and even a probable event, your humble petitioner believes that no man will deny; that, if such an event were to take place, it is manifest that there would be an instant and universal run on the banks for gold, and that general bankruptcy, adding to the turmoil, would hasten the moment when the word *property* would be without a meaning; and your humble petitioner beseeches your honourable House to reflect, that, in such a state of things, the choice would lie between universal violence and bloodshed, and a transfer of all rented property from the owner to the occupier, and thus, as the least evil of the two, making the rich and the poor change places.

That your humble petitioner cannot trust himself to venture on a description of the scenes which the metropolis would present in case of any of the events above contemplated; that barely to hint at these will, your petitioner humbly hopes, be sufficient to induce

your honourable House to lose no time in adopting effectual measures of present relief, and of security for the future; and that, therefore, in this hope, he humbly prays, that your honourable House will, with all possible speed, pass a bill, or bills, having the effect following; to wit,

1. To reduce the amount of the taxes to the amount at which they stood in the year 1791.
2. To take from the revenues of the Church, from the Crown lands, and from mismanaged corporations and public charities, whatever sum may be wanted annually beyond the amount of the taxes of 1791.
3. To make a just reduction of the interest of the debt, commonly called National.
4. To make a radical reform in your honourable House, so that the members of that House may be freely chosen by the people at large.

That it has been with extreme reluctance, that your humble petitioner has thus ventured to trespass on the time of your honourable House; but that, being fully convinced of the existence of the dangers of which he has spoken; being little short of certain, that, unless prevented by the measures which he has suggested, the catastrophe will be even more dreadful than that which he has attempted to describe; being thus convinced, he thought it a duty due from him to his country, to add the present to all the past warnings given by him to your honourable House, whom he, in conclusion, once more earnestly implores to save the country from all those horrors, into which he firmly believes it must finally be plunged by a rejection of those measures which he has here so respectfully, and with so much anxiety, suggested for the consideration of your honourable House.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

WM. COBBETT.

Now, my friends, you, observe, compose the only part of the community,

ne mere labouring classes, about
 te I am bound to care one single
 I am very desirous, however,
 should be preserved amidst the
 which must come unless the
 as suggested in the above peti-
 e adopted in time. I have only
 to tell you here, that I have, in the
 above petition, exaggerated nothing.
 You know well that the *facts* that I
 have stated are true: you know that I
 foresaw every thing that has happened,
 and that I duly warned the Parliament
 at every stage: you know that every
 prediction has been fulfilled to the very
 letter: and, in the predictions which I
 have now expressed, I have only to tell
 you that I am perfectly sincere; that I
 believe in the truth of every word that
 I have put into this petition; that I am
 convinced that the consequences must
 ensue; that every thing that I antici-
 pate must happen, unless prevented by
 measures such as those which I have
 suggested. I believe as firmly as I be-
 lieve that the month of May will come,
 that all that desolation which I appre-
 hend will take place, unless prevented
 by the measures which I have pointed
 out.

I declare this to you in this solemn
 manner, in order that you may be pre-
 pared; in order that you may make all
 the preparation in your power, against
 the day when events so terrible shall
 arrive. I beseech you not to be deluded
 by the apparent tranquillity and care-
 lessness of those who ought to foresee
 the dangers here spoken of: I beseech
 you not to be deceived by this: I be-
 seech you not to believe, that the danger
 does not exist, because they do not see
 it. They have never foreseen the dan-
 ger; never foreseen any one of the mis-
 chiefs which their measures have pro-
 duced; never had any apprehension
 until the moment when the evil stared
 them in the face. If they were to look
 well at the state of the country at this
 moment, they would be convinced that
 a great change must speedily take place;
 but, when you hear them say that there
 are more five-pound notes afloat than
 there were three years ago; when you
 hear them say, that there is more money

afloat (paper and coin taken together)
 than there was during the war; when
 you hear them say, that the retail
 traders are in a flourishing state; when
 you hear them say, that the country is
 in a fitter state to go to war than at any
 former period: when you hear them say
 these things, and when you open your
 eyes, see the number of shops shut up,
 and look at your numerous insolvent
 neighbours, can you be weak enough
 still to pay attention to what comes from
 the lips of these persons; can you be
 weak enough to think, that all is safe
 because they discover no symptoms of
 fear?

If any thing further were necessary
 to convince you of the necessity of being
 constantly upon your guard, and pre-
 paring yourselves for the worst, the pro-
 ceedings in the House of Commons
 ought to be quite sufficient for that pur-
 pose. You can see that every man,
 even in that House, anxiously wishes that
something should be done; and yet you
 must be blind indeed if you do not
 perceive that *nothing* will be done; or,
 at least, nothing that will have the
 smallest tendency to relieve the nation
 from its distress and danger. On the
 first day of the meeting, it was manifest
 that there existed, in the breasts of a
 majority of the members, a design to
 compel the Ministers to return to the
 small paper-money. There was, in fact,
 a majority quite ready for that purpose.
 What, then, prevented this majority
 from bringing forward this measure and
 carrying it? Why, the strange fear
 that the Duke; that this soldier would
 quit the concern, and leave the trium-
 phant voters to carry it on themselves.
 This was the consideration that gave
 the first check to the majority. But,
 when there had been time to reflect a
 little; when the consequences of bring-
 ing in a bill to return to the small
 paper-money; when those consequences
 began to be understood; when it was
 seen that, before a bill could be passed
 for the purpose, a run upon the banks
 must take place, a run upon all debtors
 at the same time, a general panic, and
 a complete blowing-up of the system;
 when the partisans of small paper-

money perceived this, they grew cool, drew themselves off one by one, and left poor Mr. Western and Westminster's Pride, with their teacher, LOCKE, in the lurch; and before the end of the session, not a man will be left bold enough to open his mouth as the partisan of the small paper-money. What reliance, then, ought you to put in the notions or the motions of men who are thus situated, and who appear not to know, for two hours together, what they shall say or do with regard to any one subject?

The next step that was taken in the House of Commons, was a motion by Sir James Graham, intended to pledge the House to a revision of the salaries which had been augmented; a motion which, insignificant as it was, was set aside for one still more insignificant made by the ministry, in the following words: "Resolved, that in all the establishments of the country, whether civil or military, every saving ought to be made which may be made without a violation of existing engagements, and without detriment to the public service."

If one could possibly be in a laughing mood, at a time like the present, here would be laughter for a month, especially as Sir James Graham, at the conclusion of his speech, had called the House, "THE NOBLEST ASSEMBLY OF FREE MEN IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD."!!! It is a noble body, to be sure; but really, Sir James Graham, being such a noble body of free men, they ought not to have a law to banish people for uttering words having a tendency to bring them into contempt. However, my friends, noblest or noblest not, here they were debating for a whole night, and at last coming to a resolution that all possible savings ought to be made that could be made, *without any reduction of the present expenditure*; for that was the real meaning of the resolution. What will Mr. Beckett Denison, of Doncaster, think of this? He called for the pruning-knife or the sponge: how he must have been disappointed, when he found that even the descendant of John with

a bright sword, had nothing to propose even beyond a puling resolution, and that he even gave up that, and suffered the ministry to supplant it by a resolution which really meant that not one farthing should be deducted.

Three years ago this same Sir James Graham published a pamphlet, to which he put his name, recommending the taking of thirty per cent from the interest of the Debt. I gave him such a strapping upon that occasion; having caught him "out of doors"; having caught him straying beyond the fence of "*the noblest assembly of free men in the civilized world*"; having caught him straggling out of the privileged ground, and without his protection against contempt; I strapped him, I whipped him, I cuffed him and kicked him, I bundled him and trundled him about, till, if he did not look like a hunted devil, he certainly would have made the world laugh if he had exclaimed, "*I am one of the noblest assembly of free men in the civilized world.*"

However, this drubbing appears to have done him good, for it has not only kept him out of print, but has restrained him, apparently, from any suggestion relative to our old friend, the *Debt*; our best, and, indeed, our only friend; that friend that will finally give us all that we want in spite of the workings of the flagitious ruffians who buy and sell the seats, and who thrive by the traffic. In this debate, Lord Morpeth is reported to have said, that "some honourable members advised an *equitable adjustment* with the public creditor. In his opinion, any proposal of measures of that kind, would come before them with a better grace *after every just and honourable means of relief had been exhausted*!" So say we, my friends; and we say, that this good and trusty old ally of ours, the Debt, shall not be attacked until pensions, sinecures, double salaries, double pay, have been demolished, and until a good pull has been taken from that immense mass of property commonly called *church property*. We join with Lord Morpeth here; we must have

a little patience, but two things will give us all that we want, and these two things are, first, gold payments at the Bank, according to the present standard; and second, a payment of the interest on the Debt in full tale, and in that standard gold.

Now, mind, it is utterly impossible for us not to have that which we want, if these two be rigidly adhered to. The next little amusing attempt in Parliament was a motion made by Mr. Hume, who, at the end of a speech which, if it had been put into a cannon, and fired off by the Greeks at the Turks, would have frightened the heathens a great deal more than Joseph's "large and liberal subscription to the Greek loan; at the end of this tremendous speech, he made a motion as follows: "That this House "will forthwith proceed to the repeal "and modification of taxes to the largest "possible extent that the civil, military, "and naval establishments of the country "will admit, as the means of affording "general relief to the country." Joseph's resolution *might* have been a little more *grammatical*, but, being *Joseph's*, and being tendered to "the noblest assembly of free men in the world," who have a law to protect them against the contempt of the people, the want of a little grammar is hardly worthy of notice. The debate ended in a division, which presented sixty-nine for Joseph's motion, and a hundred and eighty-four against it, leaving the worthy Joseph in a minority of a hundred and fifteen.

If I had been in the House, I should certainly have voted against Joseph. First, on account of the absence of all distinct meaning in the words of the resolution; and next, because I look upon such a motion as leading to nothing but committees, and shufflings, and delays, and disappointments. If a man were in earnest, why not propose the abolition of a *specific* tax. Joseph, in the course of his very trying speech, said that there were *wild schemes* afloat about the country; but his scheme was just as wild as any that he had ever heard of; for, to adopt the reductions of which he spoke, would be just as effectual in blowing up the system as a

return to the small paper-money would be; or as any other scheme, not excepting that imputed to Mr. Maberly, of issuing exchequer bills to be made a legal tender. In short, my friends, the system is driven up into a corner: a bill to return to the small paper-money; a sweep at the taxes, like that proposed by Joseph; a repeal of the malt tax alone; any measure, no matter what, that would indicate a serious intention to diminish the amount of the revenue, would cause an instant run upon the Bank. Who would be foolenough to hold stock in the funds, if he saw the army taken away, or saw the taxes taken away; without which the army cannot exist? The whole, taxes, places, pensions, sinecures, grants, army, navy, church, law, law-offices, debt: the whole is one and the same system: these are all so many parts of one whole and entire thing, and each part is necessary to the existence of the rest. The seat-system arose with the paper-system. they are twins, or, rather, they are body and soul: they have grown up together; they have flourished together; they are now in jeopardy together; and they will die together. Many years ago I said, and I say still, that one of these systems cannot exist without the other; and that both will exist as long as they possibly can no man will doubt.

Believe not, therefore, my friends, in any thing that you hear about a design to lessen the amount of the taxes, unless you hear at the same time of a design to make a reform in the Parliament; and to believe that such reform will take place with the consent of those who have an interest in preventing it, is to believe a great deal more than any, the most credulous men upon earth, ever believed.

Be not amused by any talk about the *reducing of expenses*. Of what use is the reducing of expenses if the *taxes* all remain; and remain they must, until the time when the whole system shall go to pieces. Sir Francis Burdett, though he made a very strange speech on Mr. Hume's motion, was perfectly right, when he said that even reductions to the extent proposed by Mr. Hume

would produce no sensible effect in relieving the distresses of the country. Nothing short of those things which are prayed for in the above petition can yield any real relief to the country. I beg you to look at the state of the millions at this time, and particularly to look at the temper and conduct of the agricultural labourers. They are the *millions*, and the formidable millions too. I have always said, that they would not lie down and starve quietly. . You saw, my friends, in the last Register, that the labourers of a parish in Buckinghamshire had proceeded, *armed with cudgels*, to the house of an overseer; that they had forcibly resisted the peace-officers; that they had insisted upon a certain amount of relief; that the strife had drawn together labourers from the neighbouring parishes; that the parties taken into custody were discharged by the magistrate, Lord Nugent, who ordered the relief to be given according to the men's demand, and who, by his very wise and laudable conduct, prevailed on the labourers quietly to disperse.

In a large parish of Sussex, a week or two ago, the assistant overseer, having refused to comply with the demands of the poor, they proceeded, *armed with cudgels*, to his house; dragged him from his house; carried him before a neighbouring magistrate, who not only ordered him to pay the money demanded, but who further conciliated the assailants by treating them to bread and cheese and beer. I had this account from a respectable farmer (living in the neighbourhood), on Monday morning last; and in conversation with him I observed, that the poor would collect the rates themselves. From the account in Buckinghamshire, we find that the overseer laid the fault upon the rate-payers, from whom he was unable to obtain the rates; and the Aylesbury paper stated that the magistrates had recommended that the farmer should be permitted to pay the rates in kind! In kind, gracious God! And what are the poor to do with the produce? Pay them in barley, good farmers, and I will pledge my life that

they turn it into malt *without any repeal of the malt tax!* Pay them in kind once; and they will take in kind the second time: there being no law to fix the quantity, they will be sure to take enough, whether in corn or in meat. What fold will hold a sheep, what sty will hold a pig, what stall will hold an ox, in such a state of things? Talking a little further with my Sussex friend, we both agreed that the overseers would screen themselves by saying that they could not collect the rates; that the next thing would be, that the labourers would make them give up the names of the defaulters, and go and collect the rates themselves. And that then the country would be but one remove, one small remove, from being abandoned to the law of nature; that is to say, the *law of the strongest*; and that all property, beginning with the victuals and drink, and proceeding to objects of clothing and so forth, would cease to receive the protection of the law of the land.

To-day is Wednesday, the 17th of February; and the Morning Herald of this morning brings me the following paragraph, taken from a paper published at Rochester, I believe, called the KENT AND ESSEX HERALD. It is a paragraph which would make a sensible ministry lose not an hour in proposing to the Parliament, not the discharging of a few custom-house clerks, but those very measures which I have been so long recommending in vain.

"A few days since, we hear, a party of labourers, 70 in number, applied to the overseers of a parish near Maidstone for their usual weekly relief. The men were informed that, in consequence of the great pressure of the rates, every shilling of money was expended, and, therefore, their solicitations could not be complied with. One and all declared that they were in a starving state, and unless relief were granted, their existence would be at an end, and demanded to know whose rates were due. The officers, to get quit of their importunities, informed them of one gentleman, and accordingly the whole proceeded to his res-

"idence, and required his presence, and then stated their object, adding, *that they had knives, and, if the money were not forthcoming, they would possess themselves of what the house afforded, and divide it.* The gentleman, however, to prevent unpleasantness, offered a check, but this they refused, adding that money would suit them best. He then dispatched his servant to Maidstone, where the check was cashed, and the money, when brought back, was equally divided.

Thus, then, we have specimens from three counties; well attested specimens of this progress, of something very nearly approaching to a dissolution of society; and this, too, observe, before the One-pound Note Bill has been in full operation above four or five months. From going thus to collect the poor rates in particular instances, the suffering parties will proceed to the general collection; and, from this general collection, how short is the step to a general taking of just what they please from anybody. And, while this is going on, Mr. Slaney is, as the newspapers tell us, coming on with his Poor-law Bill, the tendency of which was to narrow, in some way or other, the granting of relief. I wish to God (though it is begging very hard for custom) Mr. Slaney would lay out a shilling upon my little book called the POOR MAN'S FRIEND, in the three middle numbers of which he will find all the principles and all the law, canon law, public law, common law, and statute law, relating to the rights of the poor; and if that book do not convince him, that he ought to touch this subject with a very tender hand, particularly at the present time, conviction is not to be produced in his mind.

Now, my friends, readers of the Register, observe, that the above petition was written before I had heard of this case in Kent. I wanted no such instance to convince me, that the like must be the case in a very short time; because I know the country people well; and I know that they will not lie down and starve quietly, and God Almighty forbid that they should. When men are as-

sembled in great masses, as in Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, they are more easily managed. The knowledge that there are a few soldiers in the neighbourhood, keeps them quiet under the most poignant of sufferings: it is, in fact, a numerous flock of sheep, kept in awe by the most trifling of means. It is not thus with the country people. The manufacturers, thousands upon thousands, talk well, think well, are sprightly and full of intelligence; but they live in crowds, their hands and their skins are soft; they live before good fires, and are contented in a state of unwholesome warmth. The country people, less intelligent, and less talkative, are accustomed to all that hardens man: their hands are hard as sticks; they bear cold like cattle; they live detached in lanes or amongst woods; they are accustomed to move about in the dark, and are not easily frightened at the approach of danger; they have been used to eat meat, they are thoughtful, and are rendered resolute by suffering. Each man lives near about where his grandfather lived; every one hears of the change that has taken place, and, above all things, every man and woman and child old enough to understand anything, looks upon his parish as being partly his; and a sufficiency of food and raiment he looks upon as his inheritance. Never, let what will happen, will these people lie down and starve quietly. I assured my hearers that this would be the case at every place where I delivered a lecture in the North; and I used to tell the poor creatures at Preston, that they would not get a Sussex labourer to live in the manner that they lived, unless they first broke every limb in his body.

It is curious enough, that, in the same *Morning Herald* from which I take the above paragraph, I found the following, taken from the MANCHESTER COURIER, giving an account of the state of the poor in the neighbourhood of that town.

"It appeared that Mr. Potter, visited, at Irlam, 68 families, consisting of 352 individuals, whose united income (including parish relief) amounted only to 33*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* per

" week ; being 1s. 10½d. for each ! The total amount of parish relief received by these 352 individuals was 1l. 0s. 9d. ! In Broom - house - lane, Mr. Potter visited 37 families, consisting of 187 individuals, whose total income (including parish relief) amounted to 16l. 7s., or 1s. 9d. each per week ! The parish relief received by these individuals, was only 17s. 6d. ! Mr. Potter also informed the meeting that he made his visits generally about the time the people were preparing dinner ; and that among the 105 families which he visited, he found only four cooking any portion of butcher's meat ; and these four were only preparing a few pieces of bacon. The remaining 101 families were unable to afford even that humble luxury, and had to subsist only on potatoes and salt."

This Mr. Potter is, as I was informed at Manchester, one of the most benevolent men, and most active in his exertions that ever lived in this world. Pray, attend to the pittance which was afforded by the means of parish relief ; and think of this gross defiance of the law. The law is the same in Lancashire as it is in Sussex and in Kent. The law says, that no human being shall suffer from want ; and how dare the administrators of the law to permit such suffering while there is one single man in their district who possesses money or money's worth things, beyond his own immediate necessities ?

In the end, if this state of things were to go on increasing the suffering, whole flocks of people would migrate from the barren districts, and come into the countries where the food is to be obtained : the law of settlement becomes a reed - a mere rush, when men go for relief with cudgels in their hands. This is the serious part of the prospect. All the rest might be looked at with some degree of indifference ; but this matter cannot be blinked : it is not to be overcome by votes or by any other means than that of real and substantial and general relief ; and that is to be afforded by no means other than that of a great, and

very great, diminution in the amount of the taxes.

The farmers and the country tradesmen and shopkeepers will, in great part, soon be unable to pay the rates, which rates are not all for the poor, observe ; and it is probable, and even certain, that great numbers of them will very soon side with the discontented poor, and will begin to think about living *rent-free*. The pressure will then fall upon the landlords ; and this indeed, is the natural course of events. There is not the means in the country to pay sixty millions of taxes, seven or eight millions of rates, and to pay rents besides. Landlords will find, that it is useless for them to sell up tenants ; finding that, they will endeavour to find new tenants ; but will fail. Thus the whole will be swallowed up by the poor and by the Government, and the poor must be well kept in order to keep them quiet. When taxes begin and grow heavy, they descend with augmented weight from class to class, till at last they press the labourer down to the earth. When they become insupportable, the working class shakes off the load by flying at the farmer for subsistence, and they demand back, in the shape of relief, that which they have paid in taxes. If the law be of sufficient force to restrain them, they continue to suffer ; but when that force is insufficient, they suffer no longer. The farmers and tradesmen, thus pressed by the poor, fly at the landlord, and refuse him rent. The landlords, if unchecked by any undue influence of superior power, fly at the Government, and make it desist from its oppressive demands. But, here they find a bar in the fillers of the seats ; for these have their best estate in the taxes ; and thus those landlords, who have no estate in the taxes, and who are the greater number, become totally powerless ; their estates may pretty nearly be taken from them at once ; for an estate without rent, is, in fact, no estate at all. And I am perfectly serious when I say, that I should not at all wonder, if great numbers of these landlords, with their families, were to sink down into abject poverty,

and have, all the while, apparently, estates in their possession. The poor *will* be fed. The farmers will, in time, join the poor; and the landlords, such as have no share of the taxes, will gradually sink into poverty, unless the thing go to pieces in a convulsion. As to those whose estates are mortgaged deeply, they will speedily possess nothing; they can pay no interest on their mortgages; their estates will be taken away; they will shift about for awhile from friend to friend; but at last, they will become paupers themselves, which has already been the case in not a few instances.

Now, in conclusion, let me beseech you, my friends, to think well of all these things. This march of events, which is absolutely inevitable, admonishes you to be continually on the watch; to be prudent, to waste nothing, to make no sacrifice to show, to abstain from all unnecessary expenditure; to consider of what value a single sovereign may become, to owe no debts, and to have no debts owed to you if possible: above all things, to get possession of **SOME GOLD**, and to keep it.

WM. COBBETT.

TO

THE FARMERS AND TRADERS OF THE COUNTY OF SURREY.

Barnes, 15th Feb., 1830.

GENTLEMEN,

UNDERSTANDING that there is soon to be held a meeting of our county, I take the liberty to offer you my advice with regard to one part of our conduct on this important occasion. We may be assured, that there will be no real redress of our manifold grievances, unless we obtain a radical reform of the Commons' House of Parliament. Therefore, it appears to me, that we ought, as far as we possibly can, to take our labourers with us to the meeting; and there let them learn, that it is not we who are the cause of their sufferings: that we

are fellow-sufferers along with them; that our cause is their cause; and that we must all be relieved, or all continue to suffer, together. For my own part, I shall take with me every man and every boy in my husbandry service; and I do hope that the greater part of you will do the same.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT-LECTURES.

As it is likely that there will be a county meeting in Surrey, in the course of ten days, and as it is my bounden duty to attend that meeting if I possibly can, this is to apprise my friends at Norwich and Bury St. Edmund's, and also my friends at Eye, that I shall suspend my journey to the East until after that meeting. Before the publication of the next Register, I shall probably be able to ascertain the precise time of my departure from London: until then the time must remain unfixed; for Surrey is my native county, and I perceive that my native town of Farnham has at last sent a petition to Parliament complaining of its state of distress. It is too far for many persons to come from that place to Epsom; but let the whole town petition, rich and poor, for a repeal of the malt tax. Let them give me notice of the time of their holding a meeting for such a purpose, and I will attend at that meeting, and put my hand, amongst others, to such petition. Of one thing, however, they may rest assured; and that is, that they will never again see the face of prosperity until they see a reform of the Commons' House of Parliament. Let the rich be convinced, that the poor will never lie down and starve quietly: let them be convinced, that as I told the hop planters once at Andover, the rich and the poor have one common cause; and that, to obtain relief, they must cordially co-operate together: let those who pay poor-rates be ashamed to complain of the six millions a year

to the poor, who do their work for them, while they complain not of the sixty millions a year which they pay to the Government.

WM. CORBETT.

NORFOLK COUNTY MEETING.

(Continued from page 169.)

STILL, however, while any duty on the article remained, the farmer was unable to make use of it; for there were so many restrictions connected with it; so many accounts were to be kept, of how much for the bullocks, how much for the sheep, and how much in store, that a man who employed it, always ran the risk of getting into the Exchequer through it; but when the tax was entirely taken off he began to use salt, and had continued to do so successfully to that day. (Applause.)

There was another matter which required attention, with respect to the malt tax. He hoped that there were some gentlemen present connected with the malting business, for to them he would appeal, whether, if the duty were taken off, the malt would be not only much cheaper but also of a much better quality? He would ask any one who knew the business, whether, if the harvest was as favourable as could be wished, if there was not a drop of rain to spoil the in gathering, the malt returned from that barley would not vary much as to quality? Surely, then, if the barley was so different, it must require a different treatment when being made into malt; but this, under the present provision, the maltster was not allowed to give it. From all these respective circumstances, he was prepared to contend, that if the duty were taken away, it would have the best possible effect for the community at large. In answer to one part of his statement, it might, perhaps, be said, that as the poor had no brewing utensils, they could not brew their own beer; this, however, he thought entitled to very little weight, for he himself had known many who, when they could get the barley, were always able to brew it into beer. As

he had already observed, he trusted that the meeting would confine itself to the immediate subjects now before it; though he had seen in a Norwich Paper an intimation that the game laws would be touched upon; if there were to be such a requisition, he would be one of the first to put his name to it (cheers); and if the meeting, in any respect, went beyond the consideration of the malt tax, he would move for the game laws being the subject. (Cries of "No, no!")

Mr. WOODHOUSE, M.P. for the county, then presented himself to the meeting, and was received with applause mingled with a few hisses. The Honourable Gentleman began by observing, that on all former occasions it had been his uniform practice to wait almost till the last moment, and till every one had declared his opinion. There were, however, particular circumstances which induced him to press himself on their attention thus early; and he should feel obliged if they would allow him to take that opportunity of expressing his sentiments. (Applause.) In what he had to say, he would begin by alluding to some circumstances which had taken place in the course of the last session of Parliament, and also to others which were to be brought forward in the course of the next session. He was anxious that his constituents should, one and all, thus early be made aware of the sentiments by which his mind would be governed. Every one who heard him, was aware that he had not suffered a year to pass, in which he had refrained from pressing on the attention of Government (whoever might form its members) the evils arising from the malt tax (applause); but with that conviction pressing on his mind, he must be allowed to go at once into a short statement of the points on which he agreed, and of those on which he disagreed with the resolutions which had been proposed to the meeting by Mr. Bulwer. The first, second, third, and fourth resolutions were all of them of a general nature; for they all applied to the general influence of taxation on the country. These four, therefore, were in their spirit, and in every syllable of

them, undeniably true ; but they would be so good as to recollect that the fifth and sixth resolutions applied to one article only. And what was that article ? Malt ! But then, why not also the article of beer ? (Applause and uproar.) Why was not the tax on tea specified, or that on sugar, and still more that on coals ? (Cries of " Bravo ! " and confusion.) If he were asked why he wanted to include those also, his answer was, that the high rates of these taxes must necessarily press upon the people, now that they were labouring under the difficulty of low wages. (Cheers.) It was evident, therefore, that by this high rate of taxation the comforts of the lower classes were abridged ; and while things remained in this state, it was a scandal to the aristocracy of the country. (Cheers.) The seventh resolution was of a different nature again, for it applied to the vexatious restrictions that the malt trade experienced. At his request the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the course of the last session, acceded to a proposal for examining into the affair, according to a suggestion that was transmitted to him by his friend Mr. Crisp Brown, and procured the appointment of three experienced excisemen and three experienced maltsters, as a sort of commission of inquiry, in order that it might be ascertained whether these vexatious restrictions were necessary or unnecessary, in order that those only which were necessary might be retained. What was the result of this commission ? He himself not being able to attend, his friend Mr. Portman attended for him, and the conclusion arrived at was, that the maltsters were perfectly satisfied with the conduct of the Government. (Hear.) It had been observed by Mr. Postle, that he wished the malt tax to be extinguished altogether, as otherwise the same army of excisemen would be kept up for its collection. But let them look at the other high taxes, the enormous one upon spirits, in particular, and they would see that there was little hope, while that continued, for the decrease of the number of excisemen ; in short, while there was a high duty there must

necessarily be a high penalty, and the argument therefore applied generally to all exciseable commodities. (Hear, hear.) There was one material subject connected with this and every other tax, which the meeting was bound to take into consideration. He had, for a long time (and was never more impressed with it than now) been of opinion that it was mere childishness, and both nugatory and delusive, to enter into a consideration of the present state of the country, either as compared with what it had been in past time, or with what it would probably be in future, without constantly bearing in mind its relation to the overwhelming and paramount question of the altered value of money. (Applause.) In his opinion the legislature, when they meddled with that question, had no adequate conception of the importance of the work they were taking in hand. (Hear, hear.) He knew that he held this opinion in opposition to the noble Duke at the head of his Majesty's Government ; and he deplored the circumstance ; but he also knew that he had a duty to discharge to his country, and he was resolved to execute it fearlessly. (Applause.) The time was now come when public men of all kinds must not pride themselves on being able to talk about their consistency, for, to all that wished that, he would recommend them to borrow a leaf from Lord Grenville, where he said that it was far more for the benefit of the country for a man to be led to the ready abandonment of a preconceived error (cheers) ; and by an undisguised avowal of such alteration, he best evinced his sense of his public duty. (Cheers.) As allusions had been made by the speakers who preceded him, to the probability of something like a property tax being introduced, perhaps the meeting would allow him to read an extract from a work, written by no ordinary man, living in no ordinary times ; it was a passage from Hampden's *Considerations respecting the most proper way of raising Money*, and was to the following effect :—

" That a great parliament-man had undertook to make it out, that granting to King Charles a moiety of excise in

lieu of the wardships, was equivalent to giving away the whole of the barley land of England. Alluding to the excise; when the serpent once gets his head into a hole, it is no hard matter for him to draw his whole body after it. If an excise should be laid on malt, where will the burden lie? It is evident that this tax will fall very hard upon the poor farmers; and those who are best able to pay it will be most spared. The price of it will certainly sink in the country for want of consumption, by reason of the new imposition. There will, doubtless, be many proposals; but when all is done, I humbly conceive there will be nothing upon the whole matter found so safe and so much for the good of the nation, as a land-tax. Other things may help, but this will be the main resource; it is true this will smart whilst it lasts, but then we are sure to have an end of it. The members of Parliament themselves will be obliged, in interest, to take it off when the occasion ceases; and besides, the freeholders of England will never endure the continuance of a land tax longer than there is an evident necessity for it.

"This is the way in which our ancestors acted upon these occasions, and this is the safe and sure way. It has been laid down as a good rule in Parliament, to support the Government in time of peace, by taxes upon trade, and in time of war to have recourse to the land, because that tax will not be in danger of being continued when the war is over."

This was the way that our ancestors had proposed to step in, and certainly it was the only sure way on which to proceed (hear, hear); as he looked at the question, it was a good rule for Parliament to tax trade in the time of war, and in the time of peace to alter the tax to land; and he believed that if the Parliament of 1815 had not been actuated by the greatest selfishness, there would then have been a rate levied upon property (applause); he did not by this mean an inquisitorial sort of tax, but a general duty upon land, houses, and personal property, to a certain extent. If this course were now adopted, he had no doubt that it would enable

the Duke of Wellington and the Government to persevere in the course already commenced, and God grant that he might go on rejoicing, and so sink down to a happy rest; and he was sure that if the plan had been earlier adopted, there was not one impost which the people had to pay, that would not have been lighter than at present. (Hear.) He, however, said that gentlemen appeared to be seized with a sort of shivering fit at all notion of a property tax; and he should therefore content himself with reading some resolutions, which he had drawn up, for the sake of recording what his sentiments were, and that he might stand before them clear. (Hear.)

The following were the resolutions:—

"That the state of depression in which every interest throughout the empire is placed, demands the most serious attention of the legislature.

"That one great and primary object for consideration is, the extent to which the comforts of the poor and industrious classes of the people are abridged by the continuance of a high rate of taxation under a low rate of wages, as applied to the necessaries of life, such as malt, beer, tea, sugar, and coals.

"That with respect to the real weight of taxation, the legislature does not appear to have entertained an adequate conception of the effects that were likely to be produced by the partial restoration of the present standard of gold, even as far as regards England; Scotland and Ireland being hitherto exempted from its operation.

"That the evils of an unlimited paper currency, are such as no right-minded person should ever seek to renew; but that every practicable suggestion for alleviating the evils of a too contracted currency, ought to be calmly and steadily pursued, with a due regard both to the safety of the state, and the general welfare of the community."

LORD SUFFIELD wished to know whether Mr. Wodehouse intended to move these resolutions by way of amendment? If he did, his Lordship would be happy to second them.

MR. WODEHOUSE: If your Lordship will move them, I will second them.

Lord SUFFIELD: He had not come there with an intention of offering any observations on the object of the meeting; that object he generally approved, and his mind was not made up to express any opinion on the language of the petition. The meeting might see by where he had placed himself (his Lordship was in the gallery over the main body of the meeting), that he had come unprepared to make any observations; but he had been so forcibly struck by the arguments of Mr. Wodehouse, and they were so precisely in accordance with his own sentiments, that he could not forbear affording the great and respectable meeting which he saw before him, an opportunity, by seconding Mr. Wodehouse's amendment, of passing their judgment on the subject. (Applause.) God forbid that he should attempt to throw down the apple of discord among them! That was no more his wish than it was Mr. Wodehouse's; but he had been encouraged to declare that his opinions were consentaneous with those of Mr. Wodehouse, by the warm reception which the meeting had given to that Hon. Gentleman's observations (Hear, hear); and he therefore considered that it would be matter for future regret if the meeting was not afforded an opportunity of adopting so reasonable a proposition. Having said thus much, he would not add anything further, as it could only have the effect of weakening the hon. Gentleman's arguments; and he should therefore agree to abide by Mr. Wodehouse's determination of whether he would propose an amendment or not.

Sir THOMAS BEEVER said, that in rising to offer any opposition to Mr. Bulwer's resolutions, he did so with considerable diffidence, not only on account of the respectability of the requisitionists in whose name that Gentleman had offered his resolutions, but because he felt his own inability to do justice to the opinions which he had to express, and feared that he should not be supported by many of those who had formerly been in the habit of agreeing with him. When, however, he looked round that hall, and saw the respectable body

of freeholders that surrounded him, and recollected that seven years ago, in the very teeth of the aristocracy, they had voted for an equitable adjustment, it gave him some little confidence. (Hear, hear.) The mover and seconder had appeared extremely anxious that all who succeeded them should stick to the question of the malt tax alone, as the law had been laid down by the sixty individuals whom they represented. But though these gentlemen had taken this trouble on themselves, he did not know why the rest of the meeting were bound to adhere to their rule. If they were to touch at all upon the state of the country, it would be impossible to adhere to the malt tax only (applause); though he begged to say, that as far as Mr. Wodehouse had gone, he agreed with him entirely in sentiment; and he was happy to state, that if that Honourable Gentleman had not preceded him, he should have moved some resolutions to the same effect, only his would have gone a little beyond. (A laugh and applause.) His resolutions went to what he held to be the sole remedy for the defects of which they were complaining. He considered that those who petitioned only for the repeal of the malt tax (and Mr. Bulwer's resolutions went to nothing else) were too sanguine as to the consequences they deemed likely to attend such remission. (Applause.) The effect for which they were looking would never be produced till they had a thorough and radical reform in the Commons House of Parliament. (Continued cheers.) He had no wish to offer himself as the opponent of Mr. Wodehouse's amendment; but if that were not carried, he wished to be understood as saving to himself the right of proposing his own. Some people contended that this was not the proper time to petition Parliament; and in touching upon this he supposed that he was getting upon tender ground; however, he could not help it. Those who argued thus were full of the notion that the Duke of Wellington had some grand measure in his head, which he was to produce at the opening of the session; and this conclusion was drawn, because, as they

said, he had in the last two sessions introduced two grand constitutional measures. But even if this fact were correct, he dissented from the conclusion drawn from it, for he maintained that it was the duty of the people to give all the encouragement in their power to a good minister; and if they had a bad one, to make their voice tingle in his ears. (Cheers) But what were these two grand constitutional measures? He supposed that the repeal of the Test and Corporation Act was one. Now he was a Dissenter, but he must confess that he was never particularly anxious for that repeal; its existence, however, had always been a matter of great objection to the Dissenters generally, and as such he had always wished for the repeal. But how did the law now stand? For his own part, he felt himself as fully excluded as ever from holding any office, if such had been his ambition: in lieu of a qualification they had a declaration which went the length of making the Dissenter state that he would not use his power to alter or attack the church.

Colonel HARVEY spoke to order: He thought that Sir Thomas was travelling quite away from the object of the meeting.

Sir THOMAS BEEVOR: What advantage then had the Dissenters gained?

The High Sheriff thought that he (Sir Thomas Beavor) was out of order.

Sir THOMAS BEEVOR could not agree with the High Sheriff; for if that Gentleman would have waited a little, he would have seen that he had not introduced the topics in reference to the Test and Corporation Acts themselves, but only for the sake of inquiring what might be expected from the Duke of Wellington in the ensuing session of Parliament. (Hear.) The other grand constitutional measure was that of Catholic emancipation; a question that excited more ill-blood than any question that had ever been brought before Parliament. But now that it was settled and over, let them calmly consider what it amounted to. The only remarkable features that he could see in it, were, the chance that it afforded to half-a-

dozen Catholic gentlemen of getting into Parliament; and to half-a-dozen Catholic barristers of getting silk gowns to their backs; while, to purchase this valuable chance, the disfranchisement of half a million of Irishmen had been accomplished! Hear that, ye Parliamentary reformers! (Cries of "Question, question!" and uproar.) And why had this disfranchisement taken place? Not because, as was alleged, they were driven in herds to the poll; but because the landlords had found out that they were no longer so to be driven. And was this, then, the man for whose measures they were to wait before they petitioned?

(To be concluded.)

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Offices, 149, Leadenhall-street, London.

AGENTS continue to be appointed in country towns for the sale of the TEAS and COFFEE of this Establishment. They are packed in leaden canisters, from an ounce to a pound, and labelled with the price on each package. The fac-simile of the secretary is attached, to secure their delivery free from adulteration: but little trouble is occasioned by the sale. Any respectable tradesman may engage in it with advantage; he promotes indeed his own business by this valuable appendage. The license is only 11s. per annum; the very trade an amusement; and, from an outlay of from 10l. to 20l., many, during the last five years, have realised an income of from 40l. to 50l. per annum, without one shilling let or loss.—Applications to be made to

CHARLES HANCOCK, Secretary.

TEA.—A SAVING TO FAMILIES OF 2s. IN 7s., UPWARDS OF 30 PER CENT.

FELIX and CO., 106, Tottenham-court-road, three doors from London-street, near the New-road, have just OPENED a WAREHOUSE for the SALE of TEA, FREE from ADULTERATION, and served from the chest pure as received from China. As a saving of 30 per cent. in an article of such universal consumption as Tea, implies the saving of several pounds sterling a year, Families are respectfully invited to prove the truth of what we state, by sending for an ounce of our best Black Tea at 5s. a pound, and judge for themselves whether it is not equal, if not superior, to that for which they are now paying 7s. a pound. Other Teas and Coffee equally moderate, particularly a real fine Hyson, at 8s. a pound.—Families and Dealers from the Country, as well as Co-operative Societies, will do well to give us a trial.—A trial is all we ask.

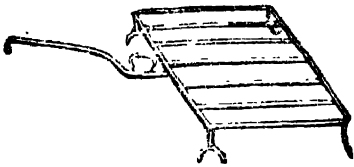
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27TH, 1830.

[Price 7d.]



‘The House of Commons is the noblest assembly of free men in the whole world. (Loud and repeated cheers from all parts of the House.)’—*Report of Sir James Graham's Speech in that House on the 5th of February, 1830.*

THE REGISTER.

HITHERTO the Register has been for sale, at the Office in Fleet Street, for several days *after the day of publication*. This has, however, been found to be so very inconvenient, and, in fact, attended with so much loss, that I am obliged to give up this *after sale*. The day of publication is SATURDAY; and after this week, there will be no Registers for sale at the Office, after the Saturday evening, eight o'clock. The best way is for gentlemen to get the Register as they do other stamped papers, from the *newsmen*. There is no way so sure as this; and the cost is precisely the same.

TO THE

READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Barn-Elm Farm, 24th February, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

MR. JAMES PERRY, of Morning Chronicle Whig memory, gave the Parliament the name of *Collective Wisdom of the nation*. This appears not to have been enough for the descendant of “John with the bright sword,” who, if the reports be correct, has given the House of Commons, as some people call it, the name of the “*noblest assembly of free men in the whole world*”; and, it is reported, that at this re-baptising, the House almost stunned itself with its *own cheers*. Noblest or noblest not, however, this House appears to have done nothing to relieve the distress of the

people; for after two or three miserable attempts in this way, out have come the Ministers with their *list of savings*, amounting in the whole to £1,200,000; and though this is all that is to be saved out of nearly £60,000,000, including the expense of collecting the taxes, the NOBLEST ASSEMBLY seemed to be surprised that so much could be saved!

But, *saved or not saved*, what is that to the tax-payers? There are about ten millions of people in England and Wales (for the Irish and Scotch really pay next to nothing towards the sixty millions); this is *six pounds* each for us to pay, babies and all; and out of this the proposed *savings* would remit about *two shillings and three-pence* for each of us! However, we are, it seems, not to have even this remission; for *no tax is proposed to be taken off*! What is it to the people what “*savings*” are made, so long as the taxes continue to be the same? And, observe, they must continue to be the same, or the *system goes to pieces*.

The system will end, whenever there shall be ANOTHER CLOSING OF THE BANK AGAINST DEMANDS FOR GOLD; for the moment that shall take place, *no matter from what cause*, there will very speedily follow TWO PRICES for goods and for property of all sorts. So that *war*, or a *serious commotion* in the country, would now blow up the system; and either of these may come upon us very suddenly. And even a *real reduction of the taxes* would produce the same effect. To take off *ten millions* out of the *sixty*, would yield very little relief; but it would make fundholders, if sane, sell out, and *run for the gold*. How, then, stands the Bank? It has out in notes £26,000,000. It holds *exchequer bills* to the amount of about £10,000,000; it holds of *dead-weight*, about £10,000,000 more; it has in advances to the Government £4,000,000; and therefore it cannot have a prodigious mass of gold. In short, the mother-bank, the sow-bank,

is, in one respect, like the pig-banks ; it must have *more* notes than it has gold, or it could not carry on business to a profit. It is, indeed, all a thing of paper ; a thing resting on *mere opinion* ; and a change of opinion may pull the whole fabric down in a moment.

The Duke of Wellington is reported to have said, that *the nation was never so well prepared for war as at this moment !* But, then, he said two other things : namely, that *the retail traders were in a prosperous state !* And that that there is now *more money* (including paper) circulating in the country, *than there was during any period of the late war !* We must take the three assertions together ; and we must believe them *all*, or believe *none* of them. However, suppose war to come, is he prepared to close the Bank against demands for gold ? Is he prepared to stand a general run for gold ? Is he prepared for *two prices* ? Is he prepared for the effects of *legal tender* ? Is he prepared for sales of forged notes, poured in upon us, as *our people poured assignats in upon the French* ? He may be ; but, then, he must be prepared for *all the consequences* ; for that the enemy *would* pour them in upon us, is as certain as any thing earthly can be. In short, though it is surprising to hear this man talk of the prosperity of retail traders, and of the quantity of money in the country, it is still more surprising to hear him thus talk of being *prepared for war !* If he mean to *deceive foreign nations* by this boasting, that is worse than all the rest. They know our real situation *better* than he does, if he be sincere in his opinions ; and this boast of his will be, by them, regarded as a sure proof of our real inability to go to

At any rate, be *you*, my readers, "*prepared for war*" ; narrow your affairs as much as possible ; be not in debt ; *get all the gold you can, and keep it.*

It is *possible* that, as long as Charles the Tenth lives, we may have peace with France and America ; but not *much longer*. The French nation see our weakness ; they know the extent of our distress, if our Ministers do not ; they see

us with a *falling* system ; they *know* what we can do, and what we cannot ; and we deceive ourselves most grossly, if we imagine that they have forgotten the tribute which we made them pay, and the museums which were ransacked while we were masters of Paris. They all know how to pour in upon us the forged paper-money, which would be perfectly fatal if this paper-money found us without cash payments at the Bank. The Ministers say, that they cannot do with less army and fleet than they have now even in time of peace, what are they to do, then, in time of war ? What would then be their expenditure annually ? and observe, we should not, as in the last war, have all the commerce in the world under our absolute command. The war, whenever it come, will be a dreadful war for England ; and the probabilities are, that if it overtake us with an unreformed Parliament, the crash will be the most dreadful that the world ever yet beheld.

Now, turn your eyes to the proceedings of the "noblest assembly of free men." Look at the divisions on the army estimates, and then say what are your hopes ! All idea of a return to the small paper-money seems to be abandoned. I inculcated, throughout the whole of my Northern tour, the opinion that there would not be a return to the small paper-money. I found a very large part, if not the whole, of the solid manufacturers very much averse to that return ; but I found them nevertheless of an opinion contrary to mine with regard to what *would* be done. I remember that, in one instance, in a party of twelve or thirteen gentlemen, we put it to the vote whether Mr. WESTERN'S wishes would prevail or not ; and if I recollect correctly, I was in a minority of four. The opinions of those who differed from me were founded on this : That it was impossible for the Government to go on with the present currency without a great reduction of taxes ; and this every man said they would not make. I thought so, too, and said that I thought so ; but still the Duke was so firmly bound to the bill of 1826, and the danger of departing from it was so

great and so manifest, that I could not believe that even these Ministers would, in open daylight, run their heads into such a fatal noose. This opinion of mine has been confirmed by the proceedings of the "Collective." Mr. WESTERN, who was defeated in his own county, where a petition was passed in despite of him, praying, not for paper-money, but for a seizure of part of the property of the church, and for a reform in the House of Commons: Mr. WESTERN cut but a poor figure. Several others made a slight push to get back to the paper-money, but were very soon silenced; and, as for taking off taxes, there the Ministers were sure to triumph; for those who had to vote, knew too well, much too well, the necessity of continuing all the taxes.

In the affair of the army estimates, Mr. HUME, who made some famous exposures, told the Ministers, that the people would soon take the affair into their hands, which was highly resented by "that fine young man," Mr. PEEL, who asserted that the Government would beat the people if they followed the advice of Mr. HUME. Poor SCARLETT, lawyer SCARLETT, of poor law memory, came in for a share of the censure of Mr. HUME, who said that he could say there in safety what no man out of the House dared to say, lest this lawyer should pounce down upon him. The lawyer appears to have said nothing for himself, and no one seems to have said any thing for him.

It is curious to observe what a cry the worthy Whigs are now setting up against the bill for banishing people who may bring the House into contempt by their writings. I have been writing against this bill ever since it was passed, and I promised the people of Preston that I would not even sit down in the House, if they elected me, until I had moved for the destruction of this bill. LORD MORPETH has given notice of a motion for the repeal of it, which motion is to come on on the fourth of May; but the newspaper account of it gives an erroneous description of the date of the bill, which it calls a bill passed in the *sixth year of George*

the Fourth, whereas the bill was passed in the *sixtieth year of the good old father of the present King*, and on the 30th of December, 1819. So that Sir FRANCIS BURDETT was deceived when he said, the other night, he might be sent to Botany Bay if he published a second seditious libel, having been convicted of one before. He was convicted of one before, to be sure, and had a three-months' walk round the Marshalsea for it; but his sedition was committed before the passing of the Act; so that, a second conviction would not transport him, unless the Act be construed to mean, that a verdict, after the passing of the Act, shall be sufficient for the purpose, though the crime was committed before the passing of it. Besides, the punishment is not Botany Bay, but banishment, except the sentenced party remain in the country forty days after the sentence. Then the offender is to be transported for any term not exceeding fourteen years. This Act was the last, all but one, of the reign of the late good old King, who found the taxes *twenty-four millions* a year in time of war, and who left them *sixty millions a year* in time of peace; who found the interest of the Debt *eight millions and a half* a year, and who left it *thirty millions* a year. The very act that closed this prosperous and happy reign (and a most appropriate close it was) was the Act to put down the cheap publications. This Act was the 60th George the Third, chapter nine; and the banishment Act, 60th George the Third, chapter eight. These Acts are a sweet pair, take them together; and they were manifestly intended principally for a person who shall be nameless. When the banishment Act was under discussion, the Whigs represented the indignity offered to *gentlemen of the press*, though they said there might be an individual who might merit such severity and degradation; whereupon CANNING replied, "*that there was no getting at the ignoble beast, without running down the whole herd*!" This fellow's tongue is still; but his saucy, his impudent, his stupid words ought to be recollected. The great LIAR OF THE

NORTH, Baines of Leeds, put into his paper, that a good many gentlemen left the room at Dewsbury, because I said something harsh of CANNING. Never was a more barefaced lie than this. I do not recollect having mentioned his name at Dewsbury, but almost everywhere I did, and I dealt justly by him; that is to say, I ridiculed all his stupid sayings about the currency; his "setting the question at rest for ever"; his swallowings of the public money; his silly talk about the "mother and the daughter" at Liverpool; and his base and savage jest with regard to poor GREN. At Liverpool, especially, I laid on upon him with all the force that I possessed; and in that part of my speech I was more cheered than at any other part of it. The "*piece of gold in the pocket, and the fowl in the pot*," which were to be produced by the bill of 1826, were productive of peals of laughter wherever I went. I remember his "*ignoble beast*" and his running at the whole herd in order to get at him; and the fellow being dead does not satisfy me by any means: his offences against me, personally, are more more than enough to justify my continuing to say every thing against his memory that I can say with truth. His "*setting of the question at rest for ever*," and being cheered by the whole House; TIERNEY's refraining from praising PEELE's Bill too much, seeing that he himself had the honour to be the real mother of it; RICARDO's saying that it would make prices fall only four per cent.; and GRENVILLE saying that there was no danger, seeing that prices would fall only three and a half per cent.: all these sayings I ripped up, and made my audiences as merry as if at a comedy.

But the bill; the bill that was to get at the ignoble beast, by banishing those that should publish any thing having a tendency to bring the House into contempt; this bill was the fittest thing in the whole world; and the beauty of it was, it came in such nice time. First, the House passed PEELE's Bill, and thereby did an act which they themselves now repent of having done; an Act which has produced mischief after mischief,

until it has, at last, rendered it impossible for the House to discover how it can get on. Having passed this Act in the month of July, 1819, it assembled hastily, in November of the same year, and passed an Act to banish men for life, if the judges so choose; for it is "for such term of years as the court shall order"; and that may be for a hundred years or more; and, in case of non-departure, the offender to be transported for any term short of fourteen years. The other House, in which the bill originated, had sentenced the delinquent to transportation instead of banishment; because banishment to the United States, for instance, whence I had just then come, appeared to be no very great punishment. The bill was softened in the Commons, in consequence of a very humble and crying petition from the "*respectable bookellers*," who appeared to be afraid that their trade would be cut up, with Botany Bay staring their literary gentlemen in the face. I, on the contrary, published, in the twopenny Register, that this bill was a thing that left me quite liberty enough; and MR. BLAKE, the member for Arundel, actually quoted my authority in support of the Bill. The sharp-cutters were cruelly mortified at this; but thinking, perhaps, that they should soon have me, they consoled themselves in the meanwhile.

Transportation would have been a little too much of a good thing; and, therefore, I did not say aye till the word banishment was introduced, for which punishment I did not care a single straw. The whigs were most infernally enraged, if rage can be infernal in human breasts, when BLAKE got up with the Register in his hand, and answered this very SCARLETT by reading what I had said about the bill. When the bill went back to the Lords, JOHN, LORD ELDON, who was then Chancellor, observed, in his usual kind manner, "The bill is spoiled; but it's better than nothing." It is curious that, when I arrived at Liverpool, there came on board the ship, as I have before related, two young gentlemen from the consignees, one of whom having been introduced to me

by the Captain, the worthy CAPTAIN CORN, whom I always remember with the most friendly sentiments; this gentleman said, "I am sorry to see you here, Mr. COBBETT, for the ——— are met; and you may depend upon it that they will prepare something for you." "Very likely, (said I,) but they have got *Peel's Bill upon their back*, and that will encumber their movements, and make them more gentle, I imagine." If that gentleman be alive, he has, I dare say, frequently called to mind what I said to him in the cabin that day. The truth is, I had read of the Manchester affair of the 16th of August; I had read SIDMOUTH's letter of thanks to the Yeomanry Cavalry; but I had also read *PEEL's Bill*, and I was sure that that would take the buckram out of the gentleman. I knew well that I had nothing to do but to hold them to that bill, if possible; for I knew that that bill would bring the nation to its senses, and my foes upon their knees.

Before I got to London, the two bills, one for putting down cheap publications, and the other for banishing libellers, were advancing apace, and were finally passed on the 30th December, 1819. The Whigs rather divided upon the subject, some for the bills and others against them; offering a very faint opposition, and manifestly in no sort of anxiety lest the bills should *not* pass. To show their sincerity upon the subject, an excellent occasion offered itself just after the poor talking CANNING got to be Prime Minister. Mr. HUME, seeing that liberality was the order of the day, and seeing SCARLETT, Attorney-General, moved for the repeal of the bill respecting the cheap publications, which he always used to call "Cobbett's Act." This bill compelled me to put two sheets and a quarter of paper into my pamphlet, each sheet being not less than twenty-one inches in length, and seventeen inches in breadth, and to sell it for a sum not less than sixpence exclusive of any duty imposed by the Act. What a "noble assembly of free men"! Then, it enacts that no one was to print or publish any such pamphlet, or any newspaper whatsoever, without entering

into sureties, before he began printing, to pay three hundred pounds towards any fine that might be inflicted on him for any libel that he might thereafter publish! In the course of twenty-eight clauses, this act contains penalty upon penalty, and restraint upon restraint; but, that which does seem to surpass every thing of the kind ever heard of before, are the "twenty-one inches in length and seventeen inches in breadth."

Now this Act (the *liberal* Minister being installed, being surrounded by the Whigs, and having the no very fat knees of one of them stuck in his back) Mr. HUME thought ought to be repealed, in order to give something of *éclat* to this new reign of liberality. Not so, thought the Whigs, who frowned upon the nation, which was treated to some nice Scotch sarcasm by Mr. BROUGHAM and LAWYER SCARLETT, who had opposed the bill while passing, and objected to its repeal!

At last, however, the Banishment Bill, which is certainly the least hostile to liberty of the two, the Whigs seem to think a great evil, after having suffered it to rest quietly for ten long years, and once, during that time, having refused to support a motion for its repeal. I have mentioned it a thousand times over. I have told the Spaniards of it, in a letter to them; I have told the French of it, in a letter to them; the whole world knows the history of it; it has done great good by beating out of the heads of foreigners the juggling stuff about English liberty, and about "*les représentens du peuple*," as VOLTAIRE stupidly calls them, in his silly and bombastical *Henriade*. That was a sad bribed fellow, by-the-by, and a vile courtier and base stock-jobber into the bargain. His *Henriade* is a tissue of the most impudent historical lies ever put upon paper. He either knew nothing of the history of the time of Henry the Fourth, or he was a bribed liar, the last being the most probable of the two. I have explained to France, to Spain, to Italy, to Germany, (the United States knew it well,) that the *représentens du peuple* have protected themselves against the con-

tempt of the people by a law to banish the people, if the people say anything having even a tendency to bring them into contempt. It is too late to repeal the Act, if character be the object. The existence of the Act is known all over the world; and the repeal, if it were to take place, would never be heard of.

But why NOW; why at this time, at the end of ten long years? Is it because there is now a lack of the base paper-money? Has this bill produced distress and a want of rents? I thank God Almighty that the want is come; I am equally grateful for the pinching of thousands of vermin who chuckled with delight when this bill made a run upon the whole herd in order to get at the ignoble beast. But why now; and why is poor SCARLETT run at for having acted upon a law passed by the House itself, and kept in force for ten years; a law, too, that the Whigs would not vote for the repeal of, when a motion was made for the purpose four years ago? What has SCARLETT done but act upon the law which the Whigs themselves have thus sanctioned; some of them by their votes when it was passed, and others of them by refusing to vote for its repeal? There stand no less than two or three motions for propositions relative to the late trials; and what has inspired all this zeal for the freedom of the press; all this uncommon zeal? Nay, SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, who was sitting at the back of CANNING when Mr. Hume's motion was made, now professes himself ready to be transported (if the reporters speak truth) rather than not set this very Act at defiance. What can have occasioned all this? Is it liberty; is it a love of the freedom of the press; is it a desire that the deeds of the House should be spoken of as they deserve to be spoken of; is it a tenderness for literary talent; is it any or all of these; or is it A WANT OF RENTS?

Strange has been the workings of this Peel's Bill; and stranger still will they be. They will leave no vestige of the fine spirit that was floating about in the years 1817, 18, and 19. The Yeomanry Cavalry we never hear mentioned,

except cited as the cause of heavy expense. The bang, bang, from their pistols, and the rattle of the feet of their horses, that charming music, really appears to be gone for ever. No parades in parks; no dinnerings and toastings at taverns, or at lords' houses; no votes of thanks and stupid correspondence in the newspapers, between troops and their commanders; no boastings about the gallant exploits in sallies on old women and boys. All is gone; and the rusty sword, and furred-up pistol, and the helmet-cap, and the uniform jacket, are all thrown aside; or the latter, perhaps, after being worn out under the convenient covering of a smock frock, has, at last, become the garment of a shoy-hoy. I can remember a fellow who, in the year 1807, used to come galloping into the village at night, three-quarters drunk, after having been at one of their reviews, as they called it, and used to fire off his pistols, bang, bang, frightening the women and children of the neighbourhood. I saw, and I was glad to see, the very same fellow, in 1821, with the toes of both his feet peeping out of his shoes, with a beard a fortnight old, and with half a smock-frock upon his back. The like of this fellow, if not yet pulled down, rejoiced at the Banishment Bill of 1819; rejoiced at the twenty-one inches of paper by seventeen; rejoiced at the ruin and destruction of every one that had the spirit to speak the truth relative to the acts of the Government. This Act may now be repealed, though there is very little chance of it; but its existence will never be forgotten by any one who shall hear talk of the liberty of the press in England.

It has been made the subject of a publication in Spain, intended to show how false were the pretences of English liberty. Several publications in France have spoken of it. An Englishman in Switzerland was shown my account of it in the Register, and was asked whether it were really true, that the English House of Commons had found it necessary to protect itself against the contempt of the people, by a law to banish the people. In twenty different Ameri-

can papers I have read an account of this law; and in one, published at Pittsburgh, no longer ago than last fall, I read, in an article entitled "*Degraded England*," first, a very accurate description of this bill; and next, a description, equally accurate, of WILMOT HORTON's project for mortgaging the poor-rates, in order to get rid of the people by sending them out of the country; and the writer concludes with this apostrophe: "Is this the boasted land of liberty? Is this the country of SIDNEY and HAMPDEN and LOCKE? We thank God that we are separated from it; and we feel renewed gratitude to the wise and brave men whose timely resistance saved our happy country from being subject to acts like these!"

Why, to be sure, the whole world must rejoice that they are safe from such acts. However, the Act in question will remain, with all the rest of it, as long as paper-money of any sort or kind will circulate in England. Such acts are the natural and necessary fruit of the system, which, say SIR JAMES GRAHAM and BURDETT what they will, is not to be carried on without such acts; and the good of it is, that neither of them really wish the system to cease. This is the good of the thing, that they will not see that this act is a part of the system. Why, do they imagine that if the 21 inch by 17 inch Act were to cease, I should not publish a penny pamphlet which would circulate from one end of the kingdom to the other? and what need I do but state the amount of the collection of the taxes compared with the amount given in relief to the poor? The millions know nothing about this matter; they know nothing about LORD GASKY's petition. There are about two hundred facts to state to them; all notoriously true; all of them to be stated without a possibility of ascribing libel to the writer; yet, if these facts were circulated at the doors of the soup shops, or amongst the men who are drawing wagons; if only the list of the families upon the pension list, and the sums they receive, were circulated in this manner, were flung into the pounds where the labourers are shut up in

Buckinghamshire, or distributed to the stone-crackers along the roads, does SIR FRANCIS BURDETT and SIR JAMES GRAHAM think that the system could last? Oh, no! the acts are necessary to the system, and as necessary as the taxes are; as long as paper-money will circulate, and as long as this mass of taxes is collected, these acts are absolutely necessary.

My friends, readers of the Register, consider well these things; be you prepared for whatever may happen; and be not amused by those who now and then give way to a little loose talk about freedom, but who, when the pinch comes, when the question of repealing taxes or not repealing taxes; when that question comes, always uphold the system. Be you not amused by any one who is not for a repeal of taxes: that is the great point and the only point worth attending to. Care nothing at all about reduction of expences: that is another matter: it is what you have to pay and not what is done with the money, unless, indeed, those who talk of reducing expences will show you what families and what persons pocket the money. That explanation would be useful, indeed; but mere loose talk about expenditure is of no use, and is unworthy of your attention. We could have a pot of beer for a penny, better than that which is bought at a public-house for sixpence. Here is one thing more worthy of your attention than ten years of jabbering about army estimates.

The progress at present is fearful: it may be stopped all at once; at a moment; with very little or no warning; be, therefore, I pray you, prepared: get gold, and keep it. I have heard, and, I believe, truly, that there has been, during the last year, a very serious falling off in the number of persons having money in the funds, as it is called. There are, I am told, ten thousand less fund-holders than there were a year ago. This has doubtless arisen from two causes. First, prudent people have been selling out and getting gold; and, second, farmers and tradesmen have been selling out, in order to be able to pay rent and taxes in the present state

of the decline of their business. The thing will naturally take this course; and as the distress becomes more pressing, the danger will, to every one, appear more great; so that this selling out, from the same two motives, will and must go on with accelerated pace. The tax-eaters, in the mean while, are becoming richer from the same cause that makes other people poorer. They will not lay their money out on land or in trade, because the former yields no rent, and the latter no profit. They will, therefore, purchase the funds which others have to sell; and thus the number of fundholders will become comparatively small. Every fundholder, that sells out is a partizan withdrawn from the government. The tie becomes weaker, as the funds get into fewer hands; and at last, if this thing could go on for any number of years, the government would derive little or no support from the holders of the funds. The insurance offices must be monstrous losers at this time, if their assets consist of real property; and if it consists of funded property, the security there is no better than the other. Their business must fall off, too, as well as every other; thus the whole fabric will be shaken. Confide you in nothing of the sort. Thousands have said that they owe their safety to me: many thousands more will say it if they follow this advice of

Your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
W. COBBETT.

SEAT IN PARLIAMENT.

It has been proposed to me that I should express, if I chose, my wish *to be furnished with the means of obtaining a seat in the House of Commons*. I do entertain that wish; not for the sake of any gain or benefit of a private nature; but for the sake of assisting in obtaining what I deem *justice for the people at large*, and of effecting this by lawful and quiet means. I know that I have done, and am doing, something in this way; but I also know that I could do more in one month, though the last

month of this very session, than I have done in thirty years, and that I can out of the House do, in all the remainder of my life. *I know all about this thing*, from the point of the tap-root up to the top-most twig; and if I were *in the House*, the people should *all* possess the same knowledge in less than a month, in spite of all that could be done to prevent it. There would need only that knowledge in them to produce the desired effect; to produce every thing that good men wish to see.

Almost every man *now* sees, and is ready to declare, that there is *a great wrong somewhere*; but the confusion of opinions as to the *where*, is nearly as great as ever. No man hits the right nail upon the head; no man puts the match to the right taper; and therefore, there is no *unity of mind* in the mass of the people; and without that unity of mind, there can be no unity of action; no united appeal for redress and regeneration. The *POLITICAL UNION* founded by Mr. ATTWOOD, is very laudable in itself; but it will produce, I am convinced, no effect whatever. It is encumbered with regulations that prove its timidity; it exposes men to the displeasure of the powerful; and if it were likely, which it is not, to become really formidable to that at the destruction of which it aims, it would be crushed, while all but its mere members would look on in silence.

Oh, no! From *combinations* of this sort, or of any sort, no great good can come, however worthy and able the leaders may be. In 1816, when the late MAJOR CARTWRIGHT and Sir FRANCIS BURDETT were forming "HAMPTON CLUBS" all over the country, it was against my opinion, strongly and urgently expressed to them both. And I remember that in a conversation, early in 1817, with Mr. GEORGE EDMONDS, of Birmingham, a very zealous and a very clever man, and who, by-the-by, is one of the signers of the "ADDRESS" founding the "POLITICAL UNION, I expressed my wish that the Hampton Clubs were *dissolved*. "What!" said he, "if you take our Hampton Clubs away, we are *nothing*." My answer was,

"If they remain, they will be *something*, for they will point out to the Government precisely *who are the men to be made a terrific example of*." Before three months had passed over our heads, the *elect* of these clubs were all safe in *dungeons*! And the worst of it is, that men, thus combined, meet with little or no support *from the people at large*; because, even those who *inwardly* approve of their object and efforts, do not do it openly, such approval being a tacit confession, that they themselves have neglected their duty, in not having openly joined the combination. Besides, every petition, every remonstrance, coming from a *combination*, is received and dealt with as such; the combination is regarded as not speaking the voice of *the people*; it is looked upon as a conceited and disaffected *party*; and is exposed to every shaft that calumny is able to level against any one or more of its members.

No: the great change, the regeneration or renovation, is not to be effected *peaceably* by such means. If, indeed, the object were to effect it by *physical force*, combinations might succeed; but this object is most emphatically disavowed by the parties; and here, at the very outset, they discover far too much of timidity to encourage bold spirits to join them, while this very timidity in their language will make timid men suspect their sincerity, and stand aloof from them accordingly. According to their own declarations, they will confine themselves to *petitioning*; and most men will be satisfied, that we have had enough of that already. The good that a combination could do by *publications from the press*, is very questionable. The circulation of them must be partial; their motion would be slow; and their effect but feeble, however ably written, and in a style however forcible.

No: the scene wherein to effect a *peaceable* regeneration is the *House of Commons* itself, whence every word, coming from an able man and conveying interesting knowledge, flies to the utmost bounds of the kingdom almost with the rapidity of thought; and, when

I know, that the King's Speech, delivered on the *Thursday afternoon*, was read by me, in the "*NOTTINGHAM REVIEW*" of the *Friday morning*, I am disposed to exclaim, How can a *Member of Parliament* want the "*BIRMINGHAM UNION*" as a vehicle of facts and arguments to the people!

No: it is in *that House* that the thing is to be done, if it be to be done *peaceably*; because that which is *there* said, is said to *all the people*, and said to all *at once*. If the matter be calculated to rouse men to action, all are roused at one and the same time. *Public opinion* is thus formed and settled; and it never has yet been known, that *public opinion* did not, in the end, prevail. Now, therefore, as I am of opinion, that I should be able to do a great deal in this way, I wish, as I long have wished, to be placed in the House of Commons. If *all* the people read my Register, this would not be so necessary: if *all* the people had read (I mean tax-eaters excluded) what I have published within the last ten years, there would be little for me to do: the *public opinion* would be settled and determined. However, all this falls far short, with regard even to my own readers, of what speeches in Parliament would effect; for there are thousands of facts which, though of the greatest interest, and of undoubted truth, I, as a writer, *dare not state*. I wear a *gag* with respect to those matters precisely that ought to be laid before the people in all their naked deformity: in proportion as the matter ought to be publicly known is the peril of making it known: and thus it is that a *gagged* press is, beyond all measure, worse than *no press at all*; for, while it enjoys boundless liberty to gloss over the deeds of corruption by falsehoods endless, it dares not, though it confine itself to strict truth, expose those deeds in a plain and efficient manner.

What, above all things, the people want to know is, INTO WHOSE HANDS THE TAXES REALLY GO; who it is that has GOT THE PROPERTY, OUT OF WHICH RELIEF FOR THE POOR FORMERLY CAME; who is it that take the money raised on

the people, over and above the interest of the debt? These are the things that the people want to know: this would be enough; but, never will they know this from writers, nor from "*political unions*," however able the authors and leaders may be. From me they should know this in quick time, if I were in the House of Commons. There would need nothing more; the whole mystery would be explained; a public opinion would be formed and settled at once; it would be heard, not in little councils or combinations of any sort, but from the lips of every man not living out of the taxes; and, strong as those are, who have an interest contrary to the people, and deaf as they would be to their voice, as long as deafness would avail them anything, their own interest would finally, and in a very short time, dictate to them to give way.

If it be said that it is presumption in me to believe that I could do that which no other man can do, my answer is, that I do not thus presume: many a man is able to do the same; but, I am presumptuous enough to say, if it be presumption, that I could do more than any man has yet done or seems disposed to do. I am very far from undervaluing the great and meritorious labours of Mr. HUME; but, in my opinion, he does not pursue the right course. He never traces the money to the persons who actually receive it. To propose reductions of expense is nothing, unless you show *who it is that pockets the money*. There may be various opinions about the necessity of these enormous expenses, but that which fires a man's blood is, the sight of those who pocket the money; and I would have every man and woman and child of them down by name, and would show the people who it is that stripped the middle ranks of their fortunes, and starve and beggar the working classes. There are arising every hour facts, which, if placed in a strong and clear light, are enough to madden the people; but if these be alluded to casually, the matter goes off in vapour, leaving no impression upon the mind of the public. I would take a particular family, for instance; show how much

it had swallowed of the public money; give all the items with day and date; show the origin, the progress, the result, of the horrible accumulation; and show exactly how it is that the middle class are stripped of their property, and that the labourers are starving in rags by these very means. I would not amuse myself with loose declamation about exorbitant taxes and lavish expenditure; but I would bring the receivers face to face with the payers; and this I would do in a regular methodical way, enabling the readers of debates to cut the statement out of the reports in the newspapers, and stick it up over their chimneys. One wonders that these taxes could have been raised to sixty millions a year; that the very collecting of them should cost as much as the whole revenue of England amounted to when George the Second came to the throne; and to three-fourths as much as it amounted to when George the Fourth came to the throne: one wonders how this could have taken place without one single man ever having made a rational effort to stop its progress. One wonders how the poor-rates should have risen in the same period from about a million to eight millions, including, at both periods, the law expenses and divers other rates: one wonders how this could have been without there being a single man in the Parliament ever making one single serious effort to make the people see the true cause of the evil. But when one considers the motives that have been at work; when one considers what the progress of power is when it is wholly unchecked, the wonder ceases; but it leaves a conviction on the mind that the only way of obtaining a peaceable remedy, is to make the people see, at last, the real cause of such a horrible mischief.

With regard to my fitness for this task, there are my thirty years' labours before the nation; and there is my history, convincing every man that I might have rolled in riches long ago if I had not been animated by a constant desire to rescue my country from those dangers which have, at last, overtaken it. I

repeat, that I have no desire to obtain private advantage of any description; and that, if to all my other toils I add this, it will be for the sake of the people in general, and not in any one respect for myself. As to fame, I can obtain none from the measure now proposed. Nothing that I can do; nothing that a human being can possibly achieve, if achieved by me, can render me more celebrated than I am, or can cause my memory to be more revered by the wise and the good: that memory I must know well will be perpetuated in writings which it will require many ages to cause to be forgotten, or to become obsolete; and, therefore, I can gain nothing by having a seat in the House of Commons; absolutely nothing but additional labour, to which may be added a load of anxiety, which I have not now to bear. I have always held it to be the duty of every man to endeavour, to the utmost of his power, to leave his country as good as he found it. This has always appeared to me to be a duty; this duty I have discharged according to the utmost of my means; and, in wishing to have greater means than those which I now possess, or ever have possessed, I am animated by the same sense of duty.

With regard to the sum required for the purpose in view, if every man who has within this twelve-month told me that he owed his fortune to me; that he owed his preservation from ruin solely, or in great part, to me; if every such man were to subscribe twenty pounds, there would be money enough to secure not one seat, but half a dozen seats in Parliament. It is not my business to be urgent in this case: it is more the business of the nation than it is mine. I never will, on any account, expend a farthing of my own earnings for this purpose; and I am very sure that every friend, and particularly every husband and father, would condemn me for so doing.

With regard to the particular mode of effecting the object in question, that need not be pointed out at present. The object is always to be accomplished, even before the end of the present ses-

sion, if the means be ready; but those means must be ready before any effectual step be taken. My desire would be that the money should be deposited in the hands of SIR THOMAS BEEVOR, whose diligence and punctuality were so conspicuous in the former case. I never touched any of the money then, and I do not wish to do it now: for myself, I have enough, and those who are dependent upon me are content with what they have, or with what they can gain by their own industry. In another Register, I will state more particularly, the mode which appears to me the best calculated for raising the money; and, in the mean while, I leave the matter to the reflection of those particularly who have talked to me on this subject during my tour in the North. I shall be glad to hear from any of them, stating their opinions upon the subject generally, particularly as to the mode of raising the money. As it is best to take some little time for communicating with each other, I will defer making any other publication on the subject until Saturday, the 13th of March, before which time I shall see SIR THOMAS BEEVOR, and shall be ready, in the Register of Saturday the 15th of March, to communicate his views on the subject. In order that I may have time to prepare the publication in question, I ought to receive communications by *Tuesday, the ninth of March*, or *Wednesday, the tenth of March*, at latest. If I should not have returned from Norfolk by the ninth or tenth of March, I must then put off the publication to the Register of the twentieth of March. The more time in reason that is taken for previous deliberation, the quicker and the better the thing will be done. If any friend in the North, or any where else, has any plan to propose, he may, however, communicate it to me as soon as he pleases; so that I may possibly be able to give it circulation in the next Register. A good deal, in this case, must be left to the convenience of the gentlemen themselves. They will, therefore, be pleased to write to me on the subject whenever they find it convenient; but not later, if they please, than the times above specified.

WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT'S LECTURES.

It is my wish to be present at the intended meeting of my native county, Surrey; but there is so much delay about it, that I am afraid that I shall not. For I shall set off for Norwich on Sunday, the 7th of March. I shall be at Bury St. Edmunds on that evening, and, if all things be convenient, deliver a lecture at that town on Monday, the 8th of March, and shall take the town of Eye, as I come back from Norwich. I told the *manufacturers* what *they* had to expect; and I wish now to tell the farmers *their fortunes*. In the mean while I shall deliver another lecture at the *Mechanics' Institute in London, on Thursday Evening next, the 4th of March*, at the usual hour, eight o'clock. The subject will be, chiefly, the *legality*, the *justice*, and the *necessity* of taking a large part of the public property, commonly called CHURCH PROPERTY, and applying it to *other public uses*. I have several times *touched* upon this subject, but I have never gone *fully into it*. It is a subject that wants to be well understood by the people at large; for the amount of the property and the present application of it are equally *prodigious*. It is very clear that those who have almost the whole of this property, have fixed their hard-looking eyes on what the fundholders receive; it is equally clear that to pay, for any length of time, the interest of the Debt in *full tale*, and in *heavy gold*, is impossible; resort must be had to some source *other than that of taxation*; and this is the greatest source of all; this is a real mine, a perennial spring of wealth. Therefore, it will be of the greatest utility to *understand clearly* what is the nature of the property, the uses for which it was intended, how it was formerly applied, what purposes it is applied to now, what are the laws that have been passed respecting it, and what are the grounds of a proposition for a new application of a great part of it. To communicate to my hearers the knowledge that I possess relative to these matters, will be the chief object of the lecture on the 4th of

March. It is clear that *something* must give way; it is clear that all cannot go on in the present course; it is clear that the system must be *taken to pieces*, or that it will *go*, or be *knocked to pieces*; and it is clear that those who are most deeply interested in the property of the church, have a design to *touch* the funds; and it is clear that the interest of the nation is, that the funds should not be touched, until every species of public property, especially that which is called church-property has been made available for public purposes: finally, it is clear, to me, at least, that this property must and will be taken at last, in one way or another; and that therefore the sooner the public clearly understand all about it, the better it will be, the more quietly and the more equitably the settlement will take place. There are very few persons, comparatively speaking, that know anything about the state of this church and the property that passes under its name. It is high time that we all understood the matter well; and, if we do not, the fault shall not be mine. This is the thing for us to resolve on: that the funds shall not, if we can help it, be touched, *till all public property has been brought to account*, and applied to public purposes.

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.

THE Eighth Number of this work will be published *on Monday, 1st of March*. None of my little works have had a run equal to this. In the North, people were thanking me for it everywhere: the young men, husbands, fathers, and mothers. If it were, on any account, justifiable to be *proud*, it would be justifiable in me on account of this work.

AMERICAN FOREST TREES, AND APPLE AND PEAR TREES:

I NOTIFIED, last spring, that I should not have a great many *forest-trees* to sell this year. I have, however, some of the following sorts, and at the prices put against them.

FOREST TREES.

LOCUSTS, two years old, transplanted, 7s. a hundred.

BLACK WALNUT, very fine and large, 4s. a hundred.

BLACK SPRUCE, two years old, transplanted, 10s. a hundred.

RED CEDAR, three years old, transplanted, 6d. each.

N. B. I would recommend planters to raise the Locust trees *from seed*, agreeably to the directions, contained in my book, entitled, "THE WOODLANDS," which explain the whole matter very fully. In general, not a tenth part of the seed come up; but this is because it is *not sowed in the proper manner*. See paragraphs from 333 to 337, inclusive. Follow these directions, and you will never fail. I shall have some *fine seed*, in a short time, from America, and some other American tree-seeds also.

APPLE TREES.

No. 1. Newtown Pippin.

2. Rhode Island Greening.

3. Fall Pippin.

4. Concklin's Pie Apple.

} 2s. each.

These are all the sorts that I have now, and they are all that I think necessary. The first is the finest flavoured apple in the world, and it will keep till May. The second is good from November till February; the third, from fall till Christmas; and the fourth is an incomparable *pie apple*, and a good keeper. They are all great bearers, and the wood is of free growth. The plants are as fine as it is possible for them to be. The stocks were *twice removed*; the roots are in the best possible state for removing; and if planted according to the directions contained in my "ENGLISH GARDENER," they will grow off at once, and speedily bear.

PEAR TREES.

I have eighteen sorts of pears, omitting, I believe, no one that is held in much estimation. The first and the last sort, No. 1. and No. 18., are from America. No. 1. is an extraordinarily fine eating pear, the like of which I had never seen before. No. 18. is a baking pear of most exquisite flavour, and a great and constant bearer. I had lost this sort, but I got some cuttings from Long

Island in 1827, put them upon a large stock in the spring of that year, and these cuttings have begun to bear already, having yielded a dozen pears this year. This pear always bears in abundance, and for baking, and making perry, it surpasses all others, and beyond all comparison, as far as my observation has gone. My pears are, this year, all upon *seedling* pear-stocks; the stocks were removed; and, therefore, the roots will be in the best possible state for the transplanting of the trees. The scions, or cuttings, were chosen so as to be of the exact size of the stock; the grafting was done in the neatest manner, and the plants are clean and beautiful accordingly. I venture to say, that these pears never were exceeded, either in growth or shoot or condition of root, by any that ever came out of a nursery. They are growing at Kensington, as well as the other trees. The price of the pears is, as it was last year, *three shillings a piece*. The list is as follows:

No. 1. American Fall Pear.

2. Jargonelle.

3. Ganzal's Bergamot.

4. Brown Beurrée.

5. Crassanne.

6. Colmar.

7. Saint Germain.

8. Winter Bergamot.

9. Bishop's Thumb.

10. Chaumontel.

11. Summer Bergamot.

12. Poire d'Auch.

13. Winter Bonchrétien.

14. Summer Bonchrétien.

• 15. Green Chisel.

16. Williams's Bonchrétien.

17. Orange Bergamot.

18. Long-Island Perry Pear.

These pears are those which I recommend in my book on Gardening. I have omitted one or two, because, at the time of grafting, I could not procure cuttings of them from persons whom I could depend upon as to the sort; but the list is, nevertheless, pretty full, and any gentleman with these trees in his garden, will have a good succession of this table fruit from Midsummer to February.

Orders for these trees will be received at Fleet-street, or by letter (postage paid). I suggest the utility of sending in the orders as quickly as convenient; because, if long delayed, the variety is diminished, and the executing of the orders is not so well attended to. Gentlemen will be pleased to give very plain directions, not only with regard to the place whither the trees are to be sent, but also with regard to the mode of conveyance, and the particular inn or wharf where the packages are to be delivered.

N. B. The Locusts are all either gone or ordered.

NORFOLK COUNTY MEETING.

(Continued from page 256.)

No! let them petition again and again; but not only for the repeal of the malt tax (a voice in the crowd, "Why what is the meeting for but that?"), for that would be virtually saying that that was all that they required for the return of prosperity and the revival of trade (hear, hear); and with what face could they go twelve months hence to ask for the repeal of something else? (Applause.) They ought, in fairness to themselves and to the Parliament, to state what was the distress of the country, and what were the means of relief that presented themselves. (Bravo!) As he had already stated, he did not intend to oppose Mr. Wodehouse's amendment; but if that was rejected, he saved to himself the right of proposing the resolutions which he had in his pocket. (Applause.)

Mr. Tuck said, that the meeting should recollect that the only object which they had met to discuss was the repeal of the malt tax. That that repeal was much required by the country there could be no doubt, for as the trade now stood, it was impossible for the poor man to brew his own beer, and hardly to obtain it; and he looked upon it that, the same Providence that had given wine as a luxury for the rich, had intended beer as the luxury of the poor. If he might be allowed to allude to what had taken place in another county, he

would recommend to the notice of the meeting what had taken place at Lincoln last week. That county had set the example; she was closely followed by Norfolk; and he trusted that the whole country would pursue the same course. (Applause.) If it did, he had no doubt that they would be able to attain the object that they sought for, and that the ministers would be compelled to pay attention to the generally-expressed opinion of the country.

LORD CHARLES TOWNSHEND hoped, that the system of petitioning would be steadily pursued in all directions; for he had not that confidence in the Ministry to believe that they would yield the point unless they were compelled to do it. (Applause.)

Mr. COKE then presented himself to the meeting, and was received with loud and general cheering. He said that he had never attended a county meeting with more satisfactory feelings, for it had nothing to do with a difference in political or party spirit. (Applause.) Neither had they to canvass the horrors of a revolutionary war, which, in his opinion, had been the primary cause of all the distress and bankruptcy which had taken place since, and of the present impending danger to the country. (Applause.) In looking around him he saw men who had pledged their lives and fortunes in that cause; they were, however, alive and at this meeting, and he was glad to see them; he wished to God, however, that they had seen their error before they had plunged so madly into a war, which had ended in almost the ruin of the country. (Applause.) To the mover of the resolutions he offered his congratulations, on his now, for the first time, stepping forward to take a public part in the affairs of the county; and he was sure that they ought all to be obliged to him and his seconder, for the able manner in which they had introduced the resolutions to their notice: with respect to the latter of those gentlemen, though he agreed with him in many of the points which he had urged on the meeting, there were some in which he was obliged to disagree with him; he might also, perhaps, agree with

Sir Thomas Beevor in his wish for radical reform. (A laugh and applause.) This, and other points, might be in unison with his sentiments, but he must be allowed to say, that at all events they were foreign to the objects of the meeting. (Hear, hear.) For the exertions that were now making for the repeal of this tax, he was bound to return his thanks to the yeomanry of England, and to the county of Norfolk in particular. He knew that it was thought by some that the repeal of the beer tax would still be more beneficial to the poor than that of the malt tax. To hope for the repeal of both duties, was too much, for, altogether, they amount to a large sum; and the question therefore, was, whether they would not be more likely to obtain the repeal of one than of both? In order to obtain that, he believed that it was only necessary for them and the yeomanry of England generally to resolve to have a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together. (Cheers.) The other counties had but to follow the example of Lincolnshire and Norfolk, and then he should like to see the Minister who would dare refuse what was the joint request of the pride of England. (Applause.) In the removal of all grievances, however, there must be a beginning, and he therefore gave the preference to the malt tax over the beer. Mr. T. Salmon (and he trusted that that gentlemen was present to hear him) had attacked the agriculturists of England as a selfish body; and as he considered himself as a member of that body, he was sorry to hear it stigmatised in such a way; for he trusted that the agriculturists of England had never been actuated by any other feeling than the good of the community at large. Mr. Salmon, however, had told them that it was their selfishness which made them pray for the repeal of the malt tax, when that of the beer tax would be so much more beneficial to the poor. But, being thus attacked for selfishness, let them for a moment inquire who Mr. Salmon was. That he was a very respectable person he had no reason to doubt; but the question was, whether he was not connected with one of the

greatest breweries in England? (Yes, yes! and applause.) He would tell them why he gave the preference to the repeal of the malt tax over that of beer. It was because he was old enough to remember when all the poor of the kingdom were able to brew their own beer. Up to the year 1750, when the population of England and Wales was no more than 6,476,000, there was as much malt as now, when the population amounted to thirteen millions. (Hear, hear.) Surely this was sufficient evidence that the beer did not contain the malt that it ought. (Applause.) They were told by interested persons, that if the beer tax was taken off, they would supply it to the poor for a penny a pot less; but did they tell them that they would make it better, and promise not to use the skill of the chemist in its composition? (A laugh and applause.) In his opinion, the removal of the beer tax would only be a premium for bad beer. Now, let them consider the malt tax. He could remember the time when every poor man brewed his own beer; nor was it only his beer that he thus procured; in addition to that, there were the grains, with which he could fatten a pig, or which enabled his wife to rear a few fowls; besides this, there was a little yeast with which he was able to make his own bread; for all which reasons he thought the repeal of the malt tax preferable to that of beer. (Applause.) Perhaps it might be contended that this repeal would not give rise to all these operations in favour of the poor; but he was sure that it would, for if they could not do these things singly, at all events they would be able by clubbing together to the number of fifteen or twenty. (Hear, hear.) It was a balm and cordial to any man's conscience to think that he had not been necessary to the evils out of which the distress of the country had grown. He had already lived to a great age, and had long had the honour of representing that county in Parliament; but he could conscientiously say, that in all that time he had never given a vote that had pressed upon the country. (Applause.) It was in that proud situation

that he stood, and no commoner of England could stand in a prouder; and as long as he had the honour of representing that county in Parliament, he should pursue the same course. (Cheers.)

Mr. WOODHOUSE wished to explain the grounds upon which his resolutions went. It was true that the produce of the malt tax was only $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions, but there was no doubt that its repeal would go to affect twenty millions more of the taxes under the heads of the beer tax, the spirit tax, the sugar tax, and the tea tax. As this was the case, it would surely be better to go to the main evil at once, instead of standing only on the threshold. (Applause.) The only way in which they could escape the dangers which threatened the social system of England; the only way in which they could avoid circumstances as dreadful in their origin as they were desolating in their consequences, was by adopting some measure which should keep up the prices at home, at the same time that it lowered them with foreigners.

Colonel HARVEY thought that they were bound to do the best they could to relieve the condition of the poor, when they considered the oppressive circumstances under which they were labouring; if the malt tax were removed, he had no doubt that it would greatly tend to that effect. (Applause.) The great fault, and one of the principal causes of the distress of the country, was, that the legislature, in what they had done of late years for the supposed relief of the country, had proceeded on a wrong principle. If they did but contemplate what had been done, both with respect to the corn laws and free trade, they would perceive how ruinous the system must be. As to the corn laws, as they now stood, they were entirely absurd; and indeed they must be so, for they knew the result. The bubble, that cheap corn was a comfort to the people, was burst; and they now began to know that what they wanted was to get back to the former prices: that cheap corn, to a certain extent was advantageous, he did not intend to deny; but in order that the country should enjoy a state of prosperity, it was necessary that the farmer should re-

ceive money, or else, how was he to spend any? (Applause.) With respect to free trade, too, was not that one of the crying causes of the distress of the country? (from Mr. Palmer, "No, no!") He contended that it was, and he had never heard the contrary proved. Let them now, for instance, take only one article, that of gloves; how many thousand pairs of these were annually imported into this country, to the infinite detriment of the glove trade of England, though the manufacturers here produced better articles than those abroad. (Hear, hear.) But he did not think that there was any necessity to go into a lengthened argument to prove to them the evils of the free-trade system.

(To be concluded.)

COLES'S PATENT TRUSS, 3, Charing-Cross, (late of London-bridge). You will find per advertisement in Lodge's Illustrous Portraits for November, in Bowle's Court Guide and Royal Blue Book Directory for 1830, in No. 82, Quarterly Review, and No. 99, Edinburgh Review, the names of twenty Surgeons who have acknowledged COLES'S PATENT TRUSS to be more beneficial to the wearer, than any other Truss in use.

*** The Gazette of Health contains more important information on the subject of Reducible Hernia, than any other publication. To be had of all newsvenders; price two-pence.

THE LANCET, No. 337, in reference to the Gazette of Health, says, "There will be no lack of knowledge amongst ruptured people by and by."

THE LANCET.

No. 339, published this day, at 210, Strand, contains:—

Three Lectures by Mr. Lawrence, on Rheumatism, Gout, Syphilis, use of Mercury, &c. Clinical Lectures by Dr. Alison, on Fever, Small-pox, &c.

Lithority—Stone in the Bladder treated by Baron Heurteloup.

Strangulated Hernia at the Derby Infirmary.

Meeting of Chemists and Druggists.

Anniversary Dinner of the Aldersgate-street School.

Meeting of the College of Physicians.

Representation of the Medical Profession in Parliament.

Review of Dr. Shirley Palmer's Popular Illustrations of Medicine.

Reports from the London, Country, and Foreign Hospitals.

Meeting of Medical Societies.

Medical Dinner.

Letters, Cases, &c. &c. &c.

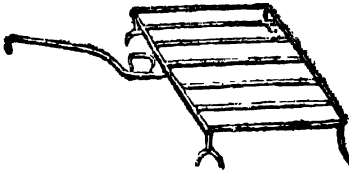
Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's court; and published by him, at 189, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 69.—No. 10.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 6TH, 1830.

[Price 7d.



“The law chargeth no man with default where the act is compulsory and not voluntary, and where there is not consent and election; and therefore, if either there be an impossibility for a man to do otherwise, or so great a perturbation of the judgment and reason, as in presumption of law man’s nature cannot overcome, such necessity carrieth a privilege in itself. Necessity is of three sorts: necessity of conservation of life; necessity of obedience; and necessity of the act of God or of a stranger. First, of conservation of life; if a man steal viands (naturally) to satisfy his present hunger, this is no felony nor larceny.”—LORD BACON: LAW TRACTS, p. 55.

TREATMENT

Of Men applying for Parish Relief.

THIS has, with me, been a subject of observation, complaint, and remonstrance, for more than ten years. I always, from the time of passing STURGES’S (the fellow is now called STURGES BOURNE) BILL, I clearly saw where this treatment would end. More of that matter by-and-by. The subject, at the end of ten years, is spoken of in the House of Lords, above all places in the world! The following letter from me to the Duke of Richmond, which was on Monday published in the MORNING HERALD, will open the subject very well. Then other things will follow; for it is now time (and no time to lose) for us to have the whole of this subject before us. The poor-rates will, if this system go on, soon bring all the farmers and tradesmen in the agricultural parts, completely down. Then rates will take away all rents and profits: and a dreadful struggle will ensue. Let us, therefore, understand the whole matter.

TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

Ban-Elm Farm, 26th February, 1830.

MY LORD,—I have read in the report of your speech of last night, the following passage, relative to the *treatment of the unemployed labourers*, who apply for parish relief. The words of this passage, as I find it in the *Morning Herald*, are these:—“In that part of the country to which he belonged, able-bodied men were employed on the roads, for they had no other work, at 4d., and even some of them at 3d. a day. This, however, was not the case in Sussex only. It was the same in Wiltshire, Dorset, and many other counties. This could not be attributable to the farmer, because he was nearly crushed, not only with taxation, but with poor-rates and county rates, daily increasing by distress, while at the same time there was not a people more loyal to their King or more obedient to the laws. They did not pretend to dictate to the Government, they only asked for inquiry; and they had a right to ask it on the principles of the constitution. Who could not feel for the distresses of the people, when they learned the fact which had been published in the newspapers, that British subjects were harnessed to wagons, and degraded to the state of the brute creation? Is this the way in which the once happy peasantry of England were to be treated? And this occurred not only in Sussex, but in the county of which the noble Duke was the Lord Lieutenant.” Upon the same occasion, Earl STANNHOPE is reported (in the *Herald*) to have said that, “Their lordships were already acquainted with the deplorable state of the labourers in more than one district of the country. Their lordships must have seen that they had been degraded to the level of beasts of burden, and that they had been yoked like cattle to the wain, to draw loads from one place to another. Was that a situation to which

"their lordships wished to see labourers reduced in *England*; in that country which boasted of its free constitution, and which looked down with an eye of compassion on the condition of its neighbours?"

Now, my Lord, the wonder is not, that observations like these, that such shame and such indignation should have been, relative to this matter, expressed by English noblemen; the wonder is, that they should never have been, by English noblemen, expressed before. For more than ten years I have been complaining and remonstrating on this subject; and for about three years, many of the editors of newspapers have been doing the same. I, with my own eyes have, with burning cheeks and boiling blood, seen it going on, from Lancashire, inclusive, to the south of *Sussex*. Strange that it should never have, until now, excited the sympathy and indignation of your Grace and of the noble Earl; or at least, not sufficiently to induce you to speak of it in Parliament! In the year 1821 (3d December) there was a meeting held at Lewes, at which Lord Egremont presided, at which the younger JOHN ELLMAN said that "he had seen the poor employed in *drawing beach-gravel*; and that the leader worked with a *HELL ABOUT HIS NECK*." This you may find fully recorded in the REGISTER, Dec. 22, 1821. Upon the sight of it, I, who was in Norfolk at the time, expressed my hope to see these cruel farmers broken up. About two years afterwards, at a public dinner at Lewes, an attempt was made to vote me out of the room; but this failed, and the man who made it was a bankrupt in a few weeks afterwards.

Now, your Grace must have heard something of all this; and, in short, where can you have lived in that county not to know that this shameful abuse of power, and, I say, violation of law, has been there going on, for nearly ten years, in numerous parishes? And how comes it, that now, for the first time, we hear of your indignation at the practice? Perhaps another part of EARL STANHOPE'S speech may, in part at

least, answer this question. The noble Earl said that he himself "was acquainted with a parish in *Sussex*, in which the whole proceeds of the land were insufficient to maintain its poor; and the inhabitants had for some time been compelled to apply to the neighbouring parishes for assistance and support. Looking at statements like these, and knowing the number of agricultural districts in which the same description of distress could be found, he confessed he thought we were fast on the road to, if we had not quite arrived at, that state of distress in which the landed proprietors held their properties, not for the purpose of supporting or enriching their possessors, but merely in order to act as trustees for the paupers who resided on their estates. The next stage to this was, he feared, not far distant; that stage in which the unhappy persons thus scantily and wretchedly supported, would relieve themselves from their miserable condition; and finding they could neither obtain a livelihood by the exercise of honest industry, nor support from the estate on which they were placed, would at once endeavour to put an end to a state of things so intolerable, and enforce, through the power of their numbers, a division of the land."

Never were wiser words uttered by mortal man; and, unless effectual measures of prevention be adopted, and in time too, this will assuredly be the end; and this I foresaw and foretold many years ago. Every day that is suffered to pass over without the adoption of such measures, makes the adoption more difficult. It is real madness; it is not error, but real madness, to imagine that the thing will *mend itself*; and it is madness just as complete to ascribe the distress to any but the one cause. That cause is, an attempt to collect nearly sixty millions in taxes annually in money of full weight and fineness; and if this attempt be continued to be made for any length of time, Lord STANHOPE'S last stage will certainly arrive. Yet, the currency cannot be changed in value without more

immediate danger. The taxes, then, must be repealed; and this never will be done effectually without a reform in the people's House of Parliament. All men ought to wish for this; but *Peers* more anxiously than any other men. But the miserable trick of adding *six* members, is a thing for a Russell to propose, and for the people to laugh at: such things deceive no longer: the time is approaching, when we must have the radical reform, or when you will have my Lord STANHOPE's last stage!

If this reform had taken place in 1817; if we had then had a reform bill instead of a dungeon bill, the affair might have been settled without that appropriation of church property, which was prayed for in the NORFOLK PETITION. Now it cannot; and, if your Grace will take the trouble to read that document, which you will find in the votes of the people's House of February, 1823, you will see how my Lord Stanhope's last stage may yet be prevented: and I verily believe that there exist no other means of prevention. That great mass of public property, commonly called church property, must now be resorted to; and if your Grace will but come to my next lecture, next Thursday night, you will be, I am sure, convinced of the legality, the justice, and the necessity of the measure.

However, I have no objection to your pursuing your own course; only, excuse me if I laugh all the while. I should be a base hypocrite to affect not to feel delight at your embarrassment; and a scandalous coward not to avow that I do feel it. Twenty-five years of ridicule, scorn, contempt, obloquy, calumny, imprisonment, exile; these have I endured, because, and only because, I foresaw and foretold this ruin of the country, and laboured to prevent it; ruin which the Government and Parliament would have prevented; but did not, only because they could not without it being manifest to all the world that my advice had triumphed! Of this monstrous fact the whole nation is now convinced. And now, at last, the Government and Parliament have no means of escape, except those pointed

out in that NORFOLK PETITION, which I moved, and which came from my pen. I am your Grace's

most humble, and

most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

The Duke of RICHMOND, in a day or two after the above-mentioned debate, gave notice of a *motion* relating to the poor; and Lord TEYNHAM spoke too on the subject. What passed is *curious*, very curious!

"The Duke of RICHMOND gave notice that he should, on Tuesday week, propose to their Lordships to form a select committee to *inquire into the condition of the labouring classes*. He should move that their Lordships be summoned for that day, though he had not yet settled the terms in which his motion would be framed.

"Lord TEYNHAM: As he had given notice of a motion on this subject, wished to state, that the object of his motion would be to appoint a select committee to inquire into the office and duties of overseer. He knew that great *cruelties were practised on the poor in some places*; that they were *shut up in pounds*, and otherwise treated in a manner that was most oppressive.

"The Duke of RICHMOND disclaimed all intention of interfering with the noble Lord. He had no intention of meddling with the office of overseer, and he thought it was wrong to throw indiscriminate blame on the overseers. They had an *arduous and thankless office* to fulfil, and it was not his intention to *attack that useful class of men*."

By-and-by we will see a little more about this "*useful class of men*." We shall find them quite a *new class*; a class wholly unknown to the *laws of England*, as those laws existed from the 43d of Elizabeth to the day of the BILL of STURGES BOURNE, whose father had, for so many many years, fat livings in the church, as by *law* established. However, let us first see a BISHOP, (pull off your hat, reader!) *taking part with the poor!* "On Friday last," say the

parliamentary reporters, "the Bishop of Bath and Wells having, at every period of his life, felt much interested in the condition of the poor, rose to call their Lordships' attention to a petition he held in his hand from the inhabitants of Frome-Selwood, praying relief in their present unexampled state of distress. Nobody except those who had seen the distress could believe the degree to which at present misery prevailed amongst all ranks. He would not say so if the facts had not fallen under his own notice; but he had seen them, and knew that what he said was true. At Wells, where he generally resided, the distress was appalling to humanity; many of the poor creatures had no fuel. At Shepton-Mallet there was also great distress, and so there was at Frome. At various places the number of persons claiming relief was greater than that of the rate-payers. Bath was secured from some of the distress by its situation; and its liberal inhabitants had nobly contributed to the relief of their fellow-creatures' suffering. He had seen those fellow-creatures yoked to carts which they were dragging through the country. They were ready to do anything to obtain the food of which they stood in need. Though he was sensible of this great distress, he had voted against the motion of the night before, because he thought that was not the practical way of relieving distress. With all their sufferings, the people had displayed no violence or disposition to turbulence. He admired very much that bravery which went forth to meet the enemies of the country, and risked life in its defence; but he admired still more that Christian hero who submitted with patience and fortitude to the privations of his condition. His Lordship concluded by recommending to their Lordships' consideration the prayer of the petition, to give to each poor family a small spot of land, which had been a favourite object with him for thirty years; and by expressing his hope that the noble Duke would do all which lay in his power to relieve the

"national distress. The petition was read, and laid on the table."

Bravo! Never mind the *ten years*, during which I have been complaining of the poor being worked like cattle, and during which time the right rev. fathers in God have been silent on the subject! Never mind that: the "small piece of land to be given to each poor family" will make up for all! Yes, with a *parliamentary reform*; but not else, my Lord Bishop. As to the "*Christian heroism*," however, it does not seem to be so completely predominant in other parts as in the bishop's diocese, as the following accounts will clearly show. The people, armed with cudgels (for they are *not paupers*), have, in several places, collected the poor rates themselves; in others they have compelled the overseers to give them money; but, in the following cases, in Kent, they appear to have shown still less of that patience which the bishop so much *admires*." I take both of the articles from the *Morning Chronicle*, into which they were copied from two country papers, both published in Kent.

"On Monday night last a parish meeting was held at the Bull Inn, Benenden, at which the *perpetual overseer* (who is also a schoolmaster) and a large company of other persons were present. In the course of the debates which ensued, the brother of the above individual, wishing to give his opinion privately to him, beckoned him to lean his head forward that he might whisper to him. On his reclining his head a gun was fired from outside through the pane of glass before which he was sitting, though fortunately without injury to any of the party, the shots passing just over the shoulder of the overseer. Upon examination, the curtain which hung before the window, had marks of 27 shots having perforated it. Immediately search was made, but the night being very dark, the guilty person was not discovered."—KENTISH GAZETTE.

"A letter from Maidstone, dated so recently as Friday last, states an occurrence in the same neighbourhood, which proves that depravity more

“than keeps pace with the distress. Last week, says our correspondent, whilst an overseer was *sitting at the pay-table of a house*, in the front of which the applicants were assembled, a loaded gun was discharged at him through the window; but providentially, at the very moment his head was turned, and the shot, to the number of sixty, entered the wainscot close behind where the overseer sat. The miscreant was sought for immediately by the police, but *to the disgrace of those who witnessed the transaction outside, and who might have ensured his apprehension, they made no effectual effort to prevent his escape*. As respects this county, we believe the wants of the poor are well attended to, and that none complain without receiving attention; in every case where necessity requires an appeal to the magistrate, redress is immediately granted. Even the poor themselves *must reflect with satisfaction*, that in the most pressing cases, *no act of violence on their part has been recorded in our Journal*. The conclusion at which a respectable London Morning Paper arrived last week, that the crime of arson was attributable to the pauper, and that the sufferers were generally overseers, cannot with justice apply to this county; and we have never felt a disposition to believe that such diabolical acts have been confined to a class which comes under the denomination of the ‘rural population.’”

These *may* relate to one and the same transaction, though the circumstances are different. The last account is the most alarming by far; for here are many persons *who see the shot fired*, and who take no steps to seize the offender; nay, who do not so much as *tell his name!* This they are either *unwilling* to do, or *afraid* to do, no matter which! When things have come to *this pass*, the end cannot be expected to be far distant. I hope it will come from a radical reform, but it *will come* at any rate. Send *troops!* Poh! The Government is not fool enough for *that*. Oh no! As long as there is *fire* in the country, that will be

of no use in the villages and hamlets, of which there are, in England and Wales, more than *twenty thousand!* O God! What must now be the *life of a farmer!* This Government and Parliament have shown how the most pleasant life in the world is to be made the most miserable. That very village of BENENDEN is one of the most delightful spots in this whole kingdom: it is the village where the poor cripple made, and makes, my *straw-plat*. But this system would make hell of a paradise.

The state of things in Buckinghamshire is thus described in the *Morning Herald* of Monday last, 1st March:

“The failure in the collection of the poor-rates, in different parts of the country, continues to be of the most alarming extent.

“A few days since, a magistrate, near Aylesbury, in the county of Bucks, was applied to in consequence of the almost total failure of the occupiers in one parish to pay the poor-rates. Eighteen warrants to levy the rates were granted by that magistrate; and the consequence was that *ten of the parties immediately threw themselves on the parish*.

“In another parish, also in that county, the magistrates have signed a rate for one pound five shillings and sixpence in the pound—the average of the rent and value of the land being about 1l. per acre.

“At the Aylesbury petty sessions last week, several of the poor of Haddenham preferred, before Sir J. King, bart, the Rev. T. Archer, the Rev. C. Turnour, and the Rev. W. Wodley, magistrates, a complaint, ‘that their overseers were in arrears with their payments, that they had nothing to eat, and that their credit was exhausted.’ Mr. Pigott, one of the overseers, replied that he had not the money to pay them, and entered into a detail of sums of money due from different persons for poor-rates; many of which, he added, were irrecoverable; and he further stated, that the non-payment of such sums was made the ground of refusal with some others for not paying the demands on them

"for the rates. Sir J. King said, he
 "felt it to be his duty to state that,
 "however kind might be the feeling
 "which prompted Mr. Pigott to abstain
 "from taking measures against those
 "who refused payment, it was produc-
 "tive of great distress, and *highly in-*
 "*jurious to the poor.* Mr. Pigott must
 "do his duty, and take out warrants of
 "distress against all persons refusing to
 "pay the rates; *the poor must not be*
 "*permitted to starve.* Mr. Pigott there-
 "upon promised to pay that afternoon
 "part of the money due to the poor."

After inserting this, the editor makes
 these remarks: "Will not these facts
 "arouse the Ministers to some notion
 "of the severity and extent of the dis-
 "tress of the country? Are we to wait
 "till the poor go and collect the rates
 "for themselves, as they did *near*
 "*Windsor, near Maidstone, &c.,* with
 "cudgels in their hands, before our
 "Ministers shall be convinced of the
 "dreadfully distressed state of the coun-
 "try? By the way, have any legal
 "proceedings been adopted against
 "those labourers who so went in bodies
 "and extorted the rates so very uncer-
 "moniously? *and, if not, WHY?*"
 Oh, Sir, the *WHY* is clear enough.
 The jails would not hold a hundredth
 part of the offenders; and before one
 set were put down, others would rise up:
 OLIVERS, EDWARDS, and CASTLESES,
 are of no avail here! Nothing will
 quell *hunger* in *millions of men.* The
 other day, in the "most noble assembly
 of free men in the world," "MR. LITTLE-
 "TON presented a petition from the
 "clergyman of a parish in the county
 "of Salop, complaining of the *complete*
 "*falling off of divine worship in his*
 "*parish,* which he attributed to the
 "great distress of the people, prevent-
 "ing them having *DECENT APPAREL*.
 "EITHER FOR THEMSELVES OR THEIR
 "CHILDREN." Oh, no! jails and troops
 have no terror when it comes to this.
 Too poor to go to church! Another
 curious instance of this sort is men-
 tioned in the *Herald* of 1st March
 (Saint David's Day), as thus: "A cor-
 "respondent informs us, that in conse-
 "quence of a considerable falling off

"in the amount of subscriptions, during
 "the past year, to the *Welch Charity*
 "*School,* the children in this *benevolent*
 "*institution* will not walk in procession
 "from the school-house, in Gray's-inn-
 "road, *to church, and from thence to the*
 "*Freemasons' Tavern* to dine this day,
 "as heretofore on the anniversaries of
 "St. David. The number of children
 "in the school is *considerably less* than
 "it has been for some years past."
 Even the famous "HORTICULTURAL
 SOCIETY" appears to be on the eve
 of a *change, owing to its debts!*

Thus all the *stays* are *loosening*: the
 joints are giving way: it is like the
 falling of the hips of a cow just as she
 is about to calve: let us pray for
 happy accouchement of the system: it
 has, that is one comfort, most able mid-
 wives, all deeply skilled in the science:
 the distress is a sort of a national lying-
 in: the pains are beginning to come
 on pretty sharply: we shall have a
 chopping offspring, I warrant it.

But now to the DUKE OF RICH-
 MOND'S "*useful class of men,*" who
 have a "*thankless office to perform.*"
Class of men! Why, we *all* belong to
 this "*class,*" if we pay rates. Aye,
 but the *new laws* have taken this away
 from us, and have put the poor into the
 hands of "*assistant overseers;*" that is
 to say, HIRELINGS, brought gene-
 rally from distant parts, and paid a *sa-*
lary. The real old-fashioned overseer
 has no power at all in the *giving of re-*
lief: he is to *collect the rates;* but it is
 the HIRELING who is to dispense
 them! Two Acts of Parliament, 58
 "of Good Old King," chapter 69; and
 59 of "Good Old King," chapter 12,
 assented to by the Regent in the name
 and on the behalf of his Majesty; both
 acts, I believe, brought in by STURGES
 BOURNE; these have totally altered the
 law. Before I go further, I beg the
 Duke of Richmond to look back at my
 second LECTURE to the Duke of Wel-
 lington; Register 23, Feb. 1828, where
 he will find the following passage.

"It being then clear that this seem-
 "ingly unnatural and really horrible
 "liking for the jail in preference to their
 "own homes; it being unquestionable

“ that this arises solely from the MISERY, the unbearable misery, which is the constant inmate of those homes; the next question for you to ascertain is, what is the immediate cause of that misery? The cause is *want of employment at wages sufficient to give adequate food and raiment*. This is the cause. Hundreds, and even thousands, have been the schemes to effect the reduction of wages. The employers have tortured their inventive powers to discover the means of just giving enough to prevent the working people from dying, and yet, to have their labour at the same time, and all the profits attending it. The law provided sufficient relief. If you would, my LORD DUKE, devote only about four hours to the reading of the ‘*POOR MAN’S FRIEND*,’ price less than one day’s pay to a common foot soldier, you would there see the rights of the poor fairly stated, without the omission of a statement of their duties; and you would there see it proved, beyond all contradiction, that, according to the law of nature, according to the common law of England, according to the opinions of the fathers of the church, of GROTIUS, of PUFFENDORF, and according to the doctrine elaborately laid down by BACON, a man who cannot obtain a sufficiency of the necessities of life by any other means than that of taking the goods of his neighbour, *ought not to be punished for taking such goods*. You would there find, that the most strenuous advocates for the sacredness of private property, amongst whom are HALE and BLACKSTONE, insist, that under no circumstances whatever is a man justified in taking his neighbour’s property, *in England*; but that (and I beg you to mark it) they build their doctrine *solely* upon the ground, that no man in England can possibly be in such a state of extreme necessity, because the POOR LAWS have, on every possible spot, provided him with the means of relief.

“ Agreed, if the Poor Laws still have that effect; but you cannot but know, or at least you ought now to know,

“ that most serious alterations have been made in these laws. They have been chipped and pared away by innumerable acts of Parliament; every succeeding act throwing an additional obstacle in the way of obtaining relief. To mention only two; the Select Vestry Bill has put the whole of the management of the rates, and all the authority to afford relief, into the hands of the *rich* parts of the parish. The overseer can no longer relieve at his discretion: any feelings of compassion that may be excited in his breast at the sight of the miserable object, or by his intimate acquaintance with the sufferings of the working man’s shed, are repressed and controlled by the *select vestry*, who are those who never behold the miserable creatures, and who are, *when they meet*, to decide on their fate. Even the power of the magistrate is here put under control; and, in short, the poor are placed completely at the mercy of the rich.

“ The other alteration, to which I alluded, is this: the authority which is now given by law, to employ and to pay out of the rates, agents called ASSISTANT OVERSEERS. The work of grinding down the people to a state of starvation is too painful for the delicate nerves of the rich, and is, therefore, delegated to an agent of this description, the amount of whose wages is to be GREAT in the proportion in which he can cause the outgoings of the parish on account of the poor, to be SMALL! Judge you, my LORD DUKE, of the compassionate practices of such a man! Of all the inventions that ever sprang from the human mind, not one, in blackness, *ever* was equal to this.”

This is the “*class*” of men! this is the *new class*: this is the “*useful class of men*,” who have the “*arduous and thankless task to perform*.” These are the *useful* men, who shut the labourers up in *cattle-pounds*! One of these, in Wiltshire, set the poor men to *walk backward and forward* in a paddock behind his house, *carrying a heavy stone*, all the working hours; and this practice

he continued, till one dark night, a very *heavy stone*, coming from behind a hedge, *fell upon the nape of his neck*, and was only an inch or two too low to finish his *assistant career*. Near NORTHAM, which is, I think, in Sussex, there were a great number of men made to carry gravel in *baskets*, to a great distance. One of these men, in order to ease his shoulders, put, by the consent of the carter, his load up into an empty waggon, that was going the same way, and the "*useful*" overseer made him *replace it on his own shoulder!* The bell put upon the "*leader*" in another part of Sussex, was of the same stamp. Now, it is this *wanton cruelty*; this *base insolence*; these, even more than the hunger; these, more than all the bodily suffering, have tended to produce the violences mentioned above, and to produce that *acrimony* and that *bitterness*, so ably described by the Earl of RADNOR, and to prevent which, *he*, as far as his influence has gone, has always taken care. The men see, that to shut them up in *pounds*, to put *bells* on them, to make them carry a *big stone* about, to make them carry *gravel in baskets*, to make them *draw like horses*; they see that this is done out of *spite*; that it is to *punish them for being in want*; and this has, as I always said it would, *roused them at last*.

On Friday last, I saw that the SELECT VESTRY at Kensington, or their overseer, were making the poor men, who applied for relief, *draw gravel* to and on the turnpike road. Upon seeing this, I sent round the village the following notification: "To the RATE-PAYERS OF KENSINGTON. Gentlemen: I see that the men who are on the poor-book, in our parish, are used as beasts of burden. I pay my rates for their *relief*, and not to enable any body to treat them in this manner. This mark of national degradation, of which, as exhibited in the country parts, I have been complaining for years, is at last come to my own door, and exhibited, side by side, with the most insolent luxury, derived from those taxes which are in part wrung from the

"toil of these our unfortunate neighbours. Gentlemen, I am of opinion that it is unlawful to compel a man to act the part of a beast of burden, as the condition of receiving parish relief; and I know that it is disgraceful to us, to our village, and to our country; that it is painful to me, and, I hope, it is painful to you. Therefore, Gentlemen, I propose to you to join me in endeavours to obtain a meeting of the vestry of the parish, in order that measures may be taken for putting an end to this disgrace. A requisition, in the following words, lies at my house for the signature of such gentlemen as may choose to sign it: 'To the Vicar and Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Mary Abbots's, Kensington. We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, request that you will cause a vestry of the parish to be called, for the purpose of inquiring why it is that men who apply for parish relief are, as a condition of receiving it, compelled to be used as beasts of burden.' If you join me, Gentlemen, in this application, we shall, I trust, vindicate the character of our parish. At any rate, I am resolved that no part of the disgrace, belonging to the transaction, shall remain on the head of, Gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"WM. COBBETT."

Kensington, Feb. 27, 1830.

Nobody has been to sign the *requisition*; but I understand that something better has been done. I am informed that, on Monday morning, two or three gentlemen went to the parish-officers, and took them to the place where the men were employed in dragging the cart. They asked them whether they *would rather wheel wheel-barrows than draw the cart*. To which the men answered, "*Yes, certainly*"; for that they were abused so by other men, who called them *convicts* and *slaves*, so that they could not bear it. The gentlemen then told the parish-officers that they must let them have wheel-barrows. A gentleman, on whose word I can rely,

saw them, on the Thursday, and heard men taunting them for their submission; telling them they ought to have the WHIP behind them. Those taunts were *just*, as every one must allow.

I like the Bishop's idea of *giving* to every poor man *a piece of land*. When a farmer was planting a field with long-pod beans, near Winchester, another told him that he hoped that he would have plenty of *bits of bacon* to hang up round the field, as soon as the beans should be fit to eat; for that beans were not good without bacon; and to a certainty all the beans would go into the pots of the neighbourhood. So with these *pieces of land*: where are the seed, the tools, the barns, to come from? Admirable system, which, for forty years, has been moulding six farms into one, and has been *boasting* of those *enclosures* which have stripped the labourers of even the *goose pasture*; and which now (glorious system!) proposes to give the *labourers* little pieces of land!

But, as to the *shame* of the thing; as to the disgrace in *the eyes of the world*, the Duke of Richmond may be assured that that is a thing past praying for. That was settled by the History of the PROTESTANT REFORMATION, and in the single paragraph, 459, in the following words:

"Go, and read this to the poor souls, who are now eating sea-weed in Ireland; who are detected in robbing the pig-troughs in Yorkshire; who are eating horse-flesh and grains (draff) in Lancashire and Cheshire; who are harnessed like horses and drawing gravel in Hampshire and Sussex; who have 3d. a day allowed them by the magistrates in Norfolk: who are, all over England, worse fed than the *felons* in the gaols. Go, and tell them, when they raise their hands from the pig-trough, or from the grains-tub, and, with their dirty tongues, cry '*No Popery*'; go, read to the degraded and deluded wretches, this account of the state of their *Catholic* forefathers, who lived under what is impudently called '*popish superstition*' and *tyranny*,' and in those times,

"which we have the audacity to call '*the dark ages*.'"

An English gentleman told me, that the late *Pope*, opening the Italian translation of my book, and pointing to this paragraph, said, "Can *that* be true?" Another, a French gentleman, told me, that the very same paragraph was pointed out to him by the *general of the Dominicans*, at Madrid. The book is in all the languages of Europe; and our disgrace has long been known to all nations; and those nations know, too, that there is *one Englishman*, at any rate, who has laboured to prevent that disgrace. Ah, my *Lords*, I have foreseen *every thing*; I have made provision for *every thing*; I have taken care that *events* shall record the correctness of my opinions, and the depth of my penetration; I have taken care, that you *shall not be saved* without the world seeing that you are saved by the means pointed out by me.

Now, as to the progress of near events: nothing effectual will be done, during the *present session* of Parliament. The farmers will, however, be obliged to give a little more employment; the hay-time and the harvest will give the labourers something; and the warm weather will make their sufferings less. They will go on in a grumbling sort of state until *November* or *December*; and the war with the "*useful*" class of men will re-commence; and by this day twelvemonth, if the taxes be not greatly reduced, *one-half of the farmers will become chargeable to the parish*. They must now see that there is *no hope for them*: and they will make all their preparations for *winding up with the next harvest*. Those who can get off with any thing, will get off. The labourers cannot get away, if they would; and they must, and *will*, eat; and, they will have *more* to eat, too, than they have been for years accustomed to have. This is according to the usual course of things. For a long while men submit: they are brought, by degrees, to greater and greater suffering, till the suffering be so great, that *life*, in such a state becomes not worth preserving; and when they arrive at that point,

they must be *destroyed*, or their suffering must be *wholly removed*; for they never will be contented with mere *mitigation*. The spell of submissiveness once broken, they bound back to the state from which they have been degraded. How regularly their degradation may be traced in the *statute book*!

1. The Root and Green Crop Act; making that a *crime*, with summary punishment, which was before only a *trespass*.
2. Gilbert's *Poor-house* and *Badge* Act.
3. The *Poachers-transportation* Act.
4. Ellenborough's Act; making it death to cut, or maim, or aim at, a gamekeeper, though he be the assailant.
5. The Select Vestry Act; throwing the parish power all into the hands of the rich.
6. Assistant Overseer Act; taking away the power of the parish overseers, and, in fact, of the magistrates also, as far as favourable to the poor.
7. The Apple-felony Act; making that which was only, about forty years ago, a *mere trespass*, a *felony*.
8. The new Trespass Act; authorizing the *seizure* of a poor man at once, and sending him to jail and to hard labour, *for only walking across a field*, or getting over a hedge.

THEN CAME

First, the *treadmill*.

Last, the work-like *beasts of burden*.

This has been the progress. The *result*, which is fast coming, will be perfectly natural, and it is *inevitable*. It is now said that the "*poor*" are getting *saucy*. To be sure they will. They *laugh* at the farmers; they *enjoy* their fall; they *grin* and show their butter teeth at it. What a horrid state of things! How completely the infernal system of *taxing and funding* has ruined this nation! For, if this be not *ruin*, nothing is, or can be. A few days ago, a gentleman, who had been in the lower part of Surrey, told me, that he saw,

sticking upon a post, near a public-house, somewhere between Whitely and Chiddingfold, a *hand-bill* in somewhat these words: "*To be sold, very cheap, a brace of Churchwardens, a couple of Overseers, and sundry Farmers. Inquire of the poor of the parish.*" Better be a dog than a farmer next winter. However, they will pay nothing: they will *get off*, or get on the *poor-book*; and tradesmen will do the same. Get *off* if you can, my readers; and in my next Register, *I will tell you how*, or rather I will enforce the reasons given in my *Emigrant's Guide*. I hear, with great pleasure, of *one young farmer*, who has *sold off in time*, and who is preparing to depart with his wife and children. Shocking and shameful to think of; but a man is not to condemn his wife and children to the poor-house, if he can save them from it.

The following article from a county paper, is worthy of notice:—"Noble EMPLOYMENT FOR A NOBLEMAN,—We have sincere pleasure in being able to record the munificent acts of a young nobleman, Lord Ongley, who has lately cheered *the homes and persons of the poor* of the village of Warden, Beds, near which his lordship resides. The cottages of the village have all been repaired at his lordship's expense, both internally and externally; *clothing of every description* has been liberally distributed under his lordship's directions; and the gardens of the cottagers laid out in a style of neatness, which, added to the natural advantages of the scenery, renders it one of the prettiest villages in Bedfordshire. Improvements are still going on; and a great part of his lordship's time, most of which is spent at his mansion, is occupied in *ameliorating the condition of the poor.*"—*Northampton Mercury*.

Now, all this may be true, and I hope it is; and it may have been written by the "*WE*" of the *Northampton Mercury*; but, if all this be so, it would have been better that the facts had been kept out of print. Lord Ongley is a young man, it seems; I am an old one, and I can assure him

that, however laudable his acts and motives, this is not the way to manage the labouring people. They do not like to be *superintended*; they do not like to be *surveillés*; they like to manage their cottages and their gardens in their *own way*; they do not like to live upon *gifts*; they like to call the things their *own*; and to have a good living and good clothing *by right*, and not by compassion. And I can assure Lord Ongley, that the *caressing* and *coaxing* system never yet succeeded with this by far the *shrewdest* part of mankind, who, like soldiers and sailors, suspect you of *some hidden motive*, the moment you become *uncommonly kind*. In short, they ascribe it to a desire to gain something from them, or, to your *fear of them*; and, in this last case, a vast addition is made to your danger. The true way is, to give them fair wages; to act, in all cases, *justly* by them; to exact due obedience and respect from them; to say little to them; and, in the management of their own affairs, to *let them alone*. This is what *they like* too; and this every man of them would say, if the question were put to him. However, we are past the time for even folly's self to try the *wheeling* system. It is now a question of *food* or no *food*; and empty bellies are not to be wheedled. The DISCOVERY, made in the House of Lords about the "*beasts of burden*," will only cause *laughter* amongst the reading part of the community. It will hardly reach the ears of the labourers; if it were to reach those ears, it might cause a *burst* at once!

There is no possibility of ascertaining how this thing will *end*; but that the labouring people will *take away all rent*, appears to be inevitable, if this system be not wholly changed. But as to the *immediate* cause of the *end*, and as to the manner of its operating, nobody can even guess. There is one *contingency*, indeed, which, if it were to arrive, might make it less difficult to be positive as to *time*, at any rate, and that is, the contingency of passing the DEAD-BODY BILL; because, if one could know on what particular day it

would be acted upon in the villages of Kent, or Sussex, or Surrey, or in any of the villages of the counties near London, on the north side of the Thames; if one could know on *what day* the "*useful class of men*" would begin to *sell the dead bodies* of the poor for the use of the rich, one might tell, within a few hours, when the *end* would be. The whole concern is, at this moment, a magazine of gunpowder, with trains lying in every direction: there only wants, I imagine, just a touch from the bright match of Mr. WARBURTON. These are the *tender* things: the living *belly* and the *dead body*; things that men do not *reason* about. If I were a *fund-dealer*, I would give a trifle to know when the honourable votary of *science* means to renew his bill.

So much for the treatment of the poor; and, in my next, something for the *farmers*, and the *tradesmen*. This middle class is now doomed to utter ruin: their sole choice lies between *retreat* and *pauperism*. What! when we see *ten* out of *eighteen* rate-payers in one parish, when *distrained upon* for their rates, *throw themselves on the parish*; when we see this, are we to deem a man any thing much better than a beast, if he do not flee while he can? I, years ago, said, that, if the system went on, *the labourers would take possession of the land*. I hear a PEER now say this, in his place in Parliament. I wish that *his conviction* may not have arrived *too late*. At any rate, the farmers must fall, if they do not *retreat*; if they do not *decamp*. Let them not rely upon the landlords: they have relied on them long enough. Those of them that mean well, have no power. In short, the middle class must be mowed down, if they remain, and if the system remain. Best to leave the *boroughmongers* and the *paupers* to settle all disputes. The latter appear to be the only real match for the former; and, to a certainty, they would beat them in the end.

SEAT IN PARLIAMENT.

By way of preface to the following letter, I have to observe, that I have,

I believe, not known the author of it more than about *a year*; that he is a silk-manufacturer; and, that he is a man whose acquaintance any one might be greatly proud of, the letter itself will sufficiently show. I have only further to add here, that I shall see Sir THOMAS BEVOR on Monday or Tuesday, and take his opinion on the subject. My opinion is, that this system must be *taken to pieces*, or, that it will *go to pieces*, or be *knocked to pieces*: and who is likely to be able to *contribute so greatly towards the safely taking to pieces as I am*? Away with the vulgar nonsense about *egotism*! Does the learned and experienced Lord Chief Justice think it *egotism*, when he takes it for granted, that compared with his opinion those of the united bar are of little value in deciding on men's contested claims? In my case, *events have proved* that I have greater knowledge than all the other politicians in the country put together; and, with this proof before his eyes, is there a man to be found to impute *egotism* to me? No one accuses the king of *egotism* because he, in divers instances, calls himself our superior and ruler; yet, well known as his superiority is, is it better known than mine is, over all other men, as far as relates to a knowledge of the great matters, on the manner of managing which the fate of this country now turns? In 1818 I besought the Parliament not to return to cash payments without an equitable adjustment; and they themselves, after scorning my advice then, now confess, that this very measure *might have been adopted then, and that it would have prevented the present mischief, and the future dangers*. In 1826, I told the Parliament, that if they passed the Small-note Bill without a great reduction of taxes, they would plunge the country into sufferings *absolutely insupportable*; and they now, though they then despised my warning, confess that the sufferings *are insupportable*. These facts being notorious to the whole nation, can it be *egotism* in me to think and to say, that I am the most likely man to discover and apply a remedy? And, being, *beyond*

all dispute, the most likely man to perform this great good, is it *egotism* in me to tender my services? When I offered myself to the King, as prime minister, it was by no means in the way of joke: I was perfectly serious: I believed myself more able than any other man to fill the office to the advantage of the country; and though I was, I may say, *certain*, that my offer would be rejected, or rather treated, if ever heard of, as matter for sport, I did my duty in making the offer. The King chose another man; and, under that man, the suffering is dreadful, as I said it would be; and, as it *would not have been if my offer had been accepted*. And what! are millions and millions of men to suffer; is ruin to fall upon hundreds of thousands of virtuous families; is starvation to exist in a land of plenty; are all the bands of society to be bursted asunder; are convulsion and anarchy to menace a great kingdom every hour; and while the confusion of Babel pervades the discussions relative to the causes and the remedies, is the nation not to hear the voice and have the aid of that man who has always been right as to all these matters? Verily, if this be, after all that has passed, it will be strange indeed. However, as long as I have health and strength, I will leave undone nothing that I am able to do; and if I had no other motive, it would be sufficient for me that my exertions might gratify the wishes of the excellent author of the following letter.

“Derby, 27th Feb., 1830.

“DEAR SIR, — It gives me great pleasure to learn from your Register to-day, that you have it in contemplation to obtain a seat in the present Parliament. As one of those who, on your late tour to the North, urged upon you the desirableness of accomplishing this object, it is unnecessary that I should now re-state my reasons for wishing it: they are, in fact, comprised in the observations with which the announcement of your intention is accompanied.

“Since the opening of the session, my desire to see you in the House of

‘ Commons, which was previously strong, has increased tenfold. The votes of the House make it evident that no efficient relief is likely to be afforded; but that the productive classes of the nation will be left to drag on under their load, until the time arrives (to which every good man, and real lover of his country, must look forward with dread) when, probably, a convulsive effort of the sufferers will relieve them from their burdens.

“ Believing, as I do with a perfect conviction, that the plans you have proposed for our relief, would, if adopted, be effectual, I shall cordially join in the attempt to place you where, alone, you will have any chance of procuring their adoption.

“ I am *one* of those who owe to your advice, if not my preservation from ruin, at least the means of avoiding much loss in the management of my affairs, during the progress of those disastrous fluctuations to which all persons, engaged in manufactures and trade, have been exposed. I have already acknowledged my obligations to you: I have great pleasure in repeating the acknowledgment here; and in taking as a guide for my subscription that sum which you state would secure your election, if given by each of those persons who have made a similar acknowledgment to that which I have just been making. I shall remit twenty pounds to Sir Thomas Beevor as soon as I learn that your plans are arranged. I wish it were in my power to give more; but even this sum, when measured by the state of my business, is much more than I can afford.

“ With respect to the plan of raising the money, I would, with deference to your better judgment, beg to repeat the suggestion I have before made; viz., that Sir T. Beevor and four or five others of your friends (the higher their rank the better) should be trustees and treasurers; and that in each town there should be a local committee for collecting subscriptions, which, when collected, should

“ be transmitted to Sir T. Beevor and his co-trustees. I would further beg to suggest, that the trustees should advertise their readiness to undertake the office, and to become responsible that the subscriptions should be returned in case the attempt were not persevered in to completion.

“ I have no hesitation in saying, that if the freehold of some small borough could be purchased, it would be by far the best course; and would remove one strong objection which I have heard raised to any attempt being made this session; viz., that in the event of a dissolution of the Parliament, all the money would be thrown away if expended in simply obtaining a seat. I would recommend the absolute purchase of the freehold of a borough; *to be held in trust* for the purpose of securing to you a seat in Parliament, *until such a reform had been obtained*, as should deprive you and all others of the opportunity of getting into the House of Commons by any other means than those which are so ably described in your letter to the Marquis of Blandford, in the Register of the 16th July, 1829. That object once obtained through your instrumentality, a grateful public would know what to do with the freehold estate.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ with esteem and respect,
“ your faithful and obedient servant,

“ WM. BAKER, Jun.”

THE EARL OF RADNOR'S SPEECH.

I TAKE it, of course, from the published reports. It was delivered in the debate on EARL STANHOPE'S motion for inquiring into the causes of the distress, which debate took place on Thursday last. I insert it, because it truly describes the *state of feeling* of the different classes in the agricultural part of the country; and it is from feeling that men come to *action*.

The Earl of RADNOR expressed his surprise at the speeches of the noble Viscount (Lord GODERICH) who had followed the noble mover, and of the noble Duke at the head of his Majesty's Government; and his still greater surprise at the conclusions to which they had arrived. The noble Duke had begun his speech in a spirit not called for by any thing which had occurred. He had lost his temper; and charged the noble Earl, and the noble Duke, who had spoken so ably on the question, with personality; although there was nothing whatever in the speeches of the noble Earl and the noble Duke to justify the accusation. As to the general tenor of the noble Duke's speech, nothing could be more in favour of the motion, except the tenor of the speech of the noble Viscount. The noble Duke not only dropped the word "inquiry" several times in the course of his speech, but actually concluded his speech by urging their Lordships to investigate and inquire. No doubt every noble Lord had inquired, and would inquire, in his own neighbourhood. But the question was, whether they should not inquire in their capacity as Peers of Parliament—as a House of Lords, for the sake of the country at large. The noble Earl who made the motion did not call upon their Lordships to inquire, in their personal and individual character, but he called upon Parliament to inquire, that they might know the facts in their legislative capacity. He was astonished that the noble Duke, in his position as First Lord of the Treasury, having, as it appeared, a doubt on his mind whether the country was in a state of distress, or not, did not wish for an inquiry, were it only to inform himself upon the subject, in order that he might know what measures to recommend to his Majesty to propose to Parliament. The noble Duke ought to endeavour to ascertain whether distress existed or not, to get clear of the doubt by which he was agitated on the subject. Sometimes the noble Duke admitted the distress; then again he denied it, urging the increase of buildings, and that agricultural produce, for instance timber (not frequently, by-the-bye, classed with agricultural produce), had not fallen in price. Now the fact was that timber had fallen in price. The noble Duke said that meat had not fallen in price. If he would look at his butcher's bills, unless he had been greatly imposed upon, he would find that meat had fallen from tenpence-halfpenny to seven-pence a pound. Cheese had fallen cent. per cent. Grazing cattle had fallen greatly in price, there being no adequate sale for them in Smithfield Market. Under all these circumstances, the agricultural interest had a right to cry out. The noble Duke's mind was really so wavering, that their Lordships ought to inquire, for the purpose of communicating information to his Majesty's ministers. The manufacturers, the noble Duke acknowledged, were in some distress; but he endeavoured to account for that distress by the statement that more goods had

been manufactured since the conclusion of the war. If it could be shown that the prices had been uniformly decreasing, that argument would be intelligible; but, on reading the statement of prices, it appeared that they were sometimes up and sometimes down, so that the argument had no bearing at all upon the question. It was a good argument, however, in favour of those who wished for full and correct information as to the cause of all this. But the noble Duke also took a technical objection to his noble Friend's motion. He objected to it, because his noble Friend had, very wisely in his (Lord Radnor's) opinion, abstained from stating the precise object which the committee was to have in view. The state of the country was a sufficient ground for the inquiry, and the proper remedy for that state ought to be the result of the investigation. But it was of all things most astonishing to hear the noble Duke argue this motion, when their Lordships recollected that not ten days ago a member of his Majesty's Government came to the House to propose that the affairs of the East India Company should be referred to the consideration of a Select Committee. His Majesty's Government, having a project of their own on the subject, wished to go into a committee of their Lordships to learn what was their lesson, and to ascertain what was their duty. To do that, however, was to abandon the functions of Government, and to throw the responsibility on Parliament—undoubtedly a most improper proceeding. The speech of the noble Viscount who spoke second in the debate was, in its tendency, most favourable to his noble Friend's motion; but the conclusion of it was astonishing. Indeed, the speech itself was astonishing too. On the first day of the session, the noble Viscount had objected to all inquiry, because it was a delusion to believe that any relief could be afforded. Now he had made a speech of an hour long to show, not only that it was no delusion, but that he had projects, ready cut and dried, to relieve the distress. He gave great credit to the noble Viscount for the means which he recommended. But why did not the noble Viscount resort to those means when he was in office? The same taxes which he had that night proposed to take off might have been taken off with great advantage when the noble Viscount was in office; and it was to be regretted that such an alleviation of the pressure on the people did not at that time occur to the noble Viscount. The noble Viscount said that he did not like to prophesy much, because he did not wish to prophesy ill; yet, surely, the noble Viscount had prophesied ill, when he said it was a delusion to suppose that the existing distress could be relieved. It was true that the prophecies of the noble Viscount were not always verified by the event. Some years ago he had declared that the prosperity of the country was founded on a solid basis—a declaration which undoubtedly had been proved inaccurate. In the year 1824 the noble Viscount

told the other House of Parliament "that the country was in a state of cheerful prosperity, with an increasing revenue, decreasing taxation, and a debt in a course of gradual and certain reduction;" and that this was all "the result of sound policy and considerate legislation." There was a great deal more poetical description of the prosperity of the country; and one part of it touched him (Lord Radnor) sensibly; he meant that in which the noble Viscount had claimed for Parliament, "the merit of having brought the country to its existing state of content and prosperity;" and contradicted the assertion of those who had said "that it was utterly impossible for it to extricate the kingdom from the condition of distress and depression in which it had recently been placed;" and yet the other night the noble Viscount declared that it was all delusion to suppose that any relief could be afforded to the present distress. The noble Viscount, in his speech of 1824, went on to say,

Parliament, the true source of such general happiness, may enjoy the proud, the delightful satisfaction, of looking round upon the face of a joyous country, smiling in plenty, and animated"—and then came a sublime passage which he (Lord Radnor) confessed he did not quite comprehend—"with what I hope to see—unrestricted industry, content, comfort, prosperity, and order, hand-in-hand, dispense, from the ancient portals of a Constitutional Monarchy, their inestimable blessings among a happy, united, and, let it never be forgotten, a grateful people." The next year the noble Viscount went still further, he declared "that he was of opinion that if, upon a fair review of our situation, there should appear to be nothing hollow in its foundation, artificial in its superstructure, or flimsy in its general result, they might safely venture to contemplate, with intuitive admiration, the harmony of its proportions, and the solidity of its basis."—Now that "solidity" which the noble Viscount talked of in 1825 was precisely the paper currency which the noble Viscount had the other evening called "filthy rags."

Viscount GODERICH declared that he had never used such an expression; although in several of the Newspapers he had seen it attributed to him.

The Earl of RADNOR observed, that with respect to the passages which he had quoted from the noble Viscount's speeches in 1824 and 1825, he had refreshed his memory by a reference to the recorded reports of those speeches; but he had not had an opportunity of doing so with reference to the last-mentioned expression. He would not positively assert that the noble Viscount had used that expression; but unless his memory greatly failed him he believed that he had done so. The one-pound notes were the solid basis of the prosperity of the country, on which the noble Viscount the Chancellor of the Exchequer congratulated the country. The solid basis of our prosperity was putting forth filthy rags. What he blamed the noble Duke for

was not for doing what every body said ought not to have been done—he meant the measure for putting an end to rags; but, when this measure was adopted, there were other measures that ought also to have been adopted at the same time to prevent the consequence of putting an end to the paper money. He would not then discuss those other measures; but he thought their Lordships would act wisely in going into a Committee to inquire into what measures might yet be taken. Nobody now doubted the distress; the noble Duke and his colleagues did not doubt the distress; and as they had already changed their opinions on some most important points, he did not doubt that ere the close of the Session they would yet see greater changes even than before in their opinions. He could bear witness that the distress in that part of the country where he acted as a Magistrate was very severe, so severe as to be indescribable. But there was something beyond the pecuniary distress which demanded their Lordships' attention; out of that distress there had arisen a most acrimonious and hostile feeling [hear, hear!]—a feeling which he was afraid was increasing, and threatening destruction to society [hear, hear, hear!]. Only a few years ago there was a social intercourse between all the different classes in the country; it extended downwards from the farmer through the labourer, and upwards through the landowner to the Peers, and the highest person in the realm. At present this connection was entirely destroyed, and there was nothing but dissatisfaction. He did not blame any man in particular, but he would assert that this was the natural result of legislative measures. The labourer was full of animosity against the farmer, both as a farmer and as an overseer, because he thought the farmer was grinding him down to the lowest possible pittance. The farmer was, himself, pressed down by distress; and instead of keeping his labourers on his farm as he formerly did, whether he had always employment for them or not, he sent them away as soon as he had got his work done in the most slovenly way possible. He had lately talked a great deal with an opulent yeoman of the Weald of Kent where the distress was as great as any where, and this gentleman had told him that in one parish, the name of which he (Lord Radnor) did not recollect, there were no less than thirty-one single men out of employment, which was a thing never before heard of. The labourers every where felt sore that they got no more than would just keep soul and body together, and more than this they could not have, as they were paid out of the resources of others. The industrious man was grieved that his situation was so bad. Then again it was the practice to send the men round to the farmers to employ them; and the farmer being obliged to employ them whether he wanted them or not, had his feelings embittered by that circumstance. The farmers were, of course, anxious

to support their situation, and they were annoyed by their situation. It had been well stated by the noble Earl, that these states of distress had frequently occurred, and every time they had occurred, they had attacked a weaker part of the Constitution; but it had not also been remarked that every time they had occurred, attempts had been made to remedy the evil, by sending out the dirty (hear, hear) Exchequer-bills or Bank-notes, or some other species of paper money had always been issued, so that the measures taken to remedy the evil, were precisely those which they were all then deprecating. Besides the pecuniary distress then, there was also the feeling of acrimony he had alluded to, and both the pecuniary distress and the acrimony were on the increase. The landlord, too, had incumbrances; and, anxious to keep the engagements he had made, he pressed his tenants; the tenants were angry, and thus feelings of ill-will went through all classes, and were likely to extend and be strengthened. Into these circumstances it was their Lordships' duty to inquire. He would not refer to the remedies proposed; he would only say, that issuing bank-notes, altering the standard, or changing the standard from gold to silver, all of which had been suggested, and all of which were of that same species of tampering with the currency which had already caused all the evils. All our present miseries were the consequences of changes in the currency. His noble Friend had said, that tampering with the currency was the cause of the evil; but he believed his noble Friend was officially connected with the Government—was the author at least of those confidential communications of which they had heard that night—when that original sin was committed. By tampering with the currency we had caused all the evils, and they never would be cured by further tampering with the same extensive and important instrument. To regulate the currency was the highest prerogative of the Crown, and he hoped that the ministers would support this part of the prerogative, and maintain the metallic standard. It was that which gave the labourer security for his wages—it was that which gave the rich man a certainty that his property would be safe; and as it affected all the relations of property in the country, he trusted that never again would the currency be tampered with. The noble Lord concluded by declaring that he would give his cordial support to the motion of the noble Earl.

MEETINGS.

THERE have been held meetings in several places, each of great importance, particularly at MANCHESTER, where the petitioners pray for a *reduction of taxes to the scale of 1791*. This is the mark!

This is worth volumes upon volumes of loose and indefinite representation; but this is the very thing that will not be listened to. In short, the prayers are all *in vain*. No change can take place without *the whole change*. To repeal any one considerable tax would blow up the whole system: so that, to pray for this is, in fact, to pray for that blowing up. Men who have valuable things, will always keep them *as long as they can*; those who have them, in this country, have the power to keep them *at present*; they *can* keep them, and they will do it to the last possible moment. The *paper-people* and *little-shilling* people are defeated, at any rate. That point is settled. All men now agree, that poor Mr. WESTERN and his old friend LOCKE are worsted. Western was defeated, and heard his doctrines laughed at by his own country: he had got together sensible men instead of *calves*. And, as to his coadjutor, PARSON CRUTWELL, he appears to be downright mad. This has been a curious strife: Mr. ATTWOOD, CRUTWELL, the house of WESTERN and LOCKE (this last is a regular *firm*), and Mr. TAYLOR of Bakewell; these *threatening* the Duke, if he did not give up the bill; and I very politely requesting him not to do it. He, like a brave and wise man, as he is, listened to me; and now, if he would but listen to me, and take off all the taxes, except fifteen millions a year, he would silence all complaints for an age at least.

COBBETT-LECTURES.

I HAVE appointed to be at Bury St. Edmund's on Monday night, the 8th of March, and to lecture there on the Tuesday and Wednesday: to lecture at Norwich on the Friday and Saturday; to go thence to Bungay, thence to Eye, and thence to Ipswich, at times to be appointed when I arrive at Norwich.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"There can be no excuse for keeping up a greater force now, than was kept up after the American war. If we keep up a great force still, what shall we have gained by this peace? And how are we to be able ever to go to war again; and yet, war will become necessary; for, the other powers, having no longer any need of our fleets, and we having no more subsidies to give, will not be very desirous of leaving us absolute masters of all the colonies and commerce of the world. Yet, if this Debt and these expenses remain, we have SEEN OUR LAST WAR."—REGISTER, 16th APRIL, 1814.

"If the taxes be not to be reduced to what they were before the war; if our conquests be to be made the pretext for keeping up taxes to an amount of more than about twenty millions, this nation will be utterly ruined by these conquests, which, after having been an excuse for ruining the people, will be taken from us at last for want of our having the means of defending them."—REGISTER, 23rd APRIL, 1814.

TO THE

DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

On the Cost of our "Conquests."

Barn-Elm Farm, 7th March, 1830.

MY LORD DUKE,

I HAVE read with great interest your speech of the 4th instant, relative to the impossibility of making further reductions, and relative to the cost of maintaining our conquests. These are most important matters. The fate of millions of men; the fate of an ancient commonwealth, together with its kingly Government, are involved in the questions; which questions I shall, therefore, discuss fully before I have done with them; and, according to my usual practice, I shall first of all insert your speech as I find it reported in the newspapers. I take this report from the *Morning*

Herald. Several lords had just presented petitions complaining of distress, and praying for a repeal of taxes. You had been pressed for an answer to these complaints and these prayers, and your answer, as reported, was as follows:

"The Duke of WELLINGTON: My Lords, I beg to assure the noble Lord, and the House will, I think, accord with what I say, that his Majesty's Government are disposed to afford every information in their power on the subject alluded to, and that they are disposed to afford relief, the estimates which have been brought forward in another place testify. Those estimates have been considerably diminished in the present session of Parliament, compared with preceding sessions. So also were they greatly diminished the last session, in comparison with others. My Lords, with respect to diminishing the expenditure, all that I can say on the subject is, that every thing which his Majesty's Ministers could do to reduce the expenses, consistently with the safety and honour of the country, has been done. No expenses exist, my Lords, that are not absolutely necessary for maintaining the interests and honour of the country, extended as those interests are to all parts of the globe. Although it is perfectly true that this is an island, and only forms a very small portion of the globe, yet the interests of the country extend to all parts of the world, and must be maintained at the expense of the country. (Hear.) There are only 12,000,000*l.* of expenditure susceptible of reduction, and within the last two years, 2,000,000*l.* on this particular part of the expenditure, have been actually saved. There are other parts of the expenditure which cannot be touched. I do maintain, my Lords, that Government have done all in their power in reducing the expenses of the country. With respect to the military force, every thing to diminish it had been accomplished. The number

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"of troops was lower than it was in the year 1792, if their Lordships took into consideration, *the additional colonies* now belonging to the mother country. The military establishment was lower now than at that period, taking the facts to which I have alluded into consideration. Your Lordships will not fail to bear in mind *the conquests* that have been made since the year 1792, and the necessity of having large bodies of men in the colonies *thus conquered*. There are some parts of the world, some very important stations, necessary for the maintenance of the interests of this country, which have been added since that period; for instance, the Cape of Good Hope, the Mauritius, and Ceylon: in all these places we had no stations in 1792. Then in the Mediterranean, there was Malta added, and the Ionian Islands. All these stations, my Lords, require a considerable military force. These colonies cannot be maintained without expense. The navy establishment, as the noble Duke was understood to say, was at present higher; but there had been a necessity of employing additional force in *different parts of the world*. Their Lordships, he was persuaded, could not desire the stations to be abandoned, and that they would consider that every diminution of expenditure had been resorted to consistently with the true interests of the country."

Now, "Greatest Captain of the age," I could, I think, keep all the conquests, and yet bring down the taxes to the amount of 1792. I could do this; and another time, I will ask you *why* you cannot. But for *argument's sake*, and to render the matter as simple as possible, I will take you at your word, and suppose that these enormous and ruinous taxes are necessary to the maintenance of our conquests. As against you and all your predecessors up to Pitt and Dundas and Eldon inclusive, I need ask for no admission beyond this: it verifies not my opinions only, but those of Gibert, Wakefield, Muir, Margaret, Palmer, Gerald, the twenty-six worthies of Nottingham, and of whole hecatombs

of victims who were sacrificed before I appeared upon the stage. Pitt promised the people *indemnity* for the past, and *security* for the future. The conquests were to be our *indemnity*; but, alas! we now find this indemnity to be an addition of 45,000,000*l.* of expense yearly, exclusive of 5,500,000*l.* additional poor-rates; and we find our *security* to consist of the prospect of a general convulsion, "the danger of this being now greater than it was at any period of the French Revolution," according to the opinion expressed the other day in the House of Lords, and certainly according to my opinion too.

Please, my Lord, to read the MOTTOS, and look well at the DATE of those mottos! Thus, you see, it did not require *sixteen years* to enable ME to see what would be the *bitter fruit of these conquests*; these *boasted* conquests; this *rich indemnity*. I saw it at once. I saw it, while the nation was *drunk*, and while you and the foreign kings were enjoying the *defeat of the poor Yankees on the Serpentine river*! And, what is more, I had the courage to *say* it at that time. Read these MOTTOS again. Read them ten times over. Let the nation read them: let the ruined nation look at the DATES of them: then let them acknowledge, that *I was the man to have prevented this ruin*; or, let them PERISH.

Since you took upon you that office which I ought to have filled, I have repeatedly told you, that if you resolved *not to reduce the taxes*; if you resolved to *keep up the expenses*, the nation would have to deplore the day that it *bragged of its conquests*! In August, 1828 (16th day), I told you all about the consequences of these fatal conquests. It really does appear, that I have left nothing *unforetold* upon these subjects: it seems that I have now nothing to do but to *wait for events*; and, as these arise, to show, as applicable to each, *what my foretelling has been*. In the Register of the last-mentioned date, I said precisely that which is a *complete answer* to your speech which I have above inserted, especially as relating to the *conquests*. Good God! that I should

see all this, and that it should be seen by no one of *a thousand lawgivers!* However, here it is: it was addressed to yourself; and really you seem now to have made a speech on purpose to *fit this answer*. Here it is: let the ruined nation now read it: let the ruined nation now attend to it: or, let the ruined nation *perish!*

"The short question, as connected with peace, or war, is this: *can there be war without bank restriction, or, without leaving the dividends unpaid?* And, as every man in his senses will answer this question in the negative, need we wonder that the Ministers tremble at the thought of drawing the sword? You, my Lord Duke, have, you *must have*, the strongest inclination in the world to support the honour of the country; but you cannot make gold out of flint stones: war will have *money*, and money in great quantities too; and to expend money on war, and to pay the fundholders too, is impossible; and you cannot work impossibilities. If it were not useless to talk of what *might have been done since the peace*, I might observe, that money spent on *new churches* (which, if wanted, ought to have been built by the establishment), the money *given to the parsons*, the money expended on the *dead-weight*, the money expended on the *pensions, sinecures, grants*, and in various other of those ways, of which no other nation ever heard; these enormous sums of money, if they had been left in the pockets of the people, would have formed a resource, especially if to them had been added the about *one hundred and fifty millions of money*, which, since 1814, has been expended on a *standing army* (including *ordnance*), *exceeding* that which has been kept up in *any former peace*. After the American war the army cost annually *less than TWO MILLIONS*, including *half pay, pensions and every thing*; and, including the whole of the *ordnance*, the sum was only (in 1786) 2,358,922*l.* Since the last peace, the sum has not been less (including all the same items) than

"16,000,000*l.* And while the navy in 1786, cost only 2,428,326*l.* a year; since 1814, it has cost, including all the same items, about 7,000,000*l.* In short, this our peace establishment has cost annually more than ever the nation had, in any former time, to expend in the most expensive years of the most extended wars! I, for my part, can see no reason why this peace establishment should have exceeded that of the last peace; and, if it had not, the people would now have had in their pockets more than two hundred and fifty of the millions that have been expended since the peace of 1814! In short, we have, in peace, been put to the expense of extended war: peace has given us no relief, no rest, no pause: for in whatever degree nominal sums of taxes have diminished, the real sums have been augmented by additions repeatedly made to the value of money by the changes in the quantity and character of that money. So that here we are with the full expenses of never-ceasing war, while the *name of peace* is sounded in our ears.

"If these establishments *be necessary* to us in a state of profound peace with all the world, they will, of course, be necessary to us *at home*, while we are carrying on foreign war. So that they must be *doubled at any rate*; when every man must know, that an additional shilling is not, by any human power, to be extracted out of us. In the year 1781, when we were at war with AMERICA, FRANCE, SPAIN and HOLLAND; when the war raged in every part of the world; when we had in our pay *Hessians, Hanoverians, Brunswickers, Anabaters, Waldeckers, Anspachers, Anhalt-Zerbsters*, and God knows who and what besides; when the great theatre of war was on the other side of the Atlantic, whither we had to send not only provisions for armies, but food and even *litter* for horses. In that year, the whole of the charge for *navy, army and ordnance*, including half-pay and *every extraordinary and contingent expense*, amounted to 21,700,520*l.*; a smaller

“sum than we have, on these accounts, “had to pay *in every year of the present peace*; though the King has every “year told us, that the assurances of “all foreign powers were pacific and “friendly! As soon as that war was “over, the establishment came down “from *twenty-one millions* a year to “*five*. The nation, therefore, recovered “itself: it was again prosperous: its “expenses, debt and all, *came within* “*fourteen millions a year*: it was able, “in a few years, to go to war again: “*NOOTKA SOUND* and *OKSACOW* drew “forth threats of war against Spain “and Russia, and these threats produced “their desired effect. The nation was “still rich; the labouring classes were “well fed and clad, and their houses “had furniture and beer barrels. *Prrr* “stripped the nation of every thing; “*mortgaged* it and *all* it contained, even “to the labour of the child unborn. “This peace, therefore, could be like no “former peace. Even if the establish- “ment had been reduced to the standard “of former peace establishments, there “was the interest on the *mortgage* to “pay, and that exceeded in annual “amount the annual expenses of any “former year of war. So that, by bor- “rowing money to purchase ‘*conquests* “of France,’ we disabled ourselves to “engage in future wars.

“But, at any rate, the *establishments* “might have been *lowered* in cost. In “the above-mentioned year of terrible “warfare against what might be pretty “nearly called all the world, there were “kept on foot 36,666 British troops, “including invalids, guards and garri- “sons, in all parts of our dominions; “13,472 Hessians; 4,300 Brunswickers; “2 regiments of Hanau; 5 Hanoverian “battalions; 1 corps of the Prince of “Waldeck; 1,447 Anspachers; and 1 “battalion of Anhalt-Zerbst; making, “altogether, at home and abroad, not “more than *sixty thousand men*. And, “is it, then, possible, that we can, dur- “ing this long and *profound peace*, “need more than a *hundred thousand* “men? For, all included, it has been “that. Suppose, however, it were “90,000, as it is represented to be; can

“we *need* one-third more force during “this peace, than was needed during a “war with America, France, Spain and “Holland?

“To this, however, we return: if “such force *be necessary* to us in *time* “of profound peace, *what is to be the* “*force in war*, and what the *expense of* “*that force*? It would be impossible “to carry on war, even upon a limited “scale, without an *additional* expense “of *thirty millions* a year, even if the “expenses were paid in money of the “present value; and, if paid in *depre-* “*ciated paper*, no man can guess at “the nominal amount. Then, what “*sort of war* would this be! The writer, “whom I have quoted above, says, that “we gained ‘a vast *accession of terri-* “*tory* during the last war;’ and that “our ‘policy is, to *husband* our re- “sources, and to *keep what we have* “*got*.’

“We have just seen something of “the manner in which we ‘*husband* “*our resources*,’ and, as ‘to *keeping* “*what we have got*,’ that is precisely “what other nations mean not to let us “do! Such possessions as the East “and West Indies, Cape of Good Hope, “and others, a large part of which we “in the last war got from France, “Spain, and Holland, while we were “fighting for ‘their *deliverance* from “*anarchy, confusion, and atheism*’; yes, “while we were fighting for the ‘*deli-* “*verance of Europe*’ and the restora- “tion of ‘*legitimacy*,’ we were making “conquests of the territories, and ships “and goods, of the ‘*delivered*’ parties; “such possessions as these are not to “be kept, for any length of time, by a “power which *cannot go to war*. A “rich man, though feeble as a mouse, “and though every one knows that he “would, were he left to himself, suffer “his very coat to be taken from his “back, rather than fight in defence of “it; such a man is quite safe; and, “though the villain may have got his “wealth by stock jobbing, or by specu- “lation however infamous, he sets his “injured and plundered neighbours at “defiance, because he has the *consta-* “*ble, the judge, the jailor, and, if neces-*

"sary, the *soldier*, to protect him. A feeble *nation*, that has, in one way or another, grasped to itself a large part of the former property of its neighbours, has no such extraneous means of protection. It must *protect itself*; and if it be found unable to do this, *the property will be taken away from it*, and, most likely, some of its own original property into the bargain.

"We may, as long as we please, talk of the '*sacrifices*' that we made for the '*deliverance of Europe*'; we may amuse ourselves with this talk; but, the nations of Europe know well, that, while we were engaged in that *generous* work, we were stripping them of their dominions and their ships and their goods. Spain knows, that, without any declaration or inclination of war, we stripped her of her treasure; and that we retain part of her colonial dominions. France knows, that we stripped her in the East and in the West Indies, leaving her next to no thing. The Dutch know, that we have stripped them of all their really valuable colonies; and these two latter powers remember, that we have never *returned* them the *fleets* delivered up to us by the '*loyalists*' of *Toulon* and of *Amsterdam*. All these nations remember these things; and the Americans remember, that we attempted to devastate their coast, that we set fire to their Congress House, and their offices and library; and they know, besides, the great inconvenience they experience in consequence of the former Spanish, French, and Dutch colonies being in our hands.

"The *Knights of St. John of Jerusalem* were also *delivered* by us; doubly *delivered*; delivered from the French and *delivered of their territories*! *MALTA* and the *IONIAN ISLES* came to us, I suppose, as a sort of payment for the *deliverance*! All this passes along very well, if we be ready to *fight* in defence of what we have thus got; but, if we be not ready to *fight* for it, those from whom we have made the conquests cannot, and will not, long suffer us '*to keep what we have got*,' however anxious we may be to do it; and,

'at no distant day, these gains must all be surrendered, or we must hold them by force of arms.'

"The plain case is this: we carried on a war against those whom we called revolutionists and rebels; and, finally, we restored the legitimate sovereigns to reign in the place of those who had usurped their authority. This was all very well; but, in our wars against the *usurpers*, we took into our hands most valuable parts of the territories of their respective sovereigns; and when these sovereigns came to be restored, *we kept these valuable territories*: we did not '*deliver*' them at any rate. This is the short and true view of the affair; and however anxious we may be to have it forgotten, these powers will never forget it; and they never will rest satisfied, until they have got their territories back again.

"Our situation, with regard to consequences, is this: we did not get these dominions by force of our own arms, but, chiefly by the means of *money*, expended in subsidies and in other ways. We had more than a million of men in arms to effect what we called the '*conquest of France*'; and of that million we had of *our own men* only fifty thousand. We *paid* for the '*conquest*'; but, we *borrowed the money*; and we have not repaid it, nor any part of it. To pay the mere *interest* of it, and to keep up at home, a force sufficient for the purposes created by the loans and their effects, leave us nothing for the purposes of war; keep us so poor, that we have never a penny in hand; and induce us to affect not to see any offence or affront in any act of any foreign nation.

"Is it possible, that any one can be so blind as not to perceive that, under such circumstances, and taking the *past* into view, the nations whose territories we have in our hands, will not seek an occasion for '*delivering*' us in our turn? We may, as *wise CANNING* told you, my Lord Duke, when you were at *VERONA*, '*resolve to have peace for ourselves*.' *DEAN CANNING*, whose wife has been *ennobled*, does

“not seem to have recollected that, *resolve* as long as we would, we could not have peace any longer than other nations chose to let us have it. The sly Quakers *‘resolve to have peace for themselves’*: they will, on no account, fight; they will rather have their coats taken from their backs: but they have *the law* to protect and *avenge* them. And if we had any *third party* to protect us against those whose territories we *‘delivered,’* we might, with something like sense, *‘resolve to have peace for ourselves’*; but, having no such third party to protect us, we must *fight* for what we have got, or *lose it*; and that must be a poor blind bat of a statesman, who does not perceive that, even now, things are *working together* to wrest these territories from us. Oh, no, my Lord Duke, we, having got all these good things into our hands, are not to be suffered, like the sleek Quakers, in the midst of a community, to keep them *quietly* without the usual cost and exertions attendant on such keeping. We may continue to *‘resolve to have peace’*; but, at last, we must *fight*, or surrender without fighting.

“Before we resolved to keep these valuable possessions, to grasp every thing valuable in the world, to extend our dominion to every part of the globe; before we resolved on doing that which must of necessity excite jealousy and heart-burnings in all other nations; before we did this, we ought to have ascertained whether we should be able, in future, at all times, to *maintain our gain by the sword*. When we made the grasp, we were deceived by appearances; we did not reflect; we thought, and, indeed, our newspapers said, and it was the common saying, that FRANCE WAS CRIPPLED FOR A CENTURY. Her fleet was gone, we said; she would have enough to do to keep peace at home; the Dutch were, we said, in the same situation; Spain was, in some sort, our own; and, there remained nothing but ‘JAMES MADISON and the successful example

“of *democratic rebellion*’ to put down, in order to give us countless ages of *peace and prosperity*. Alas! what a miscalculation! France has already a great, an efficient, naval force; the Dutch, though silent, have not been idle; Spain is, at any rate, free from us; and as to the country of the devoted ‘JAMES MADISON,’ it not only was not *put down*, but it is become ten times more formidable to us than it was on the day that it made us abandon our famous *sine qua non*. It was unwise to go to war at all in 1793. We had no national object in that war; but, be that as it might, we ought to have kept none of the territories of those whom we boasted of having ‘delivered’; or, keeping them, we ought to have been prepared for defending them by the sword. In few words, this is our situation: we have obtained a vast extension of dominion by the means of borrowed money; we cannot go to war without ceasing to pay the interest of the money borrowed; and we cannot cease to pay the interest of the money borrowed, without a blowing up of this whole system.

“Here, then, we have before us the fatal consequences of a funding system and paper money, against which system I have been labouring one half of my life. Mr. PAINE said, that such a system was *strength* in the beginning and *weakness* in the end: you have had full experience of the former, and events now threaten to give you as full experience of the latter.”

There, Mr. Prime Minister! That came from a man with a *head* upon his shoulders. That came from a man who could foretell all the consequences as soon as the peace was made. That came from a man, who was sober in 1814, when all the rest of the nation were drunk. That came from a man able to foresee events. And, oh! what this nation has suffered, and *has yet to suffer*, not only because that man has not had *power*; but because those who had power, *resolved not to do what that man recommended*

to be done! Aye, and, *generally speaking*, it *deserves to suffer*; for it might, long ago, have given power to that man.

Well, but what an account do you, the great dealer in victories, give us now of the *result* of those dealings? The people tell you, that they are expiring under the weight of taxes; and your answer is, that without they pay, and continue to pay, the *full amount of those taxes*, the *conquests must be abandoned!* Bravo, MY READERS! Let us have three distinct rounds of huzzas, in answer to the cheers set up by the deluded rabble, when the *Yankee flag* was hauled down on the Serpentine river. Ah, ah, say you so! The nation must continue to pay all the taxes; continue to pay 4½d. tax upon a pot of six-penny beer; 4d. tax upon a pound of seven-penny sugar; 1s. 3d. tax upon an almanack that is sold for 3d. at New York; 4½d. tax upon a newspaper, sold by the printer for sixpence; and so on throughout the whole: the people must continue to pay *thus for ever*; OR, the *conquests must be abandoned!* Come, then, my readers, *another three rounds of huzzas!* The Duke says, that “these *conquests must be maintained* at the **EXPENSE OF THE COUNTRY.**” Well, then, I say, let us have a third three rounds; and off with your hats, my boys, and swing them over your heads; and let the palaces of the tax-eaters resound with your voices.

But, now, my Lord Duke, as to the *value* of these *conquests*. Are these fine conquests of any *use to us*? Have Malta and the Ionian Islands kept the Russians out of the Mediterranean, or the French out of the Morea? Have they done us any good? It is *now come out*, that you *wished* the French *not to go to the Morea*; but they *went*; and then you were *content* that they should go! Next come the *sugar islands*. Mr WYNDHAM used to say, that while PITT and DUNDAS ought to have had their eyes steadily fixed on Europe, they were always poking about after sugar islands. At last you have, apparently, got *too many* of these; for now comes a curious affair. We must continue to be burdened for the sake of *keeping our colonies*;

and our colonies are *ruined*; and ruined too *in consequence of the burdens imposed upon us!* Call you this *governing* a nation? Call you this *protecting* a people?

I have before me two papers: one, a statement of the ruinous state of the WEST INDIANS, concluding with asserting, that a lessening of the tax on *sugar* and *rum* is necessary to preserve the West Indians from *utter ruin*; and the other, a statement of the ENGLISH DISTILLERS, asserting that lessening the duty on *rum* would ruin their trade. *I believe them both*; and, after inserting their statements, I will offer a remark or two upon the subject.

RUM AGAINST GIN.

At a meeting of the standing committee of West India planters and merchants, held at the West India Committee Rooms, 60, St. James's-street, the 6th February, 1830,

The Marquis of CHANDOS, M. P., in the Chair,

It was resolved, that under the pressure of unmitigated suffering which has so long afflicted the West India Colonies, the numerous class of British subjects involved in that suffering must make an early, urgent, and united appeal to Parliament for support and relief.

That, with this object in view, it is expedient to circulate the annexed statement of facts, which, under the authority of this committee, has been submitted to his Majesty's Government, showing the pressure of taxation on two of the staple articles of their produce. Every fact in that statement can be substantiated by the most satisfactory testimony, if such investigation should be considered necessary.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF THE PRESSURE OF THE EXISTING DUTIES ON SUGAR AND RUM.

The oppressive effects of a duty of 27s. per cwt. on sugar, fixed without any reference to the price, have been repeatedly represented to his Majesty's Ministers, and to the legislature of this country, and particularly in a petition presented to the House of Commons on the 1st of April, 1828.

In consequence of the gradual decline in price which has since taken place, every argument which the West India body then urged, has acquired tenfold strength, the duty being now much more disproportioned to the price than at any former period.

The duty on sugar commenced in the reign of Charles the Second, and had, prior to 1791, gradually been raised from 3s. 5½d. to 12s. 4d. the cwt.

	The average price was		the duty	being in the proportion of	
	s.	d.		per. cent.	per cent.
In 1792 to 1796	53	1	15	0.....	27½
1797 - 1798	67	3	17	6.....	26
1799 - 1800	64	2½	18	2.....	28
1801 - 1802	52	7	20	0.....	38
1803 - 1823	46	4	27	0.....	58½
1824 - 1826	33	5	27	0.....	80½

The average prices were not again published until the latter part of the year 1828. During the last year, the price of sugar has been gradually falling. By the returns in June, 1829, the average price was only 29s. 6d. per cwt.; and on the 22d December, the price had still further fallen to 23s. 3½d. per cwt., and the duty remaining at 27s., bore the greatly increased proportion to the price of 110 per cent.

Thus the duty on sugar is now infinitely larger in proportion to the price than at any former period. Upon all middling and inferior kinds of sugar (which form about three-fourths of the supply) there is a very serious loss. On a considerable portion of the latter, which do not now sell for more than 17s. or 19s. per cwt., the duty amounts to from 142 to 159 per cent., and on those lower qualities of sugar, the planter, after paying the freight, insurance, landing, and sale charges, amounting at least to 8s. per cwt., has only from 9s. to 11s. per cwt. for the expense of production; which, with reference to the present low price of rum, and to the current expense of carrying on the cultivation of the estate, cannot be estimated at less than 18s., without making any allowance for the interest on the capital embarked.

A planter is thus receiving 7s. to 9s. per cwt. less than the cost of the production, and it is evident that neither production nor taxation can continue on such a basis.

The West India body seek in vain for any reasons to justify the continuance of a duty so greatly disproportioned to the price, which they submit is contrary to every principle of legitimate taxation.

Although the British West India Colonies had long furnished a sufficient supply for home consumption, and a large surplus for exportation, the planters of the Mauritius have been admitted as new competitors into the markets of this country. In 1825, when this admission was about to take place, his Majesty's Ministers stated that the West India interest "in opposing the measure were wrong, as some 10 or 12,000 hhds. only could find their way into the English market." By the parliamentary returns it appears, however, that the importation of Mauritius sugars, which, in 1825 was only 93,723 cwt. (equal to 6,464 hhds. of 14½ cwt. each), has been regularly increased to four times that quantity, being in 1828 no less than 361,052 cwt. (24,900 hhds. of 14½ cwt.); and there is reason to believe that this island will permanently add about one-eighth to the quantity of sugars which are admissible for home consumption on the terms of the old colonies. While the West India planters have

been thus exposed in the home market to a powerful and still increasing competition, their produce is still virtually excluded from the great markets of Russia, Austria, France, and the Netherlands, by the fiscal regulations of those countries; and in the continental markets that remain open to them, they are met by competitors of foreign colonies, who are constantly, and at a comparatively small expense, acquiring new labourers by means of the slave trade, and who are thus immediately enabled to extend the culture of the sugar-cane at a low cost; this extension is amply manifested by the great increase in the quantity sent during the last year to all the markets of Europe, from Cuba, and other foreign colonies and states.

Upwards of 600,000 negroes have been imported into foreign colonies since the peace; and notwithstanding the unwearied exertions and the countless sacrifices on the part of this country to abolish the traffic in slaves, by foreign powers, it is carried on at this moment to an almost unprecedented extent; and a more effectual impulse to its growth cannot be given than the present declining state and the apprehended ruin of our colonies.

Since the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807 by Great Britain, the colonial legislatures of the West India islands have been progressively introducing many beneficial regulations for the treatment of their negroes, by which the quantity of labour is diminished, and the cost of their maintenance increased; circumstances which materially conduce to the advantages enjoyed by the foreign cultivators of sugar. If in this competition the British colonies are allowed to sink, the wide national calamity that must ensue from their ruin, would far surpass the evils resulting from any apprehended defalcation of revenue which might arise from a reduction of duty; and if by a grinding and oppressive policy the cultivation of our colonies be once destroyed, it is in vain to expect that it can ever again be restored, while, in the event of such a catastrophe, foreigners could not be expected to bring permanently a supply of sugar to this country so large as to sell it at present rates with the existing duty.

A diminution of the duty on sugar would, by encouraging steady low prices, naturally and inevitably increase the consumption; and the increase of consumption of sugar, so far from displacing the consumption of any other article of universal necessity or comfort, would very probably augment the consumption of very many exciseable articles, and particularly of tea and coffee.

The non-intercourse between the West India colonies and the United States of America, has deprived us of that natural and extensive market for rum, not again to be recovered.

The extra duty levied in the home-market, not only entirely prevents the use of it by the rectifier, but also impedes, to a most unjust extent, its consumption throughout the United Kingdom. In Scotland and Ireland the duty

is peculiarly oppressive, rum being charged with a duty of 8s. 6d. per gallon, and home-made spirits with a duty of 2s. 10d. per gallon.

In February, 1824, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was so sensible of the expediency of giving greater scope to the sale of this article, that he declared in Parliament that it was "sound in principle" to place rum on an equality with British spirits. Parliament accordingly equalised the duties; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer emphatically declared "that the act must ultimately lead to good," as it was "sound in principle." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in avowing this opinion, felt that it was unjust to exclude rum from being rectified equally with British-made spirits; and in the next session of Parliament an Act was passed by which rum was admitted to rectification, but this act of justice was accompanied by the imposition of 1s. 6d. per gallon additional duty on rum to that charged on British spirits consumed in England; which made the rum duty three times as much as the duty on British spirits consumed in Scotland and Ireland. The West India body represented that it was in vain to pass a law admitting of rectification with a prohibitory duty. They were told, that if, contrary to the intention and expectations of Government, it should prove prohibitory, the moment the fact could be established, relief should be granted, as it was the honest purpose of his Majesty's Government that rum should be rectified on a fair and equitable duty. The prediction of the West India body has been verified to the fullest extent; yet, notwithstanding their urgent and repeated representations to this effect, they have hitherto failed in obtaining redress.

The grounds on which these applications have been resisted are:—

1. That the 1s. 6d. extra duty was only an equitable protection to British spirits, in consideration of the heavy expenses to which the English distiller was found to be liable.

2. That although the triple duty in Scotland and Ireland could not be defended on any principle of justice, it was necessary to protect the revenue against the smuggling of rum into England.

3. That the duty on rum was not excessive, as the consumption had increased; and

4. That the increase in the price was the chief cause why rum was not rectified.

The West India body contend that these grounds of objections are not valid; the fact that rum is not rectified, destroys every argument that can be adduced in favour of 1s. 6d. being only an equitable protection, and at once establishes their right to have the pledge of the Chancellor of the Exchequer redeemed.

In taking into consideration the expenses of the English distiller, those of the planter have been wholly overlooked, although they greatly exceed the English distiller's in many most important particulars. As each planter is obliged to have a distillery, he is subject to a much greater proportionate expense than a

distiller in England, who produces more spirit in one week than a planter will do in a year. The planter must resort to this country for every utensil used in his distillery, for repairs in cases of accident, for a great proportion of fuel, and many other articles which it would be endless to enumerate. It may be safely asserted, that he stands more in need of protection against the English distiller, than the latter does against him. The West India body however, may rest the question of equitable protection on the following incontrovertible facts, viz., that if the planter were to give his rum for nothing in the West Indies, it would not be used here by the rectifier at the present duty. The cask, freight, insurance, &c. cost 1s. 2d. per gallon: the extra expense of rectifying rum is about 6d. and the extra duty is 1s. 6d., so that rum, without any price being paid to the planter, would cost the rectifier 3s. 2d., or 2d. per gallon more than he would pay for English spirits, and 4d. more than what is manufactured in Scotland and Ireland, for sale in England, which proves not only that the present duty is prohibitory, but also that the reduction must be considerable to afford even a possibility of the planter having access to any share of the benefit intended by Parliament in legalising the rectification.

The West India body submit, that the difficulty of preventing the smuggling of rum into England, if the triple duty on that article were repealed in Scotland and Ireland, cannot be greater than that of preventing the smuggling of British spirits made in those parts; and they protest against such ground being taken for excluding permanently any portion of his Majesty's subjects, far less a class labouring under the greatest distress, from the advantage of intercourse with two divisions of the United Kingdom, and therefore it is with confidence that they look to the legislature for relief in this respect.

With regard to the consumption of rum having increased, it is to be observed that the increase is not in proportion to, and has not arisen from, its having supplanted the use of British spirits. It is to be attributed to its having obtained a consumption formerly supplied by smuggled brandy; and no measure could be so effectual in putting down the smuggler, as taking off the extra duty of 1s. 6d. on rum.

The statement that the increased price of rum had been a means of preventing its being rectified, is unhappily incorrect; for, so far from an increase in the price, there has been a diminution: and at present it is only about two-thirds of what it was when the extra duty was imposed; and even that miserable price is obtained with the greatest difficulty, the proprietor being obliged to keep rum on hand for many months, at heavy warehouse rent, without any means of selling it. By the parliamentary returns of the duty on British spirits, for the year ending the 5th January, 1829, it appears that on 23,413,777 galls. of British spirits, the duty paid was £,993,554l. 13s. 2d.,

whereas the duty on the same quantity of rum, if substituted for British spirits in the consumption of England, Scotland, and Ireland, would have amounted to 9,950,253*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*, which clearly demonstrates the extent to which rum is taxed beyond British spirits.

From this statement it will appear, that a large reduction of the duty on sugar, to assist in consuming the surplus coming to this country, and a modification of the rum duties, are indispensable.

The most urgent and continued representations to France, Spain, and the Brazils, to abandon the slave trade, are the further means recommended to remedy the overwhelming difficulties under which the West India Colonies now labour.

GIN AGAINST RUM.

The duty on the gallon of rum, for home consumption, was, at 5th January, 1826, reduced to 8*s.* 6*d.* The duty on British raw corn spirit, in England, was then also reduced to 7*s.* From this nominal difference of 1*s.* 6*d.* against rum, the West India planters and merchants have petitioned Parliament to be relieved. When these duties were fixed, this 1*s.* 6*d.*, as a protection in favour of the corn distillery, was for the following, among other reasons, deemed indispensable. Because, the raw materials from which rum and the corn spirit are respectively distilled, are widely different; the former being produced from molasses or sugar, the latter from malt corn and grain; and the quality of the two spirits dissimilar. Because, the two kinds of spirit are not alike applicable to every purpose, rum may be easily in England re-distilled into gin or any kind of compounds; but corn spirit or gin cannot, by any process yet discovered, be converted into rum. Rum is consequently the preferable article, and, in point of quantity, the power of production by the colonies is *unbounded*. Because, rum is an article already highly favoured. It enjoys the free scope of the home-market, and subject to the difference of duty above mentioned, it is now permitted to be even rectified and compounded. Its consumption has been progressively increasing. This increase, in the last four years, compared with the three years preceding the reduction of duty, has amounted on the average to 55 per cent. *per annum*. Because, rum is, by order of Government, supplied exclusively to the navy and army, services requiring 400,000 imperial gallons annually. Because, exclusive of largely supplying the home market, and also the navy and army, rum is used, without duty, for the stores of ships going on foreign voyages, and is also exportable generally to foreign parts, while English spirits are sold only for home consumption, duty paid. Because, raw corn spirit, on the contrary, cannot be manufactured without the use of a certain portion of malt. Sometimes it is produced from malt alone. This malt duty (besides the spirit

duty of 7*s.* per gallon) the distiller has to pay. Because, after payment in England of 7*s.* per gallon on the raw spirit, that spirit would be unsaleable, unless it underwent (at a great expense) the operation of rectifying and compounding; while to render rum saleable, this process and expense are unnecessary. It is made a *perfectly finished article before leaving the West Indies*. Because, to protect the just interest of the landholder, the trade in corn cannot be made *free*. Abroad the distiller could purchase corn at half the price he must pay for it in England. But if he uses foreign corn, it is subject to the importation duty, amounting at present to 18*s.* 4*d.* on the quarter of barley, equal to 1*s.* nearly, on the gallon of his spirits. If he even uses English corn, it is at a price subject to the influence of that duty. The distiller cannot do as he would. Because, rum may be warehoused on importation, and held for several years without payment of duty; when withdrawn from bond, it is charged with duty only upon what is delivered out, and not upon the quantity put in. The corn distiller is allowed no credit on his duty, nor any thing for waste. Because, the distiller, from being in other respects under legislative restraint, suffers great disadvantages. For securing the revenue, he is subjected to a form of process, and mode of working, unpractised in the West Indies, and which to him are daily and constantly the source of much injury, vexation, and expense. Because, in 1825, to meet the new and important change in the distillery laws then adopted by Government, the distillers in re-modelling and re-constructing their premises, were subjected to an expense of more than 250,000*l.*, to uphold which their annual charge for waste of capital, and wear and tear, have been greatly augmented, and which, if the trade were to be overthrown, would prove nearly a total loss. From all which it is obvious, that if the West India petition shall be successful, or any part of the 1*s.* 6*d.* on the rum duty be removed, *the entire ruin of the corn distillery of England would be inevitable*. The consumption of corn by this trade in the United Kingdom, has arrived at 1,400,000 quarters annually. A ready and sure market for all descriptions of inferior or damaged barley (unfit for malting) is thereby afforded. During the present and preceding season, barley of this description, to the extent of several hundred thousands of quarters, has found a vent through this channel, which, in other circumstances, *must have been left useless in the hands of the grower*.

I observed before, that the West Indians want the 1*s.* 6*d.* duty to be taken off from their rum; and here we see, that the distillers say, that, if this be done, their trade will be ruined. If this be not correct to the full extent of the statement, it is true in part, certainly

That the West Indians are upon the point of an *actual breaking up* is certain. If no amendment in their affairs take place, their lands must soon be *abandoned to those who work on them*. If they *lose* by their *crops*, in *addition to the loss of rent*, the negroes must very soon be the proprietors; and this is a state of things by no means beyond the scope of probability. But, then, our home distilleries consume 1,400,000 qrs. of *ENGLISH barley and other grain* annually; and, if this market be taken away, there must be an *increase of the distress of the land-people in England*.

It is monstrous, to be sure, that a hundred weight of sugar, which the planter *sells here* for 23s. 3½d. should pay 27s. tax: this is monstrous; but, if the Duke *must* have all the taxes, he must; and, particularly, if he must have the *beer* tax, and the *malt* tax, there is no reason why he must not have the *sugar* tax. The malt and beer are *more* necessary to us than the sugar, and they are of our *own produce*.

As to the *rum* and *gin*, the choice of the Parliament is simply this: to *break up totally the West Indians*; or, to *add to the distress in England*. A neat dilemma for a Government and a Parliament to bring themselves to by their *own acts*! And, what is more, by their *victories* and their *conquests*! Before they purchased the *victories*, the taxes were, at the utmost, 16 millions a year. they are now 60 millions. What is it that has ruined the West Indians? Look at the sugar duty. See the price at which the *producer sold his sugar here*, compared with the tax on it.

Price.		Tax.
Before the victories 55s. 0d.	—	12s. 4d.
After the victories 23s. 3½d.	—	27s. 0d.

It is the tax, then, that has ruined the staunch voter for taxes; for, never was there one of the "West India body," who voted against any tax *on us*, if it did affect his *own produce*. It is the tax that has ruined poor negro-driver; but, the Duke must have the tax to pay for the *victories*, or, rather, to pay the interest of the money that was borrowed for the purchase of the victories.

What is it that has ruined 'SQUIRE JOLTERHEAD? The taxes. Look at the taxes and rates that the 'Squire's estate

has to pay now, compared with the price of his produce.

Price of Wheat.	Taxes.	Rates.
Before the victories 4s. 6d.	£16,000,000	- 2,250,000
After the victories 6s. 0d.	60,000,000	- 8,000,000

It is the taxes, then, that have produced the 'Squire's distress. I have put his wheat at 6s. a bushel; but, it must come down to 4s. 6d. at the highest. It is the taxes, then, that has ruined Jolterhead; but, the Duke cannot keep the *conquests* without all the taxes, and cannot pay for the victories which obtained the conquests; and, therefore, the conquests must be, as the Duke says, abandoned, or the taxes must all continue to be paid.

Curious, that a nation should be ruined by its "*glorious victories*"! It has taken sixteen years to bring us to the *down* of our senses. We are half-dreaming yet. We shall be *wide awake about the middle of next winter*. The *grand rousing* will come from the fellows with hob-nails in their shoes. The *rates* will soon take all the rental; the stocks on the farms are very fast melting away; the farmers will be a very low race in a short time; and we shall, sooner than most people expect, see the approach of Lord Stanhope's *last stage*.

It is curious to observe how "*distress*" works for the *BENEFIT* of the *labourers in husbandry*. In "*prosperous times*," the *commons*, even the *gardens*, were taken from them. For *twenty-five years* I have been complaining of this, and showing how it tended to the ruin of the country. I made this complaint particularly as to WILTSHIRE, where (near Cricklade) I said, that they had been driven to stick up their mud-huts in the *corners of roads, without an inch* of land to plant a cabbage. That they seemed to have been swept off the fields by a tempest, and to have dropped under the banks. Judge, then, of my *pleasure*, upon reading the following, in the London papers: "It was unanimously resolved last week, at a vestry meeting of the parish of *Corsham, Wilt.*, that *land should be let to the poor upon an extensive scale*, the practice upon a small one having been found to operate most beneficially to all parties." Good! The land yields *no profit*; and now they may have some of it! *Dis-*

tress for ever ! say I. LORD STANHOPE need be in no apprehension about their *dividing* the land by force of their numbers : it will be *given up to them*, if taxes to the amount of *thirty millions a year be not taken off*. And the question, my Lord Duke, really is this : Shall we give up the *conquests* and leave the *victories* unpaid for ; or, shall we give up the land to the labourers ?

Thus it is, my lord Duke, that TIME, sturdy old TIME, avenges the wrongs done to TRUTH. The works of PITT and DUNDAS, and their urgers on and associates and instruments, are now felt in their natural consequences ; and TIME is avenging the men who suffered death, or imprisonment, or ruin, or bitter persecution for their public spirit in endeavouring to prevent the war of 1793. And is he not avenging the wrongs done to TRUTH ? What was the real case between us and the French people ? Our rulers, our nobles, our clergy, all our "pastors and masters," had been, for *three hundred years*, telling us, that the French government was a cruel despotism ; that the noblesse were tyrants ; that the people were slaves ; that their priests taught a religion that was idolatrous and damnable. This, in books of all sizes, in lessons for the young, in homilies for the old, in parliamentary speeches, in sermons from the pulpit ; in all manner of ways, from the cradle to the grave, this was what had, for three hundred years, been dinned in the ears of the people of England, who, accordingly, looked on the French people as beings scarcely above the level of dogs.

Well : at last this enslaved people rose upon their king, their nobles, and their priests, drove them from their country, and put down the "*idolatrous and damnable religion*." And, then, *oh then!* did our rulers and teachers *rejoice* ? No : they received the expelled parties with open arms ; they fed them and cherished them at our expense ; they made war upon the people of France ; they subsidised (with our money) others to make war upon them ; and, when they, with the aid of a million of foreigners, had forced back the ancient kings and nobles upon France, they *held a grand jubilee in England*, of which the people of England paid the expense ; and that ex-

pense, of course, now forms part of the load that is pressing us to the earth, and that threatens, in my Lord Stanhope's opinion, to produce a state of things, in which the labourers will divide the land amongst them.

All the distress, my lord Duke, all the misery that we behold, all the dangers that surround us at home, all the distrainings for rent or for rates, all the desperate conduct of the labourers (once so gentle and docile) ; all, yea all, and all that reason tells us *must follow*, if no effectual remedy be applied ; all have their cause in this unjust and unnecessary war. Daylight is not more visible than that the distress arises from the taxes ; and you now (if the report be correct) tell us, that these taxes cannot be taken off ; because they are demanded by the *debt* and the *dead weight* occasioned by the war, and by the *conquests* which that war acquired. Of what nature the sufferings of the people are, the following account, from the GLOUCESTER JOURNAL of the 20th February 1830, may tell the world.

“ EXTREME DESTITUTION.—Amongst
“ the numerous complaints of distress
“ in all parts of the country, we have
“ heard of few instances which appear
“ to have so large a claim on the com-
“ miseration and assistance of a bene-
“ volent public, as the state of the poor
“ in the parish of Coaley, in this county.
“ A gentleman who occupied a consi-
“ derable tract of land in an adjoining
“ parish, in going over his farm in the
“ late deep snow, found that a hedge
“ that surrounded one of his ricks had
“ been very lately carried away ; and
“ the track of the depredators being left
“ in the snow, he followed them, with
“ the intention of making their conduct
“ a public example to others. He soon
“ came to a cottage, if it deserves the
“ name, where part of the wood had
“ evidently gone. Here he found a wo-
“ man and three children, the eldest a
“ boy about eight years old, who was
“ not even decently clothed ; the poor
“ woman very little better, and none of
“ the family having either shoes or
“ stockings ! The cottage, or rather the
“ hut, consisted of only one room on the
“ ground-floor, the roof in such a state
“ that, in wet weather, it was as dirty in

" the habitation as out of it ; the chimney so low, yet so open, that it offered but little obstruction to the entrance of the piercing winds and weather ; and there being only a door-way, without any door whatever, to this miserable abode, we leave our readers to judge what these poor creatures must have suffered during the severe cold we have this winter experienced. To add to their sufferings, too, they had no bed, blankets, or even bedstead to lie on ; so that all they could do at night, was to wrap themselves in their miserable scanty clothing, and lie down in the most sheltered part of this wretched habitation. This statement may probably appear overdrawn ; but our readers may depend on its veracity ; nor will they be at much loss to account for such misery, when they learn that the poor are almost all unemployed ; that *the greatest allowance to any one in the parish is 1s. 3d. per week* ; and that there are no respectable persons living within its limits, to render them assistance, *except the curate* (who does far more than prudence would dictate), and the farmers, who are so oppressed themselves by the state of the times and the enormous burden of the poor-rates, that they can of course do nothing for the poor and destitute around them. But to proceed to the cottage, little better than the last, to which the rest of the wood had evidently found its way : here a poor old man, one of its inhabitants, came out to meet the visitor, well knowing, as he said, why he was come ; and invited him in to witness the distress which had driven him to steal the wood. The wife of the old man, it appeared, was so far mentally deranged, as to be obliged to be tied in the house. His son, 30 years of age, was an idiot ; and his daughter, who completed the family, and who by her work at some neighbouring factory had supported the rest, lay so ill of a violent fever, that he did not expect she could survive an hour ! The old man himself had no work ; and the only allowance he had had from the parish was 1s. per week. The gentleman observed that that could not possibly maintain them. The poor

" man replied, that though they did manage to support life, yet they had often been obliged to go for a whole day together without food ! The old man's cheeks were marked by the channels his tears had made ; and we think many of our readers will be almost ready to shed the tear of sympathy over his melancholy destitute situation. The gentleman, on returning home, very kindly sent the poor sick daughter such sustenance as was adapted to her state of health ; but, alas ! it was too late, for she is now released from all her accumulated sufferings. Her illness was no doubt induced by the real want of the common necessities of life ; and, there is every reason to fear, the fever will spread further amongst the poor inhabitants of the parish.—Let not our readers suppose that these are solitary instances of distress. We cannot pretend to state the extent of misery that exists in the neighbourhood ; but the touching cases we have related, which were discovered as by accident, and are given without exaggeration, may form a good criterion by which to judge of the state that many of our fellow-creatures are to be found, in and about the parish we have mentioned.—We are happy to learn, that the gentleman who intended to expose the wickedness of these suffering depredators, has generously undertaken to collect a subscription for the relief of the parish, which we conceive is far more needed than those which have been made in towns and cities, where personal suffering is comparatively unknown. If any benevolent individuals should feel disposed to add, even their mite, to the subscription that is now set on foot, they may rest assured their contributions will be very gratefully received, and punctually and judiciously applied, and may be paid to the Printers of this Paper."

And is this *in England* ; and is this state of things *never* to be changed ? It never can, as long as taxes shall be collected to their present amount. What ! And shall this continue, while there are men, who receive, out of those taxes, annually, as much each of them as would support a thousand labourers with their

thousand families? My heart swells with rage as I ask the question. It cannot be: it cannot continue: there must be a change, great and all-searching; and of this every man is now convinced.

The aged, the crippled, the helpless babes, the insane, may suffer in the manner above described; but, while the strong will not suffer thus, the sight of such suffering in these feeble creatures impels them to deeds of resentment and desperation. There is a limit, beyond which men will not suffer, if they have bone and sinew at command; and at this limit we appear to be fast arriving. And there is this danger, that a *yielding to obvious danger* is sure to lead to demands of more than would have satisfied before. Therefore, *the time for conciliation now is*; but, for the thousandth time I repeat, that this cannot be effected without a great and *radical change*. Compared with internal happiness and peace and security, what are *conquests*, what are *colonies*?

I cannot conclude this letter without a word or two on *negro slavery*. I remember what a *great point* this was in our negotiations, at Paris, *with the then recently restored king*, while YOU had the *military command of that city*! What we gained in this way was, in fact, extorted, as the negotiations proved; and I, *at the time* (I did not wait till now), said, that it would *answer us no purpose*. I further said, that the other nations would suspect, that we, being *well mounted, well stocked, with negroes*, wished to *prevent them* from repairing their losses, and *rivaling us in the sugar and coffee trade*. And now, look at the statement of the "*West India Body*"! They *complain*, that, *since the peace*, more than 600,000 fresh slaves have been brought into the colonies of *other nations*, in spite of *all our efforts to prevent it*; and that our trade in sugar and coffee is thereby *greatly injured*!

Good! This shows the *sincerity* of our declarations; this shows our views; this accounts for all the anxiety, expressed in Parliament, that Castlereagh the *human* would *secure* this point. It was *figured in words*. And, why do we not *compel* these nations to adhere to this treaty of "*humanity*"? Because we cannot *without war*. And why not com-

pel them *by war*? Because war demands money; and because we are up to our ears in debt and distress by merely making good, or attempting to make good, our money engagements of the *last war*. Because, in short, we are ruined by an endeavour to pay for our "*victories*" and our "*conquests*."

Thus, my lord Duke, we cannot look backward or forward; we cannot turn to the right or to the left, we cannot catch a glance at any speck of our national picture, without exclaiming, O TIME, thou hast avenged the wrongs done to TRUTH, and hast freshened the turf on the graves of the victims who perished in her cause!

As to the part that *you are now acting*, you are situated as I foretold you would be. Men judge by the *result*, and they are not nice about circumstances. You were covered with *glory* by the *result* of the battle of Waterloo. In vain do people say, though I believe with perfect truth, that you owed your success to the *merely accidental* arrival of forty thousand Prussians, under the command of Blucher. You *defeated Napoleon*, and that was enough. The pride and vanity of the nation caused this *lucky* circumstance to be wholly overlooked. The *result* was all that men thought of; and praise and title and wealth showered down upon you.

For the same reasons men will *now* judge of you by the *result*. If you get the nation out of these difficulties; if you remove the distress; or, if it pass away, you will be lauded to the skies; but if you *fail*; if the thing go to pieces in *your hands*; if a bank-stoppage, or a convulsion, or any thing of a breaking up take place, you will be regarded as the cause of the calamity; you will be looked upon as *defeated*; and men will judge of you, and speak of you, accordingly: there are no terms or epithets of reproach and contempt, which will not be associated with your name.

Nor is this at all unjust; for, if success be to give you *all* the praise, failure ought to give you *all* the blame. You have all the powers of the country in your hands; you have the wielding of all its resources; you have majorities in both Houses of Parliament; you can cause to be adopted any measures that

you please; you voluntarily took your office upon you; you can quit it at your pleasure; and therefore, if the nation be ruined while you hold that office, all the blame must and will fall upon you. Besides, you have been amply warned of the danger; in every way in which warning can come, you have received it; a thousand petitions will be on record to prove, that others saw the danger approaching; there will exist evidence to prove that you are without valid excuse; and who, then, is to moderate the reproaches of millions of families made miserable by your measures? You have had the press to aid you in your decision upon every subject; no flatterers can have deceived you against your inclination; all the branches of every subject connected with your duty have been amply discussed in the most able manner; you have had all the talent in this whole nation to assist your judgment; you have been kept fully informed of all the symptoms good or bad; every channel of information, every source of light has constantly been open to you; and if, after all this, a people like this be, while under your sway, steeped in misery from any cause other than that of the immediate and visible visitation of God, all just men will say that TO YOU belongs the blame.

WM. COBBETT.

MOST GLORIOUS LIE !

THE lies of the *anti-breeders*, or *surplus population-mongers*, have very far surpassed those of BARON MUNCHAUSEN, one of whose very best was, that being on horseback, in a very *deep snow*, and being dead-tired, he tied his horse to a sort of iron post, that he found sticking above the snow, and lay down, some yards from him, and went to sleep. While he was asleep a *thaw* came, and what was his surprise to find himself on the bare turf of a church-yard, and to see his poor horse hanging by his halter to the top of the steeple! This is a banging lie, to be sure; but it has been far surpassed by the *surplus popu-*

lation-mongers; and WILMOT HORTON, the prince of this brazen and foolish set, has far distanced all the rest. He has just printed *three pamphlets*, which he calls an "*Inquiry into the causes and remedies of pauperism*;" in the third, of which he has the following *most glorious lie*: "Hume states the population of England, in the reign of Elizabeth, "to have been estimated by Sir Edward Coke, at 900,000; and a statement of the number of fighting men "at that time *would appear to support so very low an estimate.*" Now, perhaps, the lying HUME may have put this lie into his book of lies; COKE may, too, have told the lie; but HORTON WILMOT is as brazen a liar, or a most monstrous fool, for pretending to believe it, and for wanting others to believe it. Such are the "*facts*," such the "*data*" of this verbal coxcomb, who calls himself a *philosopher*.

The bloody old English Jezebel did, indeed, destroy a great many of the English people; but still there were 16,000 parish churches, and 28 cathedrals, including Westminster. There were then only 450,000 *males* in England, and only about 300,000 *grown-up men*, including the aged and dying; rather less than 19 grown-up men to each parish church, including cripples and insane persons, and leaving nobody for the cathedrals! What a lie! SPKLMAN, who wrote *early in the reign of James I.*, gives an account of the *number and places of abode* of the *noblemen, baronets, knights, and gentlemen*, having *mansions* in the country, in England. These amounted to 24,240. The parish parsons, clerks, and sextons, must (leaving out the cathedrals) have amounted to 48,000. The overseers and church-wardens, to 64,000. The parish constables or beadle to 16,000. The mayors, aldermen, bailiffs, borough-reeves, and other officers and members of corporations, to about 4,000. The justices of the peace to about 2,000. Jailors, rakers, spies, and informers, hangmen and rippers-up, and prisoners, to more than 6,000. Soldiers and sailors to more than 20,000. Each nobleman, baronet and gentleman, five servants on

an average, including gardeners, and all others, 121,200. Here we have, then, 321,480 grown-up men (leaving out the cathedrals still); and lying, foolish, coxcomb author Wilmot has but 300,000 all together! This is a "*philosopher*"; this is a "*data*" man! This is the projector for sending English people to that miserable heap of rocks, called *Nova Scotia*! This is a man for finding out the means of *relieving our distresses*. 'Gad! I have him "*out of doors*" now, and I will lash him till I have lost him. The pamphlets have been *sent to me*, with "*from Mr. Wilmot Horton*" on the cover. Whether by him I cannot say; but the *author* is stated, in the title pages, to be "*The Right Honourable Wilmot Horton, M. P.*" As *author*, he surely may be *dealt with* without exposing one to *banishment*. This is a *privy council* or! That fact, *that one single fact*, is quite enough to account for the present *national distress*. If we add to the above one hundred and fifty men for each cathedral, including all the attendants, stewards, and workmen to do repairs, we have another 4,700; and if we add to these all clerks in all the offices of Government; all the persons employed in the customs and in managing the other revenues of the Crown, and all Old Bess's monopolies; if we allow, on an average, one workman to be employed on the repairs of each parish church and parsonage-house and buildings; if we allow one man servant for each parson; if we allow there to have been 20,000 lawyers, officers of the courts, sheriffs' officers, attorneys, their clerks, physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, and their apprentices, and allow to each of these (except the apprentices), including the chancellor and judges, only one man servant; and if we put the whole together, we have more than 450,000 grown-up men; and Horton tells us, that there was only that number of MALES in the kingdom, including *babies* in the cradle, worn-out *old men*, and men *insane*, and *paupers* into the bargain!

So great a lie never was published before. CHALMERS was *liar enough*, in

stating the population at *two millions*, in the *reign of King John*; but Horton surpasses even all the Scotch liars and *feelosofers*. The *coxcombery* of the man surpasses, however, his impudent lies. — shall hear from me again at a time more leisure.

TEA.—A SAVING TO FAMILIES OF 2s. IN 7s., UPWARDS OF 30 PER CENT.

FELIX and CO., 106, Tottenham-court-road, three doors from London-street, near the New-road, have just OPENED a WAREHOUSE for the SALE of TEAS, FREE from ADULTERATION, and served from the chest pure as received from China. As a saving of 30 per cent. in an article of such universal consumption as Tea, implies the saving of several pounds sterling a year, Families are respectfully invited to prove the truth of what we state, by sending for an ounce of our best Black Tea at 5s. a pound, and judge for themselves whether it is not equal, if not superior, to that for which they are now paying 7s. a pound. Other Teas and Coffee equally moderate, particularly a real fine Hyson, at 8s. a pound.—Families and Dealers from the Country, as well as Co-operative Societies, will do well to give us a trial.—A trial is all we ask.

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SWAIN and CO.

CLOTHIERS, DRAPERS, AND TAILORS, No. 93, Fleet Street, (a few doors below the new entrance to St. Bride's Church.)

Beg to inform the Public, that they have opened the above Shop, with a large Assortment of Goods, of the Best and most Fashionable Description, and which they are determined shall not be surpassed, either in Quality, Style of the Cut, or Workmanship.—The following is a list of their Prices for Cash:—

Superfine Coats, of Fashion (Ready money)		
able Colours, from Patent	£. s.	£. s.
finished Cloths	2 5	to 3 0
Ditto, Blue or Black	2 10	3 5
Extra Saxony Wool, Blue or Black	3 10	& upw.
Superfine Frock, with Silk Facings	2 18	4 0
Ditto Trousers	0 18	1 10
Kerseymer Waistcoats	0 10	0 14
Marseilles ditto	0 7	0 10
Valencia ditto	0 8	0 12
Silk ditto	0 14	0 18
A Suit of Livery	4 0	

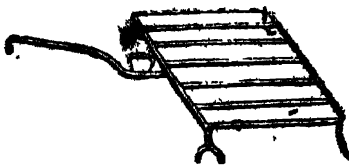
Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, Children's Dresses, Shooting Jackets and Hunting Coats, Camblet and Plaid Cloaks, Witney Wrappers, and every other Garment, equally cheap.

A large Assortment kept Ready Made.

Export Orders executed with punctuality.

* * 93, Fleet-street, near St. Bride's Church.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's court; and published by him, at 183, Fleet-street.



"You have a law to prevent bread from being cheap, and you raise money on the people to send away the mouths to foreign climes; you have projects for checking marriage; you have a law to tax bachelors for being bachelors, another law to punish girls for having bastards; and you raise immense sums in taxes to encourage poor parsons, military and naval officers, and even private soldiers to marry."—**KING OF BOHEMIA's Letter to CANNING, published in Register, 4th January, 1823.**

WILMOT HORTON'S PROJECT.

Lye, Suffolk, 17th March, 1830.

THIS project was brought forward in the House of Commons, by the projector, on the 9th instant, the report of the *debatings* about it being published in the papers of the 10th. In the course of a thundering long speech, WILMOT concluded, that the change in the currency had not at all tended to increase the distress of the labourers; and he also contended, that the taxes had no tendency to cause them to suffer! To insert the whole of his speech, would be to half murder my readers; but his propositions, or maxims, I will insert, as follows:

1. That the sums raised and applied for the relief of the poor in England and Wales, though mainly bearing on one particular class of the community, viz., the landed interest, ought to be considered, after the deduction of that portion which would otherwise be paid as wages, as much in the nature of a tax as any of those taxes which are to be found in the balance-sheet of the revenue and expenditure of the country.

2. That if a pauper population, for whose labour there is no real demand, can be prosperously colonized (with their own consent) at a less expense than would be necessary to be incurred for their maintenance in the mother country, a national outlay for the purpose of such colonization ought to be considered as an economy rather than as an expense.

3. That if a redundant population were removed by a national effort of colonization, there would be but little danger to be appre-

hended from what is called "the filling up of the vacuum."

4. That if the United Kingdom were relieved from its redundant labourers, that is, those labourers for whose labour no real and natural demand exists in society, the remaining labourers might permanently remain in a state of comparative comfort and independence.

5. That it is expedient to effect such reparation and abstraction of forced from unforced labour, as would accurately measure the extent of the redundancy.

6. That to enable parishes to raise money upon mortgage of their poor-rates for a period of years, such capital being specifically applied towards the emigration of voluntary candidates who may prefer independence in the colonies to pauperism at home, would be a measure highly favourable to the landed interest.

7. That in the event of home colonization, the ratio of danger as to the filling up of the vacuum must be double as compared with foreign colonization.

8. That if the vacuum were to be filled up, the policy of a measure of colonization must be governed by a comparison of the increment of the expense of maintaining the new pauper population, with the decrement of the expense of maintaining the removed population, supposing them to have remained at home.

9. That there are no means of producing wealth more effective than the combination of an able-bodied population, with uncultivated land of the first degree of fertility.

10. That, independently of the special advantage to the landed interest, and to the labouring classes, the expenditure involved in such a measure of colonization would not be, in any degree, prejudicial to other classes possessing property in society.

11. That, as a pauper, while he continues a pauper, receives necessarily only a bare subsistence, he can neither suffer from taxation, nor be relieved by its remission.

12. That the application of any portion of surplus revenue for the purpose of raising a capital to be applied in the first instance in the home employment, and secondly, in the colonization of the poor, would be more beneficial to the labouring classes of the community, than if the same sum were applied in the reduction of public debt, or in the remission of any class of taxes to the same amount.

I will here shortly remark on these propositions, leaving my labourers, in their petition, which has been, I believe, presented to both Houses, to answer the projector at full length; and which answer will, I suppose, be found at the end of my account of this debating bout.

Proposition 1: Nonsense. Proposition

tion 2: Two false assumptions; for there is a demand for all the labour, only the taxes take away the means of paying for it; and the people cannot be prosperously colonized. 3: There is no redundant population. 4: There are no redundant labourers. 5: There is no redundancy, except of taxation. 6: no; Wilmot: the question is not, whether the labourers prefer independence in the colonies to pauperism at home; but whether they prefer independence at home to tax-paying at home, and the pauperism which arises from that. This is the true question; for it is beggary and abject slavery in the colonies. 9: "Land of the first degree of fertility." There is no land at all for these people, till they have cleared it, which will cost a life of labour; and when they have cleared it, it is swamp or rock, nine times out of ten; all the good spots having been taken up long ago. 11: Aye, Wilmot! You are right enough, that the taking off of taxes can do him no good "while he continue a pauper." That is right enough, HORTON; but, repealing of taxes (as my labourers will show you presently) would put an end to their pauperism! That is it, Wilmot; and if you look at the progress of rates and taxes, you will find that the rates have kept an exact pace with the taxes. In 1791, the rates were little more than two millions a year; they are now between seven and eight millions a year. In 1791, the taxes were about sixteen millions a year; they are now about sixty millions a year: so that, leaving out fractional sums, here is a very pretty rule-of-three question for you, and for your learned philosophical friends, MONSIEUR DUCHATEL, PAULET THOMPSON and DADDY BURDETT. If sixteen millions of taxes cause two millions of rates, how many millions of rates will sixty millions of taxes cause? You understand arithmetic, Wilmot, I dare say.

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"Bah! as the French say: poh! Wilmot: my labourers will answer you presently: they will tell you how pauperism has come; they will point out to you several swarms of brilliant paupers, the supporting of whom has made them, poor fellows, liable to be paupers: they will tell you all about "improvident marriages": they will twit you neatly; and, therefore, shall say no more to you: they are 1 lads to answer you, Wilmot.

But there were others who spoke in this debating bout, whose words are worthy of attention, because they show what is working in the heads of the law-givers, and because they discover their alarm at seeing that those who do the work have, at last, come to the limit of endurance. All have ceased to abuse and reproach the labourers: and some even go so far as to speak civilly of them: they seem to have found out that the labourers are, after all, flesh and blood; and, which is more, that they are the millions.

"Mr. PORTMAN recommended, that a small portion of land should be given to each pauper; and he was convinced that the poor-rates would then be materially diminished. It happened to him lately to be present at a quarter sessions, where two persons were indicted for stealing haulm or bean-stalk. The object for which this was wanted, was to procure a litter for the pigs; and in the one instance the jury refused to convict, because they said the practice of stealing haulm for such a purpose, was universal in the county. In the second case, they did convict; but the man was strongly recommended to mercy on the same ground. If men were allowed a small piece of land, they could themselves cultivate this litter which they were now unable to buy, and which it seemed they were compelled to steal. He knew, however, that what he now proposed could not be adopted without a change in the law of settlement. He proposed to keep the currency out of the question, for it would only excite a difference of opinion, and he trusted that something would soon be done."

Still harping upon this old string! This old piece of cat-gut, the *small paper-money!* Mr. PORTMAN is very right about the bits of land, but wrong about the bits of paper.

"Mr. J. SMITH supported the plan of giving each pauper a *small portion of land*. He had done so to a certain extent in the eastern division of Sussex, and the result was most satisfactory. He had allotted to a number of poor persons rather *more than one acre each*; and not only were they kept from demanding parish assistance, but, beyond his utmost expectations, the result had been to him most beneficial, and the *rates of the parish were reduced nearly one half*. If, instead of this, individuals were compelled, as they were in many parts of England, to work on the roads at 6d. and 8d. a day, and to sleep in barns and out-houses, there could be no wonder that they forgot their duty to society, and that if temptation was offered them they fell into the commission of crime. *He implored the attention of the House on this subject.*"

About twenty years ago, I called a vestry of the parish of BISHOP'S WALTHAM, (Hants,) in which I was an occupier, to propose, that we should apply to the bishop (who was lord of the manor) to grant copyholds to worthy labouring men. We had, in the parish, a beautiful common, having many little clips of good land, surrounded with turf-ground; and my proposition was, that, if the bishop would give the soil, we, the copyhold tenants, would give up our right to the herbage on these spots. The vestry met; but not a man would join me, except the schoolmaster, a very worthy man, whose name was JENNINGS. Three big farmers exclaimed loudly against my project, and abused the labourers at a pretty round rate. One of them, involved in pecuniary distress, has since *shot himself*; another, who said, that the labourers *ought not to have children*, has *lost his al'*, and is, of course, a poor man himself; of the third I have not heard lately, but when I did hear of him, he was in a fair way of being suitably punished.

The conduct of Mr. SMITH is to be applauded: it will do *some good*; but there is no real general remedy, short of bringing the taxes back to the amount of 1791. Curious however, to contemplate that, after forty years of *demolishing small farms, and of driving the labourers from the skirts of forests and commons*, it should be thought wise to *give the poor bits of land!*

"Mr. BENETT could not agree with the right honourable Gentleman as to many of the principles he had stated. Among the rest he could not possibly concur with what the right honourable Gentleman had said respecting the currency. He did not wish to introduce that question unnecessarily into this discussion, but he must make one observation upon what the right honourable Gentlemen had said. He was not a friend of a depreciated currency; but he could not help thinking that the adoption of the present currency had taken from a number of persons, connected with the productive classes of society, the same *means of employing the labour of men that they before possessed*. He thought, therefore, that if there was a *limited return to our former currency*, there would be greater means of employment, and consequently a greater demand for labour. He must confess that he was quite astonished when he heard the right honourable Gentleman say, that the *reduction of taxation could have no effect on the labouring poor*. Why, *the reduction of taxation would afford increased means of consumption to the higher and middle classes, and consequently increased opportunity of employment to the labouring poor*. Without these things, he was convinced that emigration would afford but very little relief; for though many might be removed, numbers would soon spring up to fill up their vacant places in the class to which they had belonged. In a parish near him, a *clergyman had nearly done away with the poor-rates, by apportioning the glebe land for the poor to cultivate*. This could not be done to a sufficient extent to relieve the whole country;

"but relief might be effected by a re-
"turn to the former currency; by a
"diminution of all the taxes that pressed
"upon country labour."

Oh! Mr. BENETT, why spoil your excellent speech by showing us that you still hanker after the "*worthless rage*"? It is a *repeal of taxes* that we want; and why not *stick* to that point? Why not be consistent and sensible? But who is this pink, this *nonpareil* of a "*CLERGYMAN*?" He is, doubtless, half a *Catholic*; or, at any rate, he seems to know his duty; he seems to know that the tithes and glebes belong, in part, to the poor. This is pleasant: it gives one hope: a *great change* is at hand: it is seen that, beyond a *certain point*, the millions will not suffer. Poh! Horton! Poh! Wilmot! A fig for your *emigration*! How are you to get *millions away*? Give the poor the land *here*: that is the true way of lessening pauperism. The Parliament has been taking it away from them for forty years; and now, it seems, there is a *bill before the House* for giving it them again!

Next came Mr. SLANEY, of poor-law fame, the successor, in this science, of Lawyer SCARLETT and NOLAN; but, I cannot employ an inch upon him: he will have his fair turn, when his *bill* comes forward; but we must not deal thus with "*Westminster's Pride and England's Glory*," whose speech we must have at full length.

"Sir F. BURDETT. If the right
"honourable Mover had not yet made
"much way in his project, he had at
"least now succeeded to the extent of
"persuading the House that the subject
"was worth consideration. Neverthe-
"less, he could not yet encourage him
"with the expectation of a beneficial
"or speedy result. He wished par-
"ticularly to avoid the question of the
"currency, how far it had an effect in
"occasioning the *redundant population*;
"and he should therefore only say,
"generally, that on this point he was
"inclined to agree with his right
"honourable Friend (Mr. W. Horton).
"As to filling the vacuum to be occa-
"sioned by emigration, it seemed to
"him that nothing was more easy than

to prevent a rapid increase, when
"once the numbers were thinned. In
"the same way, it was easy at any
"time to stimulate population, but not
"so easy to *revocate gradum*, and to
"lessen it after it had been so stimu-
"lated. There was the difficulty; and
"hence arose the question, What was to
"be done with the present superabund-
"ant population? The existence of
"that superabundance must, for a time,
"produce great suffering and misery;
"and whether it was or was not the
"fault of the legislature, *there the peo-
"ple were, and the country was bound
"to provide for them, and could not
"allow them to starve*. The great fea-
"ture of the subject was Ireland; get
"rid of what he might call the annual
"Irish invasion; of the competition of
"the Irish peasantry with the labourers
"of England; and the latter would be
"left in comparatively easy and com-
"fortable circumstances. The Irish
"were an honest and an industrious
"people, and they had a full right to
"bring their labour to the best market.
"While the Irish peasant could obtain
"more for his labour here than in his
"own country, he must and would
"come; and the necessary consequence
"was, that the English peasant was re-
"duced very much to the same condi-
"tion. Thus, in truth, and in fact, the
"English country gentleman *had his
"estates burdened to provide for the
"poor of Ireland*. (Hear, hear.) In
"Berkshire, the mere passing of the
"Irish poor in a single year, had cost
"from 12 to 1400*l*. The question was,
"was there any effectual remedy for this
"great evil? He was sorry his right
"honourable Friend had involved
"himself in such a complication of re-
"solutions, containing many positions
"upon which no two men perhaps
"could be found to agree: the more his
"right honourable Friend had ad-
"vanced into this subject, the more
"contracted his views seemed to be;
"and it would have been far better if
"he had limited himself to his original
"general and simple proposition: that
"it was expedient to send part of the
"redundant population to the colonies.

" As the motion now stood, it would
 " lead to no beneficial, practical result ;
 " whereas, if his right honourable
 " Friend had brought in a bill to carry
 " his intentions into effect, a substantive
 " proposition would have been made
 " upon which the legislature would
 " have been called upon to decide. At
 " present the estates of Irish gentlemen
 " were hot-beds of population ; and this
 " was an evil that loudly called for
 " remedy. In order that England might
 " continue the sphere of laudable enter-
 " prise, he wished to get rid of those
 " who were merely burdensome ; they
 " might be removed, with advantage to
 " all parties, to some of our magnificent
 " colonies, the chief difficulty being to
 " determine of the good which were
 " the best. The exportation of a com-
 " paratively small number would have
 " a great effect upon those who were left
 " behind ; as a small overplus of any
 " commodity depreciated it greatly, so a
 " small overplus of population caused
 " an accumulation of misery. The sub-
 " ject of relief could be no topic of dis-
 " pute ; all were anxious to accomplish
 " one end ; amicable discussion might
 " lead to the most beneficial results, and
 " Ministers would be grateful for any
 " useful suggestions. He would confine
 " the view of the House simply to the
 " point, whether it was not possible to
 " remove to the colonies a large portion
 " of the population of Ireland, and of
 " Ireland alone ? In that country there
 " were no poor-rates ; and as the present
 " management of Irish estates produced
 " the evil, a rate, not in the nature of a
 " poor-rate, might perhaps be levied
 " upon them, to aid in the accomplish-
 " ment of the object. *He could not*
 " *agree* with his honourable Friend (Mr.
 " John Smith), that to *give every poor*
 " *man an acre of ground would remedy*
 " *the evil*. First, how would it be pos-
 " sible to give every poor man an acre
 " of ground ? and, secondly, if it were
 " given, was not that the very system
 " that had prevailed in Ireland, and
 " which had occasioned the redundant
 " population ? (Hear, hear.) What had
 " happened in Ireland would then hap-
 " pen in England ; and the mischief,

" instead of being amended, would be
 " multiplied. There were two ways by
 " which the lower orders might be bene-
 " fited. 1st. By giving them higher
 " wages ; 2d. by reducing their num-
 " bers—though the second was, in fact,
 " only another mode of accomplishing
 " the first. Then, as to the introduction
 " of machinery, it was undoubtedly true
 " that it might for a time throw hands
 " out of employ, but in the end the
 " increase of the branch of trade in
 " which machinery was used, would re-
 " quire the active exertions of many
 " more men than had in the outset been
 " temporarily injured. (Hear.) When
 " he talked of a rate for Ireland, he was
 " ready to admit that the subject de-
 " served grave consideration : coloniza-
 " tion must be attended with a heavy
 " expense ; but it would not be enormous
 " if those parishes that were relieved,
 " contributed their due share towards
 " the attainment of relief. From the
 " effect of those contributions, the par-
 " ties would soon recover when once
 " the superabundant population was re-
 " moved. He hoped that his right
 " honourable Friend would not press
 " his motion to a division, because it
 " would lead to no beneficial practical
 " result."

Aye, Glory, "*there the people are,*"
 indeed ; and as you say, they must not
 be *allowed* to starve. They *will not*
 starve, Glory ; be you assured of *that*.
 Oh, dear, no ! You do not approve of
 every man having a bit of land. Mr.
 FRIEND published a pamphlet some years
 ago, eulogising *your prudence* in *putting*
your life against scores of life-hold
 tenants at RAMSAURY, where I suppose
 that there are not *half the number of*
proprietors that there were before the
 estate became yours. This one part of
 the system that has been going on for
 forty years, and to this, in part, we owe
 the pauperism. And do you think, that
 evils so great, so general, and so deeply
 rooted, are to be put an end to by an
emigration project ! And pray, Glory,
 where are those "*magnificent colonies,*"
 of which you talk ? Nova Scotia and its
 dependencies, to which even the *garden*
stuff is brought from the United States ?

Poor, miserable swamps and rocks, incapable of producing half a sufficiency of food for its present people; countries that would be wholly abandoned if this foolish country did not send out to crafty and lying inhabitants, money wherewith to purchase provisions in the United States? Are these your "*magnificent colonies*"? CANADA, then perhaps? Canada is a Scotch channel, through which to send, at our expense, able and useful men into the United States. All the *good* spots have been settled long ago. There is nothing left but the rocks and the swamps; and every emigrant who is *kept there*, must be, under one name or another, kept at our expense. You know much about our "*magnificent colonies*"! I wish you were in them for a year or so!

"Sir G. MURRAY: He should only offer very few observations, in consequence chiefly of what had fallen from the honourable Baronet, to whom he had listened now, as always, with great satisfaction. He concurred entirely with what his right honourable Friend (Mr. W. Horton) had said on the subject of emigration to the colonies: that opinion was not new to him, for he had entertained it when he was in the Canadas; and he had stated it in a paper he then drew up, for the *better defence of those provinces*. He thought now as he had thought then, that the only certain and permanent means of providing for the defence of the Canadas was by directing to them a stream of population from the mother country, attached to her interests, and resolved to maintain her possessions."

Good God! Why it is notorious that none remain in Canada that are able to get into the United States, unless they be paid by us to stay in Canada! This is a notorious fact. But, indeed, who can doubt it? Who can doubt that able men will flee from the Canada government to that of New York; and who can doubt that men will flee from barren rocks and swamps to fertile lands? Very much attached to the mother country, those must be, who have been treated like dogs in that country! Who have

been taxed to nearly starvation, and who recollect SIMMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH and their "*institutions*"! Foh! Canada is a fine out-let for English taxes to be paid to Scotch jobbers of all sorts; and it is a fine channel for sending, at our expense, able men into the United States: men who have money go at once to those States from England. "*Defence of Canada, indeed*"! But it is really enough to make one sick to think of stuff like this. What laughter this speech will excite in the United States! But now comes BARING, the great loan-maker: pull off your hat, reader: hear the Oracle, No. 2.

"Mr. BARING had always been of opinion, from the time he was a member of the committee, that relief might be given by emigration, and it was the interest of parishes in the southern parts of the kingdom, which were suffering so severely under the poor laws, to contribute to this desirable end. Those who in this country were in a state of abject pauperism, in the colonies were in a condition of comparative comfort. Only two remedies worth consideration had been suggested: the one was emigration, and the other an alteration of the poor laws, reverting to what had been properly called a *sound action* of that system of enactments. The transition from one state to the other, was the difficulty; and if the poor-rates were supplied only to the aged and infirm, and an opportunity were afforded to the young and able-bodied to proceed to the colonies, much might thus be accomplished for the benefit of this kingdom; and the danger from a transition would thus be materially lessened. It behoved Government, then, at the present moment, to determine whether it would make the experiment, and not be satisfied, session after session, with one or two debates on the subject, which ended in no practical measure. For himself, he was ready to try the plan, and thus to get rid of a considerable part of the surplus population."

Oh! you are, are you? You are ready to try an act to refuse relief to all able

persons who will not be transported to the swamps and rocks and snows of Nova Scotia or Canada! Now, BARING, they may have mis-reported you; but, if this be what you mean to try; if you mean to refuse relief to able-bodied persons, unless they will consent to be transported out of the country; if this be what you mean to try; if you mean to say, to the able-bodied, "You shall starve, or be sent out of the country;" if this be it, I say, TRY IT, Baring.

"Lord ALTHORP thought that a committee of the whole House, not for the purpose of examining witnesses for that would be absurd, but for the purposes of discussion, might be attended with very beneficial effects. He thought certainly that no new measure ought to be introduced affecting the state of the people, or applying to the administration of the poor laws, which would not have the effect of making those who contracted imprudent marriages at an early period of life, find themselves in a worse situation than if they had exercised a greater degree of foresight and discretion."

This is the old MALTHUSIAN notion. Is LORD ALTHORP a bachelor, I wonder? How chaste he must think the country girls! For it is clear that he thinks, that if they did not marry so young, they would not have so many children. Some one who had been in vain endeavouring to induce Henry VIII. to consent to the marriage of priests, told him: "Well, if the priests have not wives, the wives will have priests; I can tell you that." This was, I suppose, some slanderous Protestant; but I can assure Lord Althorp, that if he will not let the young girls have husbands, they will have children, just as many as if they had the husbands; and of this he ought to be well aware, when the parsons and overseers, who have given evidence before the poor-law committees, have said, that the poor people never marry now until the girl is visibly with child; and that it is the parish that makes them marry!

Is not this enough for LORD ALTHORP? In short, it is all nonsense: the 60 millions of taxes are the cause of the pauperism; the millions are now

become paupers; there exist not the means of making them starve quietly; they will not suffer so much as they have suffered quietly: and the taxes must be repealed, or the rents must be given up to them. Indeed, they have, in justice as well as in law, a claim prior to that of the landowner; they have the numbers and the strength, and their claim will be made good. It is sorrowful to contemplate the consequences; but, if the landowners will make the labouring man give more than half his wages to the tax-gatherer, those landowners cannot complain that the labouring man comes and demands something from them, to make up the deficiency.

However, my labourers will come by-and-by and speak for themselves; and I dare say, that they will express the sentiments of their whole order. But, I must not dismiss this article without some remarks on the emigration that is now going on from England to the United States. There is sense in this. There are two ships now at Falmouth, taking 300 people on board to go to Québec; the ships being going out for timber. These people intend to land at Quebec, and thence to proceed to the United States. They have been duped; for they have been told, that they cannot be landed in the United States without the captain of the ship giving security for their not becoming chargeable. This is a lie for the purpose of cheating them. Cargoes of Irish are not to be landed in the United States without such security; but, no security is demanded for English; and these poor people will have to tramp, or boat it, a thousand miles, in consequence of this fraudulent lie.

These are all young and hale people. Leave the aged, the halt, the blind, and the insane, to the boroughmongers. In all manner of ways is this country perishing. "Paper-money is strength in the beginning, and weakness in the end."

The following extract from the MANCHESTER TIMES, of the 20th of February, is worthy of particular attention.

"EMIGRATION. There are at this time, fifty persons in the middle rank of life, preparing to quit this town in a body, and with their families set

"*sail for the United States* of America.
 "The reason they assign for this determination to quit their native land, is, that by the excessive taxation imposed upon the inhabitants of once "free and happy England," they see no prospect before them if they stay here, but that of being reduced, in a very short time, to the lowest state of poverty and wretchedness; and seeing this, they consider that they would be unworthy the name of 'freeborn men,' did they not flee from that country which holds-out to them such a desolating prospect. Even old *John Heyes*, whom Mr. Cobbett has held up to public notice in his *Register*, as having suffered ten weeks' imprisonment in the New Bailey, for announcing to the public of Bolton, that Mr. C. had arrived in England, and was in good health, and to whom Mr. C. gave £5 when last in that town; even this old man is determined to flee from the land of his fathers, with the aid of Mr. Cobbett's gift; for he observes, that should he, by administering to his necessities, expend the money, it will then be utterly impossible for him to quit this country, for want of the means to pay for his passage across the Atlantic ocean."

I suppose that amongst the emigrants, there are two or three who have got my *EMIGRANT'S GUIDE*, price 2s. 6d.

Every one should read it with attention; and they can lend it to one another. When I wrote it (last summer), I foresaw and foretold, that nothing would be done by the Parliament to relieve this wretched people; but that things would go on from *bad to worse*. That this evil will, with a vengeance, cure itself *in time*, is certain enough; but, before that time shall come, how many hundreds of thousands will be totally ruined! How many thousands in the middle rank of life will not have the means of emigrating left! Poor fellows, how they keep on cherishing delusive hope! How they cling to that which must be their utter destruction! Men, fashioned by slow degrees to slavery, become at last, so debased as to be incapable of any exertion for their own deliverance, even if it include no danger to them of any sort.

The *EMIGRANT'S GUIDE* anticipated what the lot of the middle class would be. As to the *working-class*, the mere *labouring-class*, they have seen the worst; at least, they have proved that they will not lie down and die quietly from starvation; and we see accordingly, that they are not spoken of as mere dogs, as they were some time ago. They will live; and they are fools, if they do not stay to see the upshot, and to get some of the good at last. But the middle class, and especially the farmers, what beasts they must be to remain, and have the last shilling taken from them! In the *EMIGRANT'S GUIDE*, Letter VIII., p. 123, and in the letters from English farmers already settled in America, any farmer will see, that, with only about two or three hundred pounds, he may become the owner of good land, quite sufficient for any family; and that, with a thousand pounds, he may at once become the owner of a farm of a hundred acres, with house, and barn, and out-buildings, and fine orchard, and stock it well into the bargain! Really, a man who sees the clear proof of this, and who remains here to plunge his wife and children into pauperism, is not only a cowardly slave, but a great criminal besides. There are thousands upon thousands, who, by starting this spring, would become well settled on their own land by the next November, and who, by lingering here, will be deprived of the means of getting away at all. What dreadful suffering will arise from such delays!

If I be asked, whether things will never get better in England, I answer, that they will get better, that there must be a complete change; but, if I be asked, when, I answer, that I cannot even guess with any chance of correctness. I know, that the middle class must keep on sinking, until the change take place. We saw the French, though a really brave people, brought to submit to things, incredible were they not so well known. It has been thus with many nations. At first, the things, partaking of the nature of luxuries are taken away; next, the most costly of necessities; next, the other necessities go on diminishing in quantity; till, at last, people think themselves lucky to be able to

get a hearty meal; and, for my part, I should not be at all surprised to see ordinary tradesmen reduced so low as not to be able to have a *joint of meat* on their tables twice a year. Will they *submit* to this? I think they will: as they become *poor*, they will become *submissive*: they will feel *no shame*, because the lot of one will be the lot of all. I have heard, and I believe the fact, that at a cattle and sheep fair in Sussex, about a month ago, the tax-gatherers (parish ones, I suppose) attended, *watched the sales*, and took the taxes from the farmers *on the spot*. Nay, that they reproached some of them for *not selling*; and told them roundly, that they ought to *sell for what they could get*, and pay their rates and taxes! Now, I nearly *know* this to be true: I firmly rely on the truth of it; and if men be *thus* brought down already, why are they to stop in their descent? Why are they not to become *more degraded* than the people of France ever were? A people comes down *by degrees*. Who would *forty* years ago have believed, that a common almanack would pay 1s. 3d. tax, and a tax on the paper besides; or that a sixpenny pot of beer would pay, altogether, 4½d. on account of taxes; who would have thought that this whole nation would have looked quietly and silently on, while the Parliament passed a law to *banish for life* any one for uttering what might have a tendency to bring it into contempt? Who, only *ten* years ago, would have thought of seeing unoffending Englishmen harnessed like convicts, drawing tarts in repairing and smoothing the roads, which they were lately, *even at Kensington*, while troops of dragoons and horse guards were riding, in gay apparel and on fat horses, along those very roads? It is by *degrees* that we have come to this pass; and it is by *degrees* that every nation has fallen, if it have fallen at all. Who would have thought, only *three* years ago, that a bill would be passed in the *people's* House of Parliament, authorising overseers of the poor to *dispose* of the dead bodies of the *poor* for the purpose of *dissection*? The thing comes on *by degrees*; but it comes on more and more rapidly as it advances. The

poor will be *fed*; but they now care for nothing else; all moral feeling, all sense of shame, is gone with them. Victuals, drink, and mere warmth, are all they care about. And the middle class are fast descending to the same state. There is, and there will be, or, at least, there *need be*, no destruction of the things produced in the country; it will be merely a *transfer* from the middle class to the *highest*, and to their myriads of dependents and agents. This middle class has been dwindling away for many years; where there is now *one farm*, there used to be *six* at least. In short, there will be, in a reasonable time, no *property* except amongst the receivers of taxes; and my opinion is, that this may afterwards go on for several years. Seeing what we *have seen*, why should we *not* see this? Aye, and if it come, it will excite *surprise in nobody*; and I should not wonder if the boast about "*English freedom*" were louder than ever! If all this were to take place, it would not be half so wonderful as that which we *have seen*. The assembly which has the protection of the *banishment law*, calls itself the "*noblest assembly of free men in the world*." There need be, to effect the total degradation of the middle class, *no change in the laws*; all the outward and visible signs may remain just as they are: there will need nothing but an adherence to the *present money and the present taxes*. These are all that are necessary to bring all the middle class down to nearly oatmeal or potatoes, and to the shabbiest of garments. This money and these taxes will convey the property away from them in the neatest and most quiet of all possible ways, and will occasion no commotion *as long as the poor be well fed*; and this will be done the more easily, as the expense comes chiefly from the industry and skill of the middle class, the tax receivers having various ways of avoiding it. The *poor* have no quarrel with the *Government*: their quarrel is with the farmers and the rest of the middle class. They know nothing about taxes and tax-eaters. Theirs is a deadly fight for *victuals* and *warmth*: they, in fact, look to the Government for *assistance*; and it would be a foolish Government indeed not to

keep well with them. To say that the *tax-eaters themselves cannot wish for such a state of things*, because it would ruin the nation, and make the people ready to give the country up to an enemy; to say this is mere talk. They know that to give up the taxes would ruin them, and that is the only ruin that they have an idea of; and as to *defending the country*, the history of the world shows them, that a country can be well defended, though the people be mere serfs. Sir JAMES STEUART says, that a people would be *happier* in this state, and that the nation would be more *powerful*; and we may be assured that a large part of the press would be found to maintain the same doctrines. To *talk*, therefore, of *parliamentary reform* is right, because it is the only *real* remedy; but to *expect it*, would be foolish indeed as long as we see no great repeal of taxes; and the motions and divisions about it, can amuse none but fools. Will those who have the power of preventing it, ever let it be, when they LOOK AT THE MANY AND CERTAIN CONSEQUENCES? Let the reader himself think of those *consequences*, and that will convince him at once. To take off taxes to any extent, is the same thing in effect, as to reform the Parliament. Oh, no! The funding system cannot go on without the taxes; the borough-system cannot go on without the funding-system: *all must go on together, or all must come to an end.*

But, will the landowners themselves submit to a loss of rents? Yes: to a total loss, if that be necessary to uphold the taxes; for those of them who rule all the rest, have a better estate in the taxes than they have in the land, a very large part of the latter being the property of the JEWS, who are, it seems, now about to have a hand in making laws for us. The lower class of landowners have clearly showed us, what they are likely to do. Their increasing poverty will, unless some sudden accident happen, go on adding to their meanness and cowardice; till, at last, the whole nation will exhibit two distinct classes, an immense body of well-defended tax-eaters, and millions of tax-payers reduced, in general, to the lowest scale of existence, each ready to creep under ground at the ap-

proach of a tax-eater, though of the lowest grade. In time, if things proceed unchecked, no man will give any rent for land; and that will be of little consequence to the tax-eaters, who will take care to have the taxes out of it, and the labourers WILL HAVE their share. If lands lie *unoccupied*, and if this become very frequent, a law must be passed giving the Government power to *cause the land*, thus abandoned, *to be used*; for it must take care that the POOR BE FED; that will be its first duty; and, thus the farmers will, very likely, be transformed, at last, into public bailiffs. The thing might, in this way, go on for some, and even for many years. The rents being abolished, or rather, transmitted into taxes, there might be the means of affording little charitable allowances to such landlords as had not already an estate in the taxes; and thus the brazen-souled Scotch *feelosopher*, Sir JAMES STEUART's scheme might be realized. Some accident, *some sudden burst*, might interrupt this harmonious state of things; and it would be presumptuous to say exactly how the thing will work; but that which is here supposed, is not *un*likely, or at least, an impossible, state of things to arise, before the end shall come; and that end *may be*, if things take this turn, at the distance of several years.

Nothing so clearly indicates the disposition of the middle class and the smaller landlords to submit to *any* thing, as their affecting to think that "*things will mend*"; that things will "*find their level*"; that "*the energy of the nation will overcome its difficulties.*" This is a decided proof of *brute ignorance*, or of the most *base and hypocritical cowardice*, either of which very nicely fits a man to be a real, thorough-paced slave. What an infamous or brutish wretch must it be, to affect to believe, or to believe, that where ruin shall have reached its utmost point, it will *cease to be ruin*! Here is a man, who is losing every year *more and more*, and who believes that, when he comes to the highest pitch of loss, it will relieve him, *if he continue, as long as he has a penny, to lose at that highest rate*! What the devil can have filled men's heads with such a notion! What! they are to go on losing

more and more in every succeeding year for five years, suppose; and then they are after this to lose *no more* in any one year than they lost in the fifth year; and this is to give them *relief*? How this monstrous system has bewildered the senses of mankind!

The lot of the *farmer* is worse in such a progress, than that of the tradesman or merchant. They can stop, or change this course, any week or any day. He is always *in for it for a year* at the least. They, if hard pressed, can *flee* speedily. He must remain till his year, or lease, be out. They can put their stock in their pocket in a day, and nobody the wiser. His stock is a widely spread and most unmanageable affair: many eyes are constantly upon him; a part of his property is in the land itself. His lot is a most dreadful one. If he quit his farm, he has no place to go to. In short, unless he be wise as the serpent, a few years must make him a beggar. Still, though this is plain before his eyes, he *hangs on*, till the ruin actually overtakes him, and leaves him not the means of escape to a country, where he would never see the face of a tax-gatherer, and where the *remnant of his fortune*, if he had the courage to gather it up NOW, would make him the owner of a good farm. I hear of a very fine young man, in Wiltshire, who began farming, on his own account, a few years ago, who has a wife and several young children, and who has just sold off with a resolution to go to America, leaving parents, brothers, sisters, all behind! These, boroughmongers, are your works! This young man is right: duty to wife and children is the first duty; and it says, *Flee* from the country of boroughmongers! This young man will bless the day that he formed this resolution.

And, what is it that any farmer can be so loath to leave behind him? Is it the constant sight of the miserable paupers at his door, or harnessed like convicts to draw carts and wagons? Is it the everlasting dunning of the tax-gatherer? Is it the pleasure of reflecting that he is working and worrying to rake together money to keep the tax-eaters in luxury? Is it the high honour of being permitted to cringe

down to the earth in the presence of an infamous boroughmonger? Is it the fair prospect of being stretched on a bed of straw in a poor-house, and of hearing in his last moments, a bargain made for his dead body?

To the emigrants, who are going from Manchester, I most heartily wish good passage, and great happiness in their new country. If they follow the advice given in the *EMIGRANT'S GUIDE*, they are sure to do well. As for my friend, "JOHN HYES" (I have always called him HAYS), I will, if he write to me before his departure, send him a letter to a gentleman of New York, on whose kindness I can rely for giving him the best advice relative to getting employment. The letter should come, *postage-free*, lest it should not be received. I will send my letter to him free of expense. HAYS is about 53 years old; but he is a *sturdy* man, and would do very well in America. I do not promise him any thing but *useful information*, but that I will take care to get for him.

In conclusion, let me conjure all good men, who resolve to emigrate, not to go to the *English colonies*. As to the base and silly creatures, who go to the *convict countries*, it is no matter what becomes of them. But, the *lies* about *Nova Scotia* and *Canada* deceive people. They do indeed get into the United States *at last*; but, before they do it, they spend a great part of their money. Go, if you have labour in you, or property in your possession, to the United States at once. There needs no information other than that which is contained in my *EMIGRANT'S GUIDE*: you need trouble nobody with *questions*: you will there find every thing necessary to guide you in your enterprise.

Now, let us hear what *my fellows*, at Barn Elm, have to say to the "*most noble assembly of freemen*," on the subject of Wilnot Horton's project.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the undersigned Labourers at Barn-Elm Farm, in the parish of Barnes, in the county of Surrey,

Most humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners have perceived, that there is a proposition before your honourable House, for mortgaging the poor-rates, and for imposing taxes, in order to raise money for the purpose of sending a part of the working people out of the country, upon the ground, that, owing to their *excessive numbers*, they cause a charge upon the land so great as to threaten to swallow up the whole of the rents,

That your petitioners have heard, and they believe, that, out of about eleven thousand parishes, in England and Wales, there are one thousand and four, the population of which is, on an average, under a hundred souls to a parish; and that they know, that you have, in the evidence given before your committees, the statements of experienced farmers, that there are not too many work-people to cultivate the land properly, but that the taxes take from the farmer the means of giving the work-people wages sufficient for their proper maintenance; and that from this cause the land is not cultivated so well as it used to be, and does not yield so much as it used to yield, while the labourers are compelled to resort to parish relief.

That, deducting the amount of the country rates, militia charges, highway rates, church-rates, and the law expenses, the poor-rates, that is to say, the money actually paid in the way of *relief to the poor*, does not, especially if we deduct the salaries paid to hired overseers, amount to *six millions* of pounds in the year; while the other taxes, imposed by the Parliament and collected by the Government, amount to about *sixty millions* a year; and, that, therefore, your petitioners cannot but think it strange, that your honourable House should be alarmed at the prospect of seeing the rents absorbed by them *six millions*, while you appear to be under no apprehension at all of those rents being absorbed by the *sixty millions*, especially as they cannot for the life of them imagine how it is that your honourable House can fail to perceive, that it is the burden of the *sixty millions*, which is the real and evident cause of the necessity of raising the *six millions*, day-light not being more evident than

the fact, that it is the enormous taxes which disable the farmer, and trader, and manufacturer, to pay sufficient wages to his work-people.

That your petitioners have been told, that of late years, one million and six hundred thousand pounds, or thereabouts, have been voted by your honourable House, out of the taxes, for the *relief of the poor clergy* of the church of England; that they have just seen millions upon millions voted by you for the support of half-pay people and their widows and children; that they have been told, that there are numberless women and children as well as men, maintained as pensioners and sinecurists; that there are many of these men (who have no pretence to have rendered any service to the country), each of whom receives more, every year, than would be sufficient to maintain two or three hundred labourers and their families; and that, while all these are thus supported in part on the fruit of our labour, while all these, who do not work at all, have our dinners, in fact, handed over to them by the acts of your honourable House, we cannot very patiently hear of projects for sending us out of our native land, on the ground that we threaten to swallow up the whole of the rental.

That your petitioners have recently observed, that many great sums of the money, part of which we pay, have been voted to be given to persons who render no services to the country; some of which sums we will mention here: that the sum of £94,900 has been voted for disbanded *foreign* officers, their *widows and children*; that your petitioners know, that ever since the peace, this charge has been annually made; that it has been on an average, £110,000 a year, and that, of course, this band of foreigners have actually taken away out of England; since the peace, *one million and seven hundred thousand pounds*, partly taken from the fruit of our labour; and if our dinners were actually taken from our tables and carried over to Hanover, the process could not be to our eyes more visible than it now is; and we are astonished, that those who fear that we, who make the land bring forth crops, and who make the clothing and the houses, shall

swallow up the rental, appear to think nothing at all of the swallowings of these Hanoverian men, women, and children, who may continue thus to swallow for half a century to come.

That the advocates of the project for sending us out of our country to the rocks and snows of Nova Scotia, and the swamps and wilds of Canada, have insisted on the necessity of *checking marriages* amongst us, in order to cause a decrease in our numbers; that, however, while this is insisted on in your honourable House, we perceive a part of our own earnings voted away to encourage marriage amongst those who do no work, and who live at our expense; that £145,267 has just been voted as the year's pensions for *widows of officers of the army*; and that your petitioners cannot but know, that while this is the case, few officers will die without leaving widows, especially as the *children too* are pensioned until of a certain age; that herein is a high premium given for marriage, and for the increase of the numbers of those who do not work; that for this purpose, more than *two millions of pounds sterling* have been voted since the peace, out of those taxes more than their due share of which your petitioners have had to pay; that to all appearance, their children's children will have to pay in a similar manner for the encouragement and support of similar idlers; and that to your petitioners it does seem most wonderful, that there should be persons to fear that we, the labourers, shall, on account of our numbers, swallow up the rental, while they actually vote away our food and raiment to increase the numbers of those who never have produced and never will produce any thing useful to man.

But that, as appertaining to this matter of *check marriages* and the *breeding of children*, the vote, recently passed, of £20,986 for the year, for the *Royal Military Asylum*, is worthy of particular attention; that this Asylum is a place for bringing up the *children of soldiers*; that soldiers are thus encouraged and invited to marry, or, at least, to have children; that while our marrying and the children proceeding from us are regarded as evils, we are

compelled to pay taxes for encouraging soldiers to marry, and for the support and education of their children; and that while we are compelled, out of the fruit of our hard work, to pay for the good lodging, clothing, and feeding of the children of soldiers, our own poor children are, in consequence of the taxes, clad in rags, half-starved, and insulted with the degrading name of *paupers*; that, since the peace, *half a million* of pounds sterling have been voted out of the taxes for this purpose; that, as far as your petitioners have learned, none of your honourable members have ever expressed their fear that this description of persons would assist to swallow up the rental; and that they do not now learn, that there is on foot any project for sending out of the country these costly children of soldiers.

That your petitioners know that more than one-half of the whole of their wages is taken from them by the taxes; that these taxes go chiefly into the hands of idlers; that your petitioners are the bees, and that the tax-receivers are the drones; and they know, further, that while there is a project for sending the bees out of the country, no one proposes to send away the drones; but that your petitioners hope to see the day when the checking of the increase of the drones, and not of the bees, will be the object of an English Parliament.

That, in consequence of taxes, your petitioners pay sixpence for a pot of worse beer than they could make for one penny; that they pay ten shillings for a pair of shoes that they could have for five shillings; that they pay sevenpence for a pound of soap or candles that they could have for threepence; that they pay sevenpence for a pound of sugar that that they could have for threepence; that they pay six shillings for a pound of tea that they could have for two shillings; that they pay double for their bread and meat, of what they would have to pay, if there were no idlers to be kept out of the taxes; that, therefore it is the taxes that make their wages insufficient for their support, and that compel them to apply for aid to the poor-rates; that knowing these things, they feel indignant at hearing themselves

described as *paupers*, while so many thousands of idlers, for whose support they pay taxes, are called *Noble Lords* and *Ladies*, *Honourable Gentlemen*, *Masters*, and *Misses*; that they feel indignant at hearing themselves described as a nuisance to be gotten rid of, while the idlers who live upon their earnings are upheld, caressed, and cherished, as if they were the sole support of the country.

That your petitioners know that, according to the holy Scriptures, even the ox is not to be muzzled as he treadeth out the corn; that God has said that the labourer is worthy of his hire; that the poor shall not be oppressed; that they shall be fed out of the abundance of the land.

That, according to the laws of the Christian church in England, according to the canon law, according to the statute law, the poor of every parish were to be relieved out of the tithes; that they ought to be relieved now; that, at any rate, the laws of England say, that no one shall perish from want; that, if unable to work, or to obtain work, a sufficiency of food and raiment and other necessities of life shall be furnished to the indigent person by the parish; and that, therefore, your petitioners have, in case of need, as clear and good a right to parish relief as the landlord has to the rent of his land; and that, if your honourable House choose to continue to take the *sixty millions* a year in taxes; if you choose to cause the working people to be made poor in this way; if you choose to reduce us in this manner to appeal to the parish rates to support our lives; if you choose to continue to compel us to give more than the half of our wages to the tax-gatherers; if this be your decision, we hope that you will not blame us for pressing on the rates and the rental.

That your petitioners are constantly liable to be called out to serve in the *militia*; that they are compelled to give in their names to the parish constable, in order that they may be called out whenever the Government may choose; that they are thus liable to lose their time in the prime of life; to quit their homes, their aged parents, their wives and helpless children; and to sub-

mit to military command, military law, military punishment, and, if need be, loss of limb or loss of life in fighting; that they are thus compelled to serve and to suffer on the ground that it is necessary either to the defence of the country against foreign foes, or to the security of property against internal commotion; but that we possess no property but in our labour, which no foe, foreign or domestic, can take from us; and that, if we be to be regarded as having no right to a maintenance out of the land in exchange for our labour, if we be to be looked upon as a nuisance to be gotten rid of, is it just, we would ask, that we should be torn from our homes, and compelled to waste the prime of our lives, subjected to military command and military punishment, for the purpose of defending that land?

That, about twelve years ago, an act was passed by your honourable House changing the mode of voting in parish vestries, and another act, about eleven years ago, establishing select vestries; that, by these two acts, your petitioners were deprived of a great part of their rights; that, by the latter act, *hired overseers*, strangers to the parish, were introduced with salaries, to be paid out of the rates destined for our relief; that these overseers are generally paid *much* in proportion as they give *little* in relief; that hence have come oppressions and insults on us without end; that, in some cases, the labourers wanting relief have been compelled to draw carts and wagons like beasts of burden; in others they have been compelled to carry large stones backwards and forwards in a field, merely to give them pain and to degrade them; in others they have been shut up in the parish-pounds, and, in short, they have been fed and treated far worse than the dogs of those who live in luxury on those taxes, a large part of which are wrung from the sweat of your petitioners; and that, at last, we have seen a bill passed by your honourable House, authorising these overseers to dispose of our dead bodies for the purpose of being cut up by the surgeons, thereby inflicting on poverty the ignominy due to the murderer.

That while we know that we have a clear right to relief in case of need, we

wish not to be compelled to apply for that relief; we desire not to hear the degrading name of pauper; we wish to keep our wages for our own use, and not to have them taken away to be given to idlers; we wish to be well fed and clad, and to carry our heads erect, as was the case with our happy forefathers; we are resolved, at any rate, not to be treated like beasts of burden, and not to be driven from our country; and, therefore, we pray that your honourable House will repeal the two acts above mentioned; that you will take from our shoulders and from those of our employers, the grievous burden of taxes; and that you will be pleased to begin forthwith by relieving us from the taxes on malt, hops, leather, soap and candles.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

KENT AND HAMPSHIRE MEETING.

THERE have been meetings in these counties, which meetings our *greatest Captain* will scarcely deem "*a farce*." This insolent expression is now in a fair way of being answered in a *suitable* manner. In KENT there was an address to the King and a petition to the Parliament, both *very good*; in both, *Parliamentary Reform* was prayed for; and in the first, a *dealing with the church property*. Mr. LARKIN, of Rochester, after a very able and spirited speech, moved the address ~~as~~ an amendment on one proposed by EARL STANHOPE, which Mr. L., deemed *too mild*. The petition was moved by Mr. BRADLY (a yeoman), and was carried in spite of all the efforts of the aristocracy. But the most remarkable thing here was an amendment to Mr. Bradly's petition, which amendment was proposed by MAJOR WAITH, and which *prayed for an appropriation of the church property to national purposes*. This motion appears to have excited a *great stir*. Strenuous efforts were made to induce the Major to *withdraw* this motion. At last, upon a division, the report ~~was~~, that the SHERIFF was *very much perplexed to*

decide which side had the majority; but he decided against the motion. No question with me, that *the Major had the majority*. But, no matter: it is quite enough, that the farmers of this county, in the face of the nobility and magistrates, made it *doubtful* which side had the majority. The haughty and oppressive hierarchy *there got a blow*, which ought to prepare it for other blows.

In Hampshire, where the great Irish Captain is the *Lord Lieutenant*, the aristocracy and the poor half-beggar gentry and the parsons kept aloof. The requisition of 300 farmers was not, however, rejected by the sheriff. Mr. HINXMAN, a farmer, moved the petition, which was seconded by Mr. HENRY MARCH, and carried with only one hand held up against it. Here, too, the petition prayed for *reform of the Parliament*, and for *dealing with the debt and the church*. Oh! Hampshire parsons! You who, in March, 1817, on that same spot, *thanked* the Parliament for passing the *Dungeon Bill*. Oh! parsons, what is now to become of you! You old friends But, more another time: the pest is going off.

AMERICAN FOREST TREES, AND APPLE AND PEAR TREES.

I NOTIFIED, last spring, that I should not have a great many *forest-trees* to sell this year. I have, however, some of the following sorts, and at the prices put against them.

FOREST TREES.

LOCUSTS, two years old, transplanted, 7s. a hundred.

BLACK WALNUT, very fine and large, 4s. a hundred.

BLACK SPRUCE, two years old, transplanted, 10s. a hundred.

RED CEDAR, three years old, transplanted, 6d. each.

N. B. I would recommend planters to raise the Locust trees *from seed*, agreeably to the directions, contained in my book, entitled, "*THE WOODLANDS*," which explain the whole matter very fully. In general, not a tenth part of

the seed come up; but this is because it is not sowed in the proper manner. See paragraphs from 383 to 387, inclusive. Follow these directions, and you will never fail. I shall have some fine seed, in a short time, from America, and some other American tree-seeds also.

APPLE TREES.

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|---------------------------|-------------|
| No. 1. Newtown Pippin. | } 2s. each. |
| 2. Rhode Island Greening. | |
| 3. Fall Pippin. | |
| 4. Concklin's Pie Apple. | |

These are all the sorts that I have now, and they are all that I think necessary. The first is the finest flavoured apple in the world, and it will keep till May. The second is good from November till February; the third, from fall till Christmas; and the fourth is an incomparable pie apple, and a good keeper. They are all great bearers, and the wood is of free growth. The plants are as fine as it is possible for them to be. The stocks were twice removed; the roots are in the best possible state for removing; and if planted according to the directions contained in my "ENGLISH GARDENER," they will grow off at once, and speedily bear.

PEAR TREES.

I have eighteen sorts of pears, omitting, I believe, no one that is held in much estimation. The first and the last sort, No. 1. and No. 18., are from America. No. 1. is an extraordinarily fine eating pear, the like of which I had never seen before. No. 18. is a baking pear of most exquisite flavour, and a great and constant bearer. I had lost this sort, but I got some cuttings from Long Island in 1827, put them upon a large stock in the spring of that year, and these cuttings have begun to bear already, having yielded a dozen pears this year. This pear always bears in abundance, and for baking, and making perry, it surpasses all others, and beyond all comparison, as far as my observation has gone. My pears are, this year, all upon seedling pear-stocks; the stocks were removed, and, therefore, the roots will be in the best possible state for the transplanting of the trees. The scions, or cuttings, were chosen so as to be of the exact size of the stock; the grafting was done in the neatest manner, and the plants are clean and beau-

tiful accordingly. I venture to say, that these pears never were exceeded, either in growth of shoot or condition of root, by any that ever came out of a nursery. They are growing at Kensington, as well as the other trees. The price of the pears is, as it was last year, three shillings a piece. The list is as follows:

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|-----------------------------|
| No. 1. American Fall Pear. |
| 2. Jargonalle. |
| 3. Ganza's Bergamot. |
| 4. Brown Beurée. |
| 5. Crassanne. |
| 6. Colmar. |
| 7. Saint Germain. |
| 8. Winter Bergamot. |
| 9. Bishop's Thumb. |
| 10. Chaumontel. |
| 11. Summer Bergamot. |
| 12. Poire d'Auch. |
| 13. Winter Bonchrétien. |
| 14. Summer Bonchrétien. |
| 15. Green Chisel. |
| 16. Williams's Bonchrétien. |
| 17. Orange Bergamot. |
| 18. Long-Island Perry Pear. |

These pears are those which I recommend in my book on Gardening. I have omitted one or two, because, at the time of grafting, I could not procure cuttings of them from persons whom I could depend upon as to the sort; but the list is, nevertheless, pretty full, and any gentleman with these trees in his garden, will have a good succession of this table fruit from Midsummer to February.

Orders for these trees will be received at Fleet street, or by letter (postage paid). I suggest the utility of sending in the orders as quickly as convenient; because, if long delayed, the variety is diminished, and the executing of the orders is not so well attended to. Gentlemen will be pleased to give very plain directions, not only with regard to the place whither the trees are to be sent, but also with regard to the mode of conveyance, and the particular inn or wharf where the packages are to be delivered.

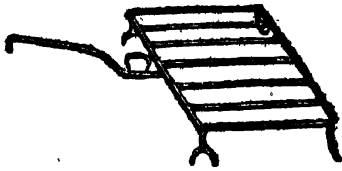
N. B. The Locusts are all either gone or ordered.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 27TH, 1830.

[Price 7d.]



"You permit the Jews openly to preach in their synagogues, and call Jesus Christ an impostor; and you send women to jail (to be brought to bed there, too), for declaring their unbelief in Christianity."—*King of Bohemia's Letter to Canning, published in the Register, 4th of January, 1823.*

EASTERN TOUR.

Hargham, 22nd March, 1830.

I SET off from London on the 8th of March, got to Bury St. Edmund's that evening; and, to my great mortification, saw the county-election and the assizes both going on at CHELMSFORD, where, of course, a great part of the people of Essex were met. If I had been aware of that, I should certainly have stopped at Chelmsford in order to address a few words of *sense* to the unfortunate constituents of Mr. WESTERN, who, however, at the last county-meeting, showed him that they were no longer real *natural calves*, but men of sense, who rejected his idle stuff about a return to the small notes, and who adopted a petition, in spite of his remonstrances, praying for an abolition of tithes and taxes. At Bury St. Edmund's I gave a lecture on the ninth and another on the tenth of March, in the playhouse, to very crowded audiences, and set out the next morning through Thetford to Hargham, the seat of Sir THOMAS BREYER. Hargham is three miles from Attleborough, and eighteen from Norwich. I went to Norwich on the 12th, and gave a lecture there on that evening, and on the evening of the 13th. The audience here was more numerous than at Bury St. Edmund's, but not so numerous in proportion to the size of the place; and, contrary to what has happened in most other

places, it consisted more of town's people than of country people.

During the 14th and 15th, I was at a friend's house at Yelverton, half way between Norwich and Bungay, which last is in Suffolk, and at which place I lectured on the 16th to an audience consisting chiefly of farmers, and was entertained there in a most hospitable and kind manner at the house of a friend.

The next day, being the 17th, I went to Eye, and there lectured in the evening in the neat little playhouse of the place, which was crowded in every part, stage and all. The audience consisted almost entirely of farmers, who had come in from Diss, from HARLESTON, and from all the villages round about, in this fertile and thickly-settled neighbourhood. I staid at Eye all the day of the 18th, having appointed to be at Ipswich on the 19th. Eye is a beautiful little place, though an exceedingly rotten borough. The two great estates in the neighbourhood formerly belonged to Lord CORNWALLIS and Lord MAYNARD, and are both now owned by Sir EDWARD KERRISON, who is the son of a man who was once a journeyman cooper at Bungay. Nothing the worse for that, to be sure; but this transfer could not have taken place in so short a space of time under the operation of any other than a paper-money system. At Eye, I was quite at home: got up in the morning, walked about a mile to the farm of Mr. Clouting, and there breakfasted: took the same walk again to dine with him; and the same walk again on the morning of the 19th, before I came off. Mr. Clouting has been a reader of the Register for twenty years; also Mr. Twitchet, a blow-chandler of the town, and another friend, a baker, whose name I have forgotten. For these staunch disciples the 17th of March was a day of great triumph. I never saw men more delighted than they were. They had borne twenty years of reproaches on account of their faith; and though they feel the effects of the distress as well as their neigh-

hours, they forgot the distress in the midst of their triumph, which, however, they enjoyed in a manner to give offence to none of their old opponents: all was harmony and good humour: every body appeared to be of one mind; and as these friends observed to me, so I thought, that more effect had been produced by this one lecture in that neighbourhood, than could have been produced in a whole year, if the Register had been put into the hands of every one of the hearers during that space of time; for though I never attempt to put forth that sort of stuff which the "intense" people on the other side of St. George's Channel call "*eloquence*," I bring out strings of very interesting facts; I use pretty powerful arguments; and I hammer them down so closely upon the mind, that they seldom fail to produce a lasting impression.

On the 19th I proceeded to Ipswich, not imagining it to be the fine, populous and beautiful place that I found it to be. On that night, and on the night of the 20th, I lectured to boxes and pit, crowded principally with opulent farmers, and to a gallery filled, apparently, with journeymen tradesmen and their wives. On the Sunday before I came away, I heard, from all quarters, that my audiences had retired deeply impressed with the truths which I had endeavoured to inculcate. One thing, however, occurred towards the close of the lecture of Saturday, the 20th, that I deem worthy of particular attention. In general it would be useless for me to attempt to give any thing like a report of these speeches of mine, consisting as they do of words uttered pretty nearly as fast as I can utter them, during a space of never less than two, and sometimes of nearly three hours. But there occurred here something that I must notice. I was speaking of the *degrees* by which the established church had been losing its *legal influence* since the peace. First, the *Unitarian Bill*, removing the penal act which forbade an impugning of the doctrine of the Trinity; second, the repeal of the *Test Act*, which declared, in effect, that the religion of any of the Dissenters was as good as that of the

church of England; third, the repeal of the penal and excluding laws with regard to the *Catholics*; and this last act, said I, does in effect declare that the thing called "*the Reformation*" was UNNECESSARY. "No," said one gentleman, in a very loud voice, and he was followed by four or five more, who said "No, No." "Then," said I, "we will, if you like, put it to the vote, 'Understand, gentlemen, that I do not say, whatever I may think, that the 'Reformation was unnecessary; but I say that *this act amounts to a declaration*, that it was unnecessary; and, 'without losing our good humour, we will, if that gentleman choose, put 'this question to the vote.'" I paused a little while, receiving no answer, and perceiving that the company were with me, I proceeded with my speech, concluding with the complete demolishing blow which the church would receive by the bill for giving civil and political power for training to the bar, and seating on the bench, for placing in the commons and amongst the peers, and for placing in the council, along with the King himself, *those who deny that there ever existed a Redeemer*; who give the name of *impostor* to him whom we worship as God, and who boast of having hanged him upon the cross. "Judge you, gentlemen," said I, "of the figure which England will make, when its laws will seat on the bench, from which people have been sentenced to suffer most severely for denying the truth of Christianity; from which bench it has been held that *Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land*; judge you of the figure which England will make amongst Christian nations, when a Jew, a blasphemer of Christ, a professor of the doctrines of those who murdered him, shall be sitting upon that bench; and judge, gentlemen, what we must think of the clergy of this church of ours, if they remain silent while such a law shall be passed."

We were entertained at Ipswich by a very kind and excellent friend, whom, as is generally the case, I had never seen or heard of before. The morning of

the day of the last lecture, I walked about five miles, then went to his house to breakfast, and staid with him and dined. On the Sunday morning, before I came away, I walked about six miles, and repeated the good cheer at breakfast at the same place. Here I heard the first singing of the birds this year; and I here observed an instance of that *petticoat government*, which, apparently, pervades the whole of animated nature. A lark, very near to me in a ploughed field, rose from the ground, and was saluting the sun with his delightful song. He was got about as high as the dome of St. Paul's, having me for a motionless and admiring auditor, when the hen started up from nearly the same spot whence the cock had risen, flew up and passed close by him. I could not hear what she said; but supposed that she must have given him a pretty smart reprimand; for down she came upon the ground, and he, ceasing to sing, took a twirl in the air, and came down after her. Others have, I dare say, seen this a thousand times over; but I never observed it before.

About twelve o'clock, my son and I set off for this place (Hargham), coming through Needham Market, Stowmarket, Bury St. Edmund's, and Thetford, at which latter place I intended to have lectured to-day and to-morrow, where the theatre was to have been the scene, but the mayor of the town thought it best not to give his permission until the assizes (which commence to-day the 22d) should be over, lest the judge should take offence, seeing that it is the custom, while his Lordship is in the town, to give up the civil jurisdiction to him. Bless his worship! what in all the world should he think would take me to Thetford, *except it being a time for holding the assizes!* At no other time should I have dreamed of finding an audience in so small a place, and in a country so thinly inhabited. I was attracted, too, by the desire of meeting some of my *learned friends* from the Wen; for I deal in arguments founded on the *law of the land*, and on *Acts of Parliament*. The deuce take this Mayor

for disappointing me; and, now, I am afraid that I shall not fall in with this learned body during the whole of my spring tour.

Finding Thetford to be forbidden ground, I came on hither to Sir THOMAS BEZVOR's, where I had left my two daughters, having, since the 12th inclusive, travelled 120 miles, and delivered six lectures. These 120 miles have been through a fine *farming country*, and without my seeing, until I came to Thetford, but one spot of waste or common land, and that not exceeding, I should think, from fifty to eighty acres. From this place to Norwich, and through Attleborough and Wymondham, the land is all good, and the farming excellent. It is pretty nearly the same from Norwich to Bungay, where we enter Suffolk. Bungay is a large and fine town, with three churches, lying on the side of some very fine meadows. Harleston, on the road to Eye, is a very pretty market-town: of Eye, I have spoken before. From Eye to Ipswich, we pass through a series of villages, and at Ipswich, to my great surprise, we found a most beautiful town, with a population of about twelve thousand persons; and here our profound Prime Minister might have seen most abundant evidence of prosperity; for the *new houses* are, indeed, very numerous. But if our famed and profound Prime Minister, having Mr. WILMOT HORTON by the arm, and standing upon one of the hills that surround this town, and which, each hill seeming to surpass the other hill in beauty, command a complete view of every house, or, at least, of the top of every house, in this opulent town; if he, thus standing, and thus accompanied, were to hold up his hands, clap them together, and *bles*s God for the proofs of prosperity contained in the new and red bricks, and were to cast his eye southward of the town, and see the numerous little vessels upon the little arm of the sea which comes up from Harwich, and which here finds its termination; and were, in those vessels, to discover an additional proof of prosperity; if he were to be thus situated, and to be thus feeling, would not some

doubts be awakened in his mind, if I, standing behind him, were to whisper in his ear, "Do you not think that the greater part of these new houses have been created by taxes, which went to pay the about 20,000 troops that were stationed here for pretty nearly 20 years during the war, and some of which are stationed here still? Look at that immense building, my Lord Duke: it is fresh and new and fine and splendid, and contains indubitable marks of opulence; but it is a BARRACK; aye, and the money to build that barrack, and to maintain the 20,000 troops, has assisted to beggar, to dilapidate, to plunge into ruin and decay, hundreds upon hundreds of villages and hamlets in Wiltshire, in Dorsetshire, in Somersetshire, and in other counties who shared not in the ruthless squanderings of the war. But," leaning my arm upon the Duke's shoulder, and giving WILMOT a poke in the poll to make him listen and look, and pointing with my fore-finger to the twelve large, lofty, and magnificent churches, each of them at least 700 years' old and saying, "Do you think Ipswich was not larger and far more populous 700 years ago than it is at this hour?" Putting this question to him, would it not check his exultation, and would it not make even WILMOT begin to reflect?

Even at this hour, with all the unnatural swellings of the war, there are not two thousand people, including the bed-ridden and the babies, to each of the magnificent churches. Of adults, there cannot be more than about 1400 to a church; and there is one of the churches which, being well filled, as in ancient times, would contain from four to seven thousand persons, for the nave of it appears to me to be larger than St. Andrew's Hall at Norwich, which Hall was formerly the church of the Benedictine Priory. And, perhaps, the great church here might have belonged to some monastery; for here were three Augustine priories, one of them founded in the reign of William the Conqueror, another founded in the reign of Henry the Second, another in the reign of King

John, with an Augustine friary, a Carmelite friary, an hospital founded in the reign of King John; and here, too, was the college founded by Cardinal Wolsey, the gateway of which, though built in brick, is still preserved, being the same sort of architecture as that of Hampton Court, and St. James's Palace.

There is no doubt but that this was a much greater place than it is now. It is the great outlet for the immense quantities of corn grown in this most productive county, and by farmers the most clever that ever lived. I am told that wheat is worth six shillings a quarter more, at some times, at Ipswich than at Norwich, the navigation to London being so much more speedy and safe. Immense quantities of flour are sent from this town. The windmills on the hills in the vicinage are so numerous that I counted, whilst standing in one place, no less than seventeen. They are all painted or washed white; the sails are black; it was a fine morning, the wind was brisk, and their twirling altogether added greatly to the beauty of the scene, which, having the broad and beautiful arm of the sea on the one hand, and the fields and meadows, studded with farm-houses, on the other, appeared to me the most beautiful sight of the kind that I had ever beheld. The town and its churches were down in the dell before me, and the only object that came to disfigure the scene was THE BARRACK, and made me utter involuntarily the words of BLACKSTONE: "The laws of England recognise no distinction between the citizen and the soldier: they know of no standing soldier; no inland fortresses; no barracks." "Ah!" said I myself, but loud enough for any one to have heard me a hundred yards, "such were the laws of England when mass was said in those magnificent churches, and such they continued until a septennial parliament came and deprived the people of England of their rights."

I know of no town to be compared with Ipswich, except it be Nottingham; and there is this difference in the two; that Nottingham stands high, and, on

one side, looks over a very fine country ; whereas Ipswich is in a dell, meadows running up above it, and a beautiful arm of the sea below it. The town itself is substantially built, well paved, every thing good and solid, and no wretched dwellings to be seen on its outskirts. From the town itself, you can see nothing ; but you can, in no direction, go from it a quarter of a mile without finding views that a painter might crave, and then, the country round about it, so well cultivated ; the land in such a beautiful state, the farm-houses all white, and all so much alike ; the barns, and every thing about the homesteads so snug ; the stocks of turnips so abundant every where ; the sheep and cattle in such fine order ; the wheat all drilled ; the ploughman so expert ; the furrows, if a quarter of a mile long, as straight as a line, and laid as truly as if with a level : in short, here is every thing to delight the eye, and to make the people proud of their country ; and this is the case throughout the whole of this county. I have always found Suffolk farmers great boasters of their superiority over others ; and I must say that it is not without reason.

But, observe, this has been a very *highly-favoured county* : it has had poured into it millions upon millions of money, drawn from Wiltshire, and other inland counties. I should suppose that Wiltshire alone has, within the last forty years, had two or three millions of money drawn from it, *to be given to Essex and Suffolk*. At one time there were not less than sixty thousand men kept on foot in these counties. The increase of London, too, the swellings of the immortal Wen, have assisted to heap wealth upon these counties ; but, in spite of all this, the distress pervades all ranks and degrees, except those who live on the taxes. At Ely, butter used to sell for eighteen-pence a pound : it now sells for nine-pence halfpenny, though the grass has not yet begun to spring ; and eggs were sold at thirty for a shilling. Fine times for me, whose principal food is eggs, and whose sole drink is milk, but very bad times for those who sell me the food and the drink.

Coming from Ipswich to Bury St. Edmund's, you pass through Needham-market and Stowmarket, two very pretty market towns ; and, like all the other towns in Suffolk, free from the drawback of shabby and beggarly houses on the outskirts. I remarked that I did not see in the whole county *one single instance of paper or rags supplying the place of glass* in any window, and did not see one miserable hovel in which a labourer resided. The county, however, is *flat* : with the exception of the environs of Ipswich, there is none of that beautiful variety of hill and dale, and hanging woods, that you see at every town in Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent. It is curious, too, that, though the people, I mean the poorer classes of people, are extremely neat in their houses, and though I found all their gardens dug up and prepared for cropping, you do not see about their cottages (and it is just the same in Norfolk) that *ornamental gardening* ; the walks, and the flower borders, and the honey-suckles, and roses, trained over the doors, or over arched sticks, that you see in Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent, that I have many a time sitten upon my horse to look at so long and so often, as greatly to retard me on my journey. Nor is this done for show or ostentation. If you find a cottage in those counties, by the side of a *by lane*, or in the midst of a forest, you find just the same care about the garden and the flowers. In those counties, too, there is great taste with regard to *trees* of every description, from the hazel to the oak. In Suffolk it appears to be just the contrary : here is the great dis-sight of all these three eastern counties. Almost every bank of every field is studded with *pollards*, that is to say, trees that have been *beheaded* at from six to twelve feet from the ground, than which nothing in nature can be more ugly. They send out shoots from the head, which are lopped off once in ten or a dozen years for fuel, or other purposes. To add to the deformity, the ivy is suffered to grow on them, which, at the same time, checks the growth of the shoots. These pollards

become hollow very soon, and, as timber, are fit for nothing but gate-posts, even before they be hollow. Upon a farm of a hundred acres these pollards, by root and shade, spoil at least six acres of the ground, besides being most destructive to the fences. Why not plant six acres of the ground with timber and underwood? Half an acre a year would most amply supply the farm with poles and brush, and with every thing wanted in the way of fuel; and why not plant hedges to be unbroken by these pollards? I have scarcely seen a single farm of a hundred acres without pollards, sufficient to find the farm-house in fuel, without any assistance from coals, for several years.

However, the great number of farm-houses in Suffolk, the neatness of those houses, the moderation in point of extent which you generally see, and the great store of the food in the turnips, and the admirable management of the whole, form a pretty good compensation for the want of beauties. The land is generally as clean as a garden ought to be; and, though it varies a good deal as to lightness and stiffness, they make it all bear prodigious quantities of Swedish turnips; and on them pigs, sheep, and cattle, all equally thrive. I did not observe a single poor miserable animal in the whole county.

To conclude an account of Suffolk, and not to sing the praises of Bury St. Edmund's, would offend every creature of Suffolk birth; even at Ipswich, when I was praising *that place*, the very people of that town asked me if I did not think *Bury St. Edmund's the nicest town in the world*. Meet them wherever you will, they have all the same boast; and indeed, as a town *in itself*, it is the neatest place that ever was seen. It is airy, it has several fine open places in it, and it has the remains of the famous abbey walls and the abbey gate entire; and it is so clean and so neat that nothing can equal it in that respect. It was a favourite spot in ancient times; greatly endowed with monasteries and hospitals. Besides the famous Benedictine Abbey, there was once a college, and a friary; and as to the abbey itself, it was one of

the greatest in the kingdom; and was so ancient as to have been founded only about forty years after the landing of Saint Austin in Kent. The land all round about it is good; and the soil is of that nature as not to produce much of dirt at any time of the year; but the country about it is *flat*, and not of that beautiful variety that we find at Ipswich.

After all, what is the reflection now called for? It is that this fine county, for which nature has done all that she can do, soil, climate, sea-ports, people; every thing that can be done, and an internal government, civil and ecclesiastical, the most complete in the world, wanting nothing but to *be let alone*, to make every soul in it as happy as people can be upon earth: the peace provided for by the county rates; property protected by the law of the land; the poor provided for by the poor-rates; religion provided for by the tithes and the church-rates; easy and safe conveyance provided for by the highway-rates; extraordinary danger provided against by the militia-rates; a complete government in itself; *but having to pay a portion of sixty millions a year in taxes, over and above all this; and that, too, on account of wars carried on, not for the defence of England; not for the upholding of English liberty and happiness, but for the purpose of crushing liberty and happiness in other countries; and all this because, and only because, a septennial parliament has deprived the people of their rights.*

That which we *admire* most is not always that which would be *our choice*. One might imagine, that after all that I have said about this fine county, I should certainly prefer it as a *place of residence*. I should not, however: my choice has always been very much divided between the woods of Sussex and the downs of Wiltshire. I should not like to be compelled to decide: but if I were compelled, I do believe that I should fix on some vale in Wiltshire. Water meadows at the bottom, corn-land going up towards the hills, those hills being *down land*, and a farm-house, in a clump of trees, in some little cross vale between the hills, sheltered on

every side but the south. In short, if Mr. BANNER would give me a farm, the house of which lies on the right-hand side of the road going from Salisbury to Warminster, in the parish of Norton Bovant, just before you enter that village; if he would but be so good as to do that, I would freely give up all the rest of the world to the possession of whoever may get hold of it. I have hinted this to him once or twice before, but I am sorry to say that he turns a deaf ear to my hinting.

So much for the *country*: now, let us see a little what the folks in the *Wen* have been doing, and first, with regard to the *taking off of taxes*. On the 4th of March, our noble Prime Minister said, that with regard to the taking off of taxes, all that could be done consistently with the safety and honour of the *country had been done*; that the *conquests* that we had made during the war must be *paid for*, must be maintained at the nation's expense; that, in short, all the taxes must be continued, or the conquests must be given up. This our prime cock said on the 4th of March. On the 15th of March (only eleven days later) came this prime gentleman's Chancellor of the Exchequer, and announced the Duke's intention to take off three millions four hundred thousand pounds of the taxes! So much for consistency. Well, and now let us see what the taking off of these taxes will do. The taxes are those on *beer*, *leather*, and *cider*. That on *cider* amounts to much about a fifth part of the sum annually sent to Hanover, and other foreign parts, to give half-pay and allowances to the *foreign officers* (and their *widows* and *children*) who were employed in England during the last war. The *leather tax*, which amounts to about half a million of money annually, is so much of burden got rid of; the *beer tax* it is good to take off; but if the licensing system be at all continued, if the trade in beer be not *quite free*, here will be little more than a putting the amount of the tax into the hands of the monopolising brewers. The *malt tax* was the thing to take off: that is the root and the trunk of the

burden: the beer tax only one of its branches. The country people, who are suffering the most, will receive no benefit from the taking off of this tax: the malt tax would have enabled every man to *brew his own beer*; the greater part of countrymen would have made their own malt. I showed, in my "*Cottage Economy*," how destructive this tax was to the morals of the people, and how ruinous it was to the owners and tillers of the land, and what stupid and base fools the landowners were to suffer a tax to exist which compelled the people of England to give their money to the negro drivers for their sugar, and to the Scotch jobbers in India and Leadenhall-street for their tea, instead of giving it to them for their barley; and I remember when these tame reptiles silently heard the impudent CASTLEREAGH observe, that it was a happy change that the people of England had *taken to drink tea instead of beer!* But what have these base men not endured, and made the people of England endure, from Scotchmen and from Irishmen? The taking off of the beer tax is a sop to pot-house politicians, and to the sots of great towns, the *Wen* in particular. To be sure it is a part taken from the *general burden*, and so far it is good; but what is the *amount* after all? It is three millions and a half out of sixty millions, and I take upon me to assert, that this nation cannot pay *thirty millions* a year in taxes in the present currency for any length of time. Prices must come back to the mark of ninety one; all the shuffling in the world will not prevent it. Farmers are now living on their capital: every man of them says it: and, upon that capital, they cannot live any very great while. So much for taxes, the reduction in which will be felt as nothing. Even ten or fifteen millions would not have been felt; for, as my friend, Mr. DAVENPORT, very justly observed, the alteration in the currency has doubled the taxes. Sensible GOULBOURN, however, actually anticipates a return to prosperity *next year*. The sensible man does not recollect that, for thirty-four years England never has before been without one-

pound notes; and he may be assured, that, without one-pound notes, we must go back to the prices that existed before one-pound notes were made. Mind that, sensible GOULBOURN: mind, I say that, and then, the rational question to put is this: Can the people pay fifty-six millions and a half of taxes a year with wheat at four shillings and sixpence a bushel? That is the question, sensible GOULBOURN; had the two last been *average harvests*, wheat would now have been four shillings and sixpence the bushel; and it is not a bit the better for the farmer that it is higher, because the high price arises from the *smallness of the quantity*; and, it is no difference to me whether I have two bushels of wheat to sell at four shillings and sixpence the bushel, or one bushel to sell at nine shillings. You observe, sensible GOULBOURN, that timber, coppice-wood, meat, butter, eggs, have all fallen since the year 1825, in a much greater proportion than corn has fallen. The reason is, sensible Goulbourn, that those articles have not been affected in their price by the seasons. So that, in fact, the price of corn has come down as well as other prices; and therefore the question is, whether we can pay the fifty-six millions a year with wheat at four shillings and sixpence the bushel. I say that we cannot pay the interest of the Debt only, with wheat at that price.

A fig for your *Corn Bill*, sensible Goulbourn. The Corn Bill, a more exclusive one than this, did not prevent the fall of prices in 1822. Poh! therefore, for the Corn Bill; and to a stand-fast you must come, unless you come to an equitable adjustment, or to a return to the small paper-money. Now, with regard to the small paper-money, amongst the few sensible things that I have observed to be said in the House of Commons, was the following by Sir R. VIVIAN; that, "sooner or later the Government must resort to a *depreciated standard*, or commit a *direct and open bankruptcy*"; after this depreciated standard there seems to be a continual hankering. LORD CAR-

RICHMOND's motion, said, "that he would allow two and three pound notes to circulate, and they would carry the five-pound notes along with them." I told sensible Goulbourn, in 1828, that the one-pound notes were the *legs* which the five-pound notes marched upon; so that his lordship's figure is very much like mine; but he is very much mistaken if he thinks that the two and three pound notes would do. They would give us the feast of the gridiron, to be sure; but they would blow the thing up in a few weeks, without a bank restriction; and that would blow it up in a few months. The motion of the DUKE of RICHMOND, "for a select committee to inquire into the internal state of the country, the condition of the working classes, and the effect of taxation upon productive industry," led to a debate in which the ministers and their friends contended that the committee would produce no good; that it would excite false hopes, and would lead to a discussion *about the currency*. In this debate JOHN LORD ELDON took a part, and from him, as appears by the report, came the following rather *old-fashioned* observations: "the EARL of ELDON said, that if their lordships were disposed to satisfy the people that they wished to relieve them, the first step should be to inquire into the causes of the distress under which they were suffering. This was a point he was anxious to press most particularly upon them, because their own interests were involved in the consideration of the question; for it had long been the boast of England that all classes of its children were, as it were, dovetailed together in a community of affection for each other and the constitution. He remembered the mischievous projects that were afloat in the years 1792-3-4 and 5, and how parliament had succeeded in putting an end to them; and he hoped that their lordships would, by the vote of that night, be enabled to terminate projects of a similar nature which were then in agitation. He trusted, accordingly, that there would be no longer any ob-

"jection upon the part of the House to
"the motion for a committee."

What the deuce could the good Lord mean? "He remembered," he said, "the mischievous projects that were on foot in 1792-3-4-5, and HOW Parliament had succeeded in putting an end to them; and he hoped that their lordships would, by the vote of that night, be enabled to terminate projects of a similar nature which are now in agitation." What, then, did he expect that the Lords were going to vote for bills to put down the *sedition distress*? Good LORD JOHN does not seem to perceive that distress will not be put down by *sedition bills*, nor by prosecutions for *high treason*. Good LORD JOHN has, doubtless, the political Union of Birmingham in view; but, if the good Lord were to get a vote for punishing the gentlemen at Birmingham, would that terminate the distress? and, if it would not, of *what use* would the committee be? The good Lord seems to have no notion at all of any *remedy* that is not of a *coercive* nature. Parsons are always for *preaching* down distress; and lawyers for *hanging* it, or putting it in irons. Set at it, good LORD JOHN: indict the distress; or file an information against it. You remember, do you, HOW Parliament succeeded in putting an end to the projects of 1792-3-4-5? We *all* remember it as well as you, LORD JOHN. We all remember how Parliament *succeeded*. But that was a different affair, LORD JOHN! Then we had a debt that required only nine millions and a half a year to pay the interest of it, and now we have a debt that requires more than thirty millions a year to pay the interest and charges of it. We had then taxes to the amount of about thirty millions a year, LORD JOHN (1795), and we have now taxes to the amount of fifty-six millions a year, LORD JOHN. In the year 1816 I recommended to the Attorney General of that day to file an *ex-officio* information against that seditious devil, *the debt*, assuring him that it was quite useless to prosecute any body else. You would not follow my advice; but, in 1817, you passed the Gagging and

Dungeon Bills; and in 1819 you passed the Banishment Bill and the Blasphemy Bill; and in spite of all these here is this abominably seditious distress come, clamouring and bawling from month's end to month's end. In short, my LORD JOHN, if Parliament had *not* succeeded in putting an end to the projects of 1792-3-4-5, there *would have been a reform of the Parliament*, LORD JOHN; there would have been *no war against the people of France*, if the projects of 1792 had succeeded; and the nation would never have known its present distresses, and the peers would never have been in that terrible alarm which is evinced in all they say and all they do. It is odd that LORD JOHN should have chosen this occasion to disclaim having been the *introducer* of the Bank Restriction Act in 1797. He was Attorney General at the time, at any rate; and he supported the bill. He, as well as LORD CARNARVON, seems to hanker after the small notes; and is reported to have observed, that "the poor-rates in his native county of Northumberland were only eighteen-pence in the pound, while, in some of the southern counties, they were as high as twenty shillings in the pound. He could very easily account for this, for the small notes would no more stay in Scotland than any thing else would. In that part of the country the people were too far north for the southerners, and they manage better than to want small notes merely because the Ministers said they should not have them." Now, this may-be a false report of his speech; for words so foolish as these certainly never could drop from the lips of man. What! does this man think that these Scotch small notes come into Northumberland and *prevent the distress there*? And does he not know that the distress of the farmers in Scotland is greater than it is in England; and does he not see, poor old gentleman, that, if the paper were so abundant in Scotland as to *cause it to keep up prices there*, there would be an *exchange* between Scotland and England *against Scotland*? Does he not see, that it is impossible that it should be

otherwise than this? Verily, verily, a committee composed of men like this would be likely, indeed, to discover the means of giving us relief! With regard to the fact of the difference of the poor-rates in the north and in the south, it is no criterion at all. The state of society is wholly different; the manner of living is wholly different. A Sussex man will not live upon outmeal and burgoon. I thank God that he will not. LORD JOHN appears to have been as fond of the sweet recollections of 1792-3-4-5, as a man in his dotage is of the recollections of his days of courtship; for here he returns to them again, at the close of his speech in the following most affecting and most poetical language: "In the disturbances that took place in 1792-3-4-5, the affections of the great body of the people were *not disturbed by the distresses* which oppressed them, for they saw that Parliament was anxious to relieve them; and they therefore *concurred in those wars* which Parliament, *by their concurrence*, was enabled to support, and by the support of which the noble Duke opposite had made himself so illustrious. The state of England was like a great and *glorious pillar*; the people formed its base; then came those of a little higher rank; then still a little higher, until it reached the *apex*, on which stood the *Monarch* of the country. If the distresses of those who formed the basis of that pillar were entirely neglected, he need not tell the House *what would ensue*. There was not an Englishman of that class that was *not enduring, in the most exemplary manner*, distresses difficult to conceive, and too painful for him to describe; and he thought the people were entitled to have those distresses patiently and carefully investigated by their lordships."

In the first place, LORD JOHN, "the great body of the people" are *not the same persons* now that they were at the time of the sedition bills and the trials for high treason. Those persons are gone, and a new set are come to supply their place; and this set understand *trap* a little better than the set

of 1796. But, LORD JOHN, how could you blunder upon a comparison of dates, which at once knocked up the whole of your argument! In 1792-3-4-5, LORD JOHN, the people were not, as you say, "disturbed by the distresses which oppressed them," and for this very good reason, LORD JOHN, that the people then *knew no distresses*! Your friend PITT's paper-money was coming tumbling out in bales; prices were higher than they are now a great deal; they were double what they are now in proportion to the amount of the taxes! Think of that, LORD JOHN, and think a little whether it were wise to introduce the comparison.

The people "*concurred*" with the Parliament, did they, in *undertaking the wars* which the Parliament, *by the people's concurrence*, were enabled to support? Again I remind you, Lord John, that the people were not the same people; that the people of that day were not distressed; that the people had not then seen Bank Restriction and Peel's Bill, and Banishment Bill; that the people had not then seen the Manchester affair of the 16th of August; that the people were promised *indemnity* for the past, and *security* for the future; that the people never dreamed that they were to pay interest for twice as much as was borrowed in their name; that they never dreamed that they should be ruined by hundreds of thousands, and that a DUKE OF RICHMOND would come into the House of Lords and say, upon his honour, that he had "seen men harassed like cattle and drawing carts, being driven by a driver." When the people, LORD JOHN, *concurred* with the Parliament in undertaking the wars, the people were not told that these would be the consequences: the people were *humbugged*, LORD JOHN, and now they can be humbugged no longer. That is the difference, LORD JOHN; and I can hardly believe that the reporter has not misrepresented you, in making you start a comparison like this. With regard to the "*glorious pillar*"; with regard to the "*apex*"; and with regard to the monarch, enjoy the beauty of your eloquence, LORD JOHN.

But with regard to the last sentence of this reported speech; about the people enduring, in the most exemplary manner *those distresses*, "too painful" for you, dear man, to describe; with regard to this patient endurance, I join you with all my heart. There have been, indeed, some few instances of their going to collect the poor-rates themselves with sticks in their hands; some few instances of their cuffing and kicking of overseers; one instance of their shooting at an overseer; some few instances of this sort; but I agree with you, LORD JOHN, entirely, that they have endured their distresses, and do endure them in a most exemplary manner! And I think with you, that they are entitled to have their distresses carefully investigated by your lordships; and I agree with you further, that if their sufferings be not inquired into, and put an end to, it is not necessary to say "what will ensue." The "base" being neglected, I suppose, the pillar, (Burke's Corinthian pillar,) you think, will be shaken, and the "pillar" and the "apex" may come tumbling down together? That's right, LORD JOHN. Take care of the basis, then remove its distresses, LORD JOHN; and now, being in perfect harmony with you, I heartily bid you farewell for the present.

LORD RADNOR, though he did not resort to *poetry*; though he did not resort to the "basis," the "pillar," and the "apex," did something a little better: gave a most complete answer to the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, and to all who contended that the distress was partial or light; showed, by indubitable facts, the real state of the country; referred to the case of Manchester particularly, and to the high authority of Mr. RICHARD POTTER of that town, who, his Lordship said, had been described to him as a gentleman of singular benevolence, and one who contributed much to the relief of the poor at Manchester. Most justly had he been described to him; for such another man there is not, perhaps, to be found; a man who has not only bestowed *his money* with unsparing hand, but who has been *personally* as diligent in his attentions to the

suffering poor, as if his own life depended upon their being happy; a man worthy of being confided in implicitly by LORD RADNOR; and to say more in his praise would be needless. His Lordship did another good thing in his speech: he defended the farmers against the general imputation of having, for their own interests, combined to introduce the practice of paying wages in the shape of relief; and said the practice was introduced by a very worthy clergyman for the best purposes, though the result had been contrary to his wishes. His Lordship described the state of the poor, their sufferings of every description, and spoke of them in a manner to prove that he felt what he said; but, above all things, he insisted on the necessity of a *reform of the House of Commons*. He said that, "the people called for reform because their hope of relief from Parliament is withered, and they seek for those who will represent their feelings in the House of Commons (hear); therefore, at Penenden Heath meeting, the other day, he was not surprised to hear that a general cry of reform prevailed; and it was remarkable that, though at that meeting there were many speakers, there was only one who did not declare himself friendly to reform. (Hear.) In the petition from Andover, presented by the noble Earl below him, a prayer for reform would have been introduced, but, in consequence of the boroughreave refusing to call a meeting when that subject was to be discussed, it was not proposed, and one speaker, who alluded to it, was called to order. At Birmingham something decided was more done; and he called on their Lordships to attend to what was going on in that town. There was a political union established by men of great knowledge and experience. It was determined upon at a most respectable meeting, attended by 12,000 men. It had its correspondents and funds, and the burden of its song was for reform in Parliament. (Hear.) A noble Earl said there was good sense enough in the country to induce the

"people to look up to Parliament; but he believed the people were tired of looking to Parliament for redress. (Hear.) And if Parliament gave no relief, he feared they would cease from doing so altogether. (Hear.) Indeed the great object which cemented the meeting at Birmingham was, the conviction that the legislature did not attend to the petitions of the people. (Hear.) He was a reformer, a radical reformer. (Hear.) He confessed himself one, and he felt no reproach in so doing. (Hear.) He was so, and he had been long so; and the reason which induced him to become one was, that he did not think that Parliament had attended to the voice of the people, and that the people were not represented in the House of Commons." (Hear.)

It is but a little remarkable that the noble Earl was *cheered* while he was saying this. When I was in the North, particularly at Manchester, the question was frequently put to me: "What is LORD RADNOR about?" My answer always was: "I do not know; but be you assured that he will do what is *right*." I was asked how he came to say nothing upon the Catholic Bill; to which I answered by saying, that, seeing all the circumstances connected with that bill, and particularly seeing that it disfranchised a great part of the voters in Ireland, I should not have been at all surprised if he had voted *against* that bill; for I am sure I should not have known what to do myself in that case, clogged, as the bill was, with the disfranchisement of three hundred thousand men, and with the oppressive regulations as to the Jesuits; I should have been disposed to vote against it. With regard to LORD RADNOR, however, we have *the acts of his life* for our guide. Not only has he never given a vote *hostile* to the liberties of the people, but he has never neglected both to vote and to speak against every attack on those liberties. It is not now, when so many peers show that they are alarmed at the dangers which are approaching; it is not now that he has begun to speak in favour of the

suffering people. In the dismal years of 1817 and 1818, when BURDETT was as mute as a mouse, or was spending his time in parties of pleasure amongst the squirearchy of Ireland, LORD RADNOR, though he had never invited the people to form clubs and societies for reform, became the zealous defender of men whom BURDETT had abandoned; he visited the prison in his own county, in which some of them were confined; and did every thing in his power to alleviate their sufferings, in spite of rebuffs from the Government; and, I dare say, in spite of the disapprobation of many of his own rank. The manner in which he spoke of JOHN KNIGHT, who was confined in Reading jail; the manner in which he did this in Parliament, ought never to be forgotten, and never will be forgotten, by the people. When I was at Manchester, there came to me a deputation from OLDHAM, and amongst them, that very JOHN KNIGHT. They reminded me of the noble conduct of LORD RADNOR, at which I was very much pleased.

His Lordship did not wait *until these times* to declare himself a parliamentary reformer. Eight years ago, at a meeting in his own county of Berks, he himself brought forward, or supported, I forget which, a petition for parliamentary reform. He said then that which has now been found to be true, that the measure was politic as well as just; and that it was as necessary to the peers themselves, if not more necessary, than to the people. So that, this is no *new* language of his Lordship; nothing invented to suit the times: it has always been his way of thinking, as proved by his conduct.

The *cheers* which his Lordship received are really not a bad omen. He has never been deficient in anything but in that of justly estimating his own sound understanding and great capacity. There is not a man in the kingdom, *without a single exception*, who understands more thoroughly every principle connected with the currency of the country; and this he has shown, too, by his acts many years ago. They might despise *my* advice; but he warned them

of their danger nearly ~~ten~~ years ago; foretold, in his place in the House of Commons what would be the fatal result of these destructive tamperings with the value of money. When answered, by an empty jest, from the saucy CANNING, the House cheered the shallow brawler; and was not that enough to convince any man that a reform was absolutely necessary?

WM. COBBETT.

TO DR. BLACK

Hargham, 22d March, 1830.

DEAR DOCTOR,

IN one of your papers of last week, you have greatly misrepresented me. I impute it to the *twist* (you know what I mean), the Caledonian twist; and not to premeditated malice. You say that I predicted, that if the Scotch small-notes were left in existence, TWO PRICES would take place in Scotland. I never said any thing so foolish, Doctor. This is what I said, that the Scotch Small-note Bill was perfectly useless; for that those notes never could come into England to make face against gold; and that the quantity of them could not be kept up so as to cause prices to be higher in Scotland than in England; because if that were to be done, there would be an *exchange* between Scotland and England disadvantageous to Scotland. Accordingly we see, that prices have been lowered in Scotland just the same as in England; the quantity of Scotch notes has been greatly diminished; and if you be not aware of the terrible ruin amongst the Scotch farmers, I am.

I request you to copy this letter from my Register into your paper, as I have not time to write to you by post, which I should otherwise do. My readers will all recollect that what I have now stated is perfectly correct; but if you can point out any part of any Register to make good the truth of your statement, you will, of course, do it.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Lynn, 23d March, 1830.

THE news has just arrived, that the King of France, in imitation of those sensible and fortunate people, the STUARTS, has sent the representatives of the people packing, because they, in their address to him, interfered, as it is called, with his royal prerogative. He appears to have prorogued them, doubtless, with a design to dissolve them; and, as was the case with the STUARTS, they will, I dare say, come back in a worse humour than that in which they went away. In the meanwhile, they have voted him no money! Alas, what an unfortunate thing for him that there are no rotten boroughs in France! There is no telling, as yet, how this matter may end; but one of two things is very likely to happen; a turning out of the present ministry in France, or another revolution; and *this time*, we cannot go to war, and cannot pay subsidies, to put down Jacobin principles in France. The people of France know this as well as we do: they know what a pretty situation we are in; and notwithstanding the Duke of Wellington's fine talk about being prepared for war; they are by no means afraid of him. They find their debt heavy, and they will not be fools enough to continue to be ruined and distressed by that debt. The honour of preserving *national faith* with villanous Jews and jobbers, they will leave to us.

COBBETT-LECTURES.

I HAVE now settled on the following route. To be at ELY on Thursday, the 25th March; at CAMBRIDGE on Friday, the 26th, and Saturday, the 27th; at ST. IVES on Monday, the 29th; at STAMFORD on Wednesday, the 31st of March, and on Thursday, the 1st of April; at PETERBORO' on Friday, the 2d; at WISBEACH on Saturday, the 3d; and at LYNN on Tuesday the 6th, and Wednesday, the 7th.

THE wheat is here rising in price; but fat pork, and fat beef are 5s. the stone of 14 lbs.; that is, about 4½d. a

pound! The men of the country amounts to more than the corn of the country. The timber, the coppice-wood, and the wool, are at less than half of the price of 1812; and the corn would be the same had the two last been harvests of average produce. All will come down a great deal lower. In 1812, fat hogs were 18s. a score, and fat oxen 20s. in Hampshire; 13s. the one, and 14s. the other, the stone of 14 pounds.

AMERICAN FOREST TREES, AND APPLE AND PEAR TREES.

I NOTIFIED, last spring, that I should not have a great many *forest-trees* to sell this year. I have, however, some of the following sorts, and at the prices put against them.

FOREST TREES.

LOCUSTS, two years old, transplanted, 7s. a hundred.

BLACK WALNUT, very fine and large, 4s. a hundred.

BLACK SPRUCE, two years old, transplanted, 10s. a hundred.

RED CEDAR, three years old, transplanted, 6d. each.

N. B. I would recommend planters to raise the Locust trees *from seed*, agreeably to the directions, contained in my book, entitled, "THE WOODLANDS," which explain the whole matter very fully. In general, not a tenth part of the seed come up; but this is because it is *not sowed in the proper manner*. See paragraphs from 383 to 387, inclusive. Follow these directions, and you will never fail. I shall have some *fine seed*, in a short time, from America, and some other American tree-seeds also.

APPLE TREES.

No. 1. Newtown Pippin.

2. Rhode Island Greening.

3. Fall Pippin.

4. Concklin's Pie Apple.

} 2s each.

These are all the sorts that I have now, and they are all that I think necessary. The first is the finest flavoured apple in the world, and it will keep till May.

The second is good from November till February; the third, from fall till Christmas; and the fourth is an incomparable *pie apple*, and a good keeper. They are all great bearers; and the wood is of free growth. The plants are as fine as it is possible for them to be. The stocks were *twice removed*; the roots are in the best possible state for removing; and if planted according to the directions contained in my "ENGLISH GARDENER," they will grow off at once, and speedily bear.

PEAR TREES.

I have eighteen sorts of pears, omitting, I believe, no one that is held in much estimation. The first and the last sort, No. 1. and No. 18., are from America. No. 1. is an extraordinarily fine eating pear, the like of which I had never seen before. No. 18. is a baking pear of most exquisite flavour, and a great and constant bearer. I had lost this sort, but I got some cuttings from Long Island in 1827, put them upon a large stock in the spring of that year, and these cuttings have begun to bear already, having yielded a dozen pears this year. This pear always bears in abundance, and for baking, and making perry, it surpasses all others, and beyond all comparison, as far as my observation has gone. My pears are, this year, all upon *seedling* pear-stocks; the stocks were removed; and, therefore, the roots will be in the best possible state for the transplanting of the trees. The scions, or cuttings, were chosen so as to be of the exact size of the stock; the grafting was done in the neatest manner, and the plants are clean and beautiful accordingly. I venture to say, that these pears never were exceeded, either in growth or shoot or condition of root, by any that ever came out of a nursery. They are growing at Kensington, as well as the other trees. The price of the pears is, as it was last year, *three shillings a piece*. The list is as follows:

No. 1. American Fall Pear.

2. Jargonelle.

3. Ganzal's Bergamot.

4. Brown Beurée.

5. Crassanne.

6. Colmar.

7. Saint Germain.
8. Winter Bergamot.
9. Bishop's Thumb.
10. Chaumontel.
11. Summer Bergamot.
12. Poire d'Auch.
13. Winter Bonchrétien.
14. Summer Bonchrétien.
15. Green Chisel.
16. Williams's Bonchrétien.
17. Orange Bergamot.
18. Long-Island Perry Pear.

These pears are those which I recommend in my book on Gardening. I have omitted one or two, because, at the time of grafting, I could not procure cuttings of them from persons whom I could depend upon as to the sort; but the list is, nevertheless, pretty full, and any gentleman with these trees in his garden, will have a good succession of this table fruit from Midsummer to February.

Orders for these trees will be received at Fleet-street, or by letter (postage paid). I suggest the utility of sending in the orders as quickly as convenient; because, if long delayed, the variety is diminished, and the executing of the orders is not so well attended to. Gentlemen will be pleased to give very plain directions, not only with regard to the place whither the trees are to be sent, but also with regard to the mode of conveyance, and the particular inn or wharf where the packages are to be delivered.

N.B. The Locusts are all either gone or ordered.

THE ENGLISH GARDENER; or, A Treatise on the Situation, Soil, Enclosing, and Laying-out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-Beds and Green-Houses, and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard; and also, on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers; concluding with a Calendar, giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other Labours to be performed in the Gardens in each month of the year. *Price 6s.*

THE WOODLANDS:

OR,

A TREATISE

On the preparing of ground for planting; on the planting; on the cultivating; on the pruning; and on the cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods;

DESCRIBING

The usual growth and size and the uses of each sort of tree, the seed of each, the season and manner of collecting the seed, the manner of preserving and of sowing it, and also the manner of managing the young plants until fit to plant out;

THE TREES

Being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin name being prefixed to the directions relative to each tree respectively.

This is a very handsome octavo book, of fine paper and print, price 14s. and it contains matter sufficient to make any man a complete tree-planter.

COTTAGE ECONOMY; containing information relative to the Brewing of Beer, Keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, Ewes, Goats, Poultry, and Rabbits, and relative to other matters deemed useful in the conducting the Affairs of a Labourer's Family; to which are added, Instructions relative to the Selecting, the Cutting, and the Bleaching, of the Plants of English Grass and Grain, for the purpose of making Hats and Bonnets; to which is now added, a very minute account (illustrated with a Plate) of the American manner of making Ice-Houses. *Price 2s. 6d.*

A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing instruction for propagating and cultivating the plant, and for harvesting and preserving the crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the produce is applied, with minute directions as to each mode of application. *Price 5s. 6d.*

YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA; treating of the Face of the Country, the Climate, the Soil, the Products, the Mode of Cultivating the Land, the Prices of Land, of Labour, of Food, of Raiment; of the Expenses of House-Keeping, and of the Usual Manner of Living; of the Manners and Customs of the People, and of the Institutions of the Country, Civil, Political, and Religious. *Price 5s.*

PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, The History and Mystery of the NATIONAL DEBT, the BANK of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper-Money. A new edition. *Price 5s.*

EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.

Just published, at my shop, No. 183, Fleet Street, a volume under this title, price 2s. 6d. in boards, and consisting of *ten letters*, addressed to *English Tax-payers*, of which letters, the following are the contents:—

Letter I.—On the Question, Whether it be advisable to emigrate from England at this time?

Letter II.—On the Descriptions of Persons to whom Emigration would be most beneficial.

Letter III.—On the Parts of the United States to go to, preceded by Reasons for going to no other Country, and especially not to an English Colony.

Letter IV.—On the Preparations some time previous to Sailing.

Letter V.—Of the sort of Ship to go in, and of the Steps to be taken relative to the Passage, and the sort of Passage; also of the Stores, and other things, to be taken out with the Emigrant.

Letter VI.—Of the Precautions to be observed while on board of Ship, whether in Cabin or Stowage.

Letter VII.—Of the first Steps to be taken on Landing.

Letter VIII.—Of the way to proceed to get a Farm, or a Shop, to settle in Business, or to set yourself down as an Independent Gentleman.

Letter IX.—On the means of Educating Children, and of obtaining literary Knowledge.

Letter X.—Of such other Matters, a knowledge relating to which must be useful to every one going from England to the United States.

It grieves me very much to know it to be my duty to publish this book; but I cannot refrain from doing it, when I see the alarms and hear the cries of thousands of virtuous families that it may save from utter ruin.

SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects:—1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and object of Tythes. These Sermons were published separately; while selling in Numbers, some of them exceeded others in point of sale; but, upon the whole, considering them as independent publications, there have been printed of them now, two hundred and eleven thousand. A new edition. Price 3s. 6d.

POOR MAN'S FRIEND; or, Essays on the Rights and Duties of the Poor. Price 1s.

Just published, No. VIII. of

COBBETT'S ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN, and incidentally to **YOUNG WOMAN**. I have begun with the **YOUTH**, and shall go to the **YOUNG MAN** or the **BACHELOR**, talk the matter over with him as a **LOVER**, then consider him in the character of **HUSBAND**; then as **FATHER**; then as **CITIZEN** or **SUBJECT**.

TULL'S HUSBANDRY.—The Horse-hoeing Husbandry; or, A Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation; wherein is taught a method of introducing a sort of Vineyard Culture into the Corn-fields, in order to increase their product, and diminish the common expense. By **JETHRO TULL**. With an Introduction, containing an Account of certain Experiments of recent date, by **WILLIAM COBBETT**. 8vo. 15s.

This is a very beautiful volume, upon fine paper, and containing 466 pages. Price 15s. bound in boards.

I knew a gentleman, who, from reading the former edition which I published of **TULL**, has had land to a greater extent than the whole of my farm in wheat every year, without manure for several years past, and has had as good a crop the last year as in the first year, difference of seasons only excepted; and, if I recollect rightly, his crop has never fallen short of thirty-two bushels to the acre. The same may be done by any body on the same sort of land, if the principles of this book be attended to, and its precepts strictly obeyed.

PROTESTANT "REFORMATION," in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries; in a series of letters, addressed to all sensible and just Englishmen. A new edition, in two volumes; the price of the first volume 4s. 6d., and for the second 3s. 6d.

MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE, Second Edition, Price 2s. 6d. This Work contains a Sketch of the Face of the Country, of its Rural Economy, of the Towns and Villages, of Manufactures, and Trade, and of such of the Manners and Customs as materially differ from those of England; Also, an Account of the Prices of Land, House, Fuel, Food, Raiment, Labour, and other Things, in different parts of the Country; the design being to exhibit a true picture of the present State of the People of France. To which is added, a General View of the Finances of the Kingdom.

To be had at 183, Fleet Street.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, April 3d, 1830.

[Price 7d.]



"The cause of the use of this false appellation, 'learned languages,' is this, that those who teach them in England have, in consequence of their teaching, very large estates in house and land, which are public property, but which are now used for the sole benefit of those teachers, who are, in general, the relations or dependents of the aristocracy. In order to give a colour of reasonableness to this species of appropriation, the languages taught by the possessors, are called 'the learned languages'; and which appellation is, at the same time, intended to cause the mass of the people to believe, that the professors and learners of these languages are, in point of wisdom, far superior to other men; and to establish the opinion, that all but themselves are *unlearned* persons. In short, the appellation, like many others, is a trick which fraud has furnished for the purpose of guarding the snug possessors of the property against the consequences of the people's understanding the matter—COBBETT'S ENGLISH GRAMMAR, Letter XXI.

EASTERN TOUR.

Cambridge, 28th March, 1830.

I WENT from Hargham to Lynn on Tuesday, the 23d; but owing to the disappointment at Thetford, every thing was deranged. It was market-day at Lynn, but no preparations of any sort had been made, and no notification given. I therefore resolved, after staying at Lynn on Wednesday, to make a short tour, and to come back to it again. This tour was to take in Ely, Cambridge, St. Ives, Stamford, Peterborough, Wisbeach, and was to bring me back to Lynn, after a very busy ten days. I was particularly desirous to have a little political preaching at Ely; the place where the flogging of the English local militia under a guard of German bayonets cost me so dear. I got there about noon on Thursday, the 25th, being market-

day; but I had been apprised even before I left Lynn, that no place had been provided for my accommodation. A gentleman at Lynn gave me the name of one at Ely, who, as he thought, would be glad of an opportunity of pointing out a proper place, and of speaking about it; but just before I set off from Lynn, I received a notification from this gentleman, that he could do nothing in the matter. I knew that Ely was a small place, but I was determined to go and see the spot where the militiamen were flogged, and also determined to find some opportunity or other of relating that story as publicly as I could at Ely, and of describing the *tail* of the story; of which I will speak presently. Arrived at Ely, I first walked round the beautiful cathedral, that honour to our Catholic forefathers, and that standing disgrace to our Protestant selves. It is impossible to look at that magnificent pile without *feeling* that we are a fallen race of men. The cathedral would, leaving out the palace of the bishop, and the houses of the dean, canons, and prebendaries, weigh more, if it were put into a scale, than all the houses in the town, and all the houses for a mile round the neighbourhood, if you exclude the remains of the ancient monasteries. You have only to open your eyes to be convinced that England must have been a far greater and more wealthy country in those days than it is in these days. The hundreds of thousands of loads of stone, of which this cathedral and the monasteries in the neighbourhood were built, must all have been brought by sea from distant parts of the kingdom. These foundations were laid more than a thousand years ago; and yet there are vagabonds who have the impudence to say that it is the Protestant religion that has made England a great country. Ely is what one may call a miserable little town: very prettily situated, but poor and mean. Every thing seems to be on the decline, as, indeed, is the case everywhere, where the clergy are the masters.

They say that this bishop has an income of £18,000 a year. He and the dean and chapter are the owners of all the land and tithes, for a great distance round about, in this beautiful and most productive part of the country; and yet this famous building, the cathedral, is in a state of disgraceful irreparable disfigurement. The great and magnificent windows to the east have been shortened at the bottom, and the space plastered up with brick and mortar, in a very slovenly manner, for the purpose of saving the expense of keeping the glass in repair. Great numbers of the windows in the upper part of the building have been partly closed up in the same manner, and others quite closed up. One door-way, which apparently had stood in need of repair, has been rebuilt in modern style, because it was cheaper; and the churchyard contained a flock of sheep acting as vergers for those who live upon the immense income, not a penny of which ought to be expended upon themselves while any part of this beautiful building is in a state of irreparable ruin. This cathedral was erected "to the honour of God and the Holy Church." My daughters went to the service in the afternoon, in the choir of which they saw God honoured by the presence of *two old men*, forming the whole of the congregation. I dare say, that in Catholic times, five thousand people at a time have been assembled in this church. The cathedral and town stand upon a little hill, about three miles in circumference, raised up, as it were, for the purpose, amidst the rich fen land by which the hill is surrounded, and I dare say that the town formerly consisted of houses built over a great part of this hill, and of, probably, from fifty to a hundred thousand people. The people do not now exceed above four thousand, including the bed-ridden and the babies.

Having no place provided for lecturing, and knowing no single soul in the place, I was thrown upon my own resources. The first thing I did was to walk up through the market, which contained much more than an audience sufficient for me; but, leaving the market people to carry on their affairs, I

picked up a sort of labouring man, asked him if he recollected when the local militia-men were flogged under the guard of the Germans; and, receiving an answer in the affirmative, I asked him to go and show me the spot, which he did; he showed me a little common along which the men had been marched, and into a piece of pasture-land, where he put his foot upon the identical spot where the flogging had been executed. On that spot, I told him what I had suffered for expressing my indignation at that flogging. I told him that a large sum of English money was now every year sent abroad to furnish half-pay and allowances to the officers of those German troops, and to maintain the widows and children of such of them as were dead; and I added, "You have
"to work to help to pay that money;
"part of the taxes which you pay on
"your malt, hops, beer, leather, soap,
"candles, tobacco, tea, sugar, and every
"thing else, goes abroad every year to
"pay these people: it has thus been
"going abroad ever since the peace;
"and it will thus go abroad for the rest
"of your life, if this system of managing the nation's affairs continue; and
"I told him that about one million seven
"hundred thousand pounds had been
"sent abroad on this account, *since the
"peace."*

When I opened, I found that this man was willing to open too; and he uttered sentiments that would have convinced me, if I had not before been convinced of the fact, that there are very few, even amongst the labourers, who do not clearly understand the cause of their ruin. I discovered that there were *two* Ely men flogged upon that occasion, and that one of them was still alive and residing near the town. I sent for this man, who came to me in the evening when he had done his work, and who told me that he had lived seven years with the same master when he was flogged, and was bailiff or head man to his master. He has now a wife and several children; is a very nice-looking, and appears to be a hard-working man, and to bear an excellent character.

But how was I to harangue? For I

was determined not to quit Ely without something of that sort. I had told this labouring man who showed me the flogging spot, my name, which seemed to surprise him very much, for he had heard of me before. After I had returned to my inn, I walked back again through the market amongst the farmers; then went to an inn that looked out upon the market-place, went into an up-stairs room, threw up the sash, and sat down at the window, and looked out upon the market. Little groups soon collected to survey me, while I sat in a very unconcerned attitude. The farmers had dined, or I should have found out the most numerous assemblage, and have dined with them. The next best thing was, to go and sit down in the room where they usually dropped in to drink after dinner; and, as they nearly all smoke, to take a pipe with them. This, therefore, I did; and, after a time, we began to talk. The room was too small to contain a twentieth part of the people that would have come in if they could. It was hot to suffocation; but, nevertheless, I related to them the account of the flogging, and of my persecution on that account; and I related to them the account above stated with regard to the English money now sent to the Germans, at which they appeared to be utterly astonished. I had not time sufficient for a lecture; but I explained to them briefly the real cause of the distress which prevailed; I warned the farmers particularly against the consequences of hoping that this distress would remove itself. I portrayed to them the effects of the taxes; and showed them that we owe this enormous burden to the want of being fairly represented in the Parliament. Above all things, I did that which I never fail to do, showed them the absurdity of grumbling at the six millions a year given in relief to the poor, while they were silent, and seemed to think nothing of the sixty millions of taxes collected by the Government at London; and I asked them how any man of property could have the impudence to call upon the labouring man to serve in the militia, and to deny that that labouring

man had, in case of need, a clear right to a share of the produce of the land. I explained to them how the poor were originally relieved; told them that the revenues of the livings, which had their foundation in *charity*, were divided amongst the poor. The demands for repair of the churches, and the clergy themselves; I explained to them how church-rates and poor-rates came to be introduced; how the burden of maintaining the poor came to be thrown upon the people at large; how the nation had sunk by degrees ever since the event called the Reformation; and, pointing towards the cathedral, I said, "Can you believe, gentlemen, that when that magnificent pile was reared, and when all the fine monasteries, hospitals, schools, and other resorts of piety and charity, existed in this town and neighbourhood; can you believe, that Ely was the miserable little place that it now is; and that that England which had never heard of the name of *pauper*, contained the crowds of miserable creatures that it now contains, some starving at stone-cracking by the way-side, and others drawing loaded wagons on that way?"

A young man in the room (I having come to a pause) said; "But, Sir, were there no poor in Catholic times?" "Yes," said I, "to be sure there were. The Scripture says, that the poor shall never cease out of the land; and there are five hundred texts of Scripture enjoining on all men to be good and kind to the poor. It is necessary to the existence of civil society, that there should be poor. Men have two motives to industry and care in all the walks of life: one, to acquire wealth; but the other and stronger, to avoid poverty. If there were no poverty, there would be no industry, no enterprise. But this poverty is not to be made a punishment unjustly severe. Idleness, extravagance, are offences against morality; but they are not offences of that heinous nature to justify the infliction of starvation by way of punishment. It is, therefore, the duty of every man that is able; it is particularly the duty of

every government, and it was a duty faithfully executed by the Catholic church, to take care that no human being should perish for want in a land of plenty; and to take care, too, that no one should be deficient of a sufficiency of food and raiment, not only to sustain life, but also to sustain "health." The young man said: "I thank you, Sir; I am answered."

I strongly advised the farmers to be well with their work-people; for that, unless their flocks were as safe in their fields as their bodies were in their beds, their lives must be lives of misery; that if their stacks and barns were not places of as safe deposit for their corn as their drawers were for their money, the life of the farmer was the most wretched upon earth, in place of being the most pleasant, as it ought to be.

I must now go back, and trace myself along from Lynn to Cambridge Downham, in Norfolk, is the first market-town from Lynn. The land surprisingly fine, and the wheat good every where, as, indeed, I have found it in all the eastern counties; that is to say, the *plant* is good, meaning thereby that there are plenty of plants upon the ground: it must be six weeks hence before one can determine the probable amount of the crop. I walked on from Lynn towards Downham, leaving my son and daughters to come after me; and at a village called Stowe, I went into a public-house and got a piece of cold pork, and a pint of small beer, while I was dispatching which, I saw a sort of gamekeeper come out of a gentleman's paddock, in which was a large house not far from the road. He had with him a parcel of pointers and setters, some of the finest and most beautiful that I ever saw, and all in the prime condition. I asked the landlady whose dogs those were? She said, "Mr. Peel's, Sir." "Oh, oh!" said I to her, "do you know, mistress, that you and I help to keep those dogs in that fine condition?" She laughed, said nothing; but I could see that she clearly understood me. "Did you ever hear of *Peel's Bill*?" said I. She said she had not. "Well," said I, "mistress, that

"bill, of which your neighbour was the author, has produced all this distress that we hear so much of." Just at this time the carriage came up, and I, having finished my breakfast, went on towards Ely; a great part of the way to which consists of fen land, for which, I understand, this season is one of the finest that ever was known.

I walked on again from Ely on Friday morning. I had taken nine miles of it on the Thursday, and this morning I found a public-house at the end of nine miles and a half, where I repeated the dose of cold pork and a pint of beer, and where the carriage overtook me. The landlady here lamented the law about to be passed for throwing open the trade in beer. The house was her husband's own, and he (probably some lord's late servant) had added to its value enormously by obtaining a license. It is a *free* house; but the man buys his beer of a brewer in Cambridge, not having premises whereon to brew it; and, which is very curious, sells it at a halfpenny a pot *cheaper* than the same beer is sold at houses that are not free. This landlady, a nice young woman, with a very pretty little child, said that she hoped that the trade in beer would not be made free. I asked her *why*. She said that there would be everlasting drunkenness and rowing. I told her, that it did not seem reasonable to suppose that; for that drunkenness, and particularly rowing, arose from men congregating together in considerable numbers; that if the trade were free, the places of sale would be more numerous, the drinkers more dispersed, and that, therefore, the freedom of the trade, in my simple judgment, would have a tendency to produce a diminution of the drunkenness and the rowing. She was not prepared for this, and hurried off to get me my pint of beer; so true it is, that people are always averse from cordially approving of that which is contrary to their own private interest.

We got into Cambridge after passing through a country of corn and of pasture, of fat sheep and fat oxen, and after passing several farms, which had formerly been either monasteries, or the

seats of gentlemen. Every thing, go where I will, except in the blown-up places of Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, bespeaks a dilapidated, a decaying, a defaced country. At one place, between Lynn and Downham, there are standing the four walls of a large ancient church, in a church of great extent. At Streatham, on the Cambridge side of Ely, there is in the midst of a tract of the finest land that can be imagined, a village (formerly a large town, I dare say) in the most miserable state as to buildings, as to fences, as to farm-yards, that the eyes of man ever beheld. There appears to have been a monastery at this place formerly. Every where you see barns, stables, and such places, patched-up out of the formerly religious edifices; and you see the stone taken out of those that have been pulled down. There is a beautiful ancient cross at Streatham, which, to my surprise, I saw taken great care of; for, in general, these monuments of antiquity are either suffered to fall down, or are applied to the vilest of purposes.

We got into Cambridge about noon, with the intention of my giving a little common sense in this seat of pretended learning. I naturally expected that these pretenders would be eager to expose what they would deem my want of learning. Just the contrary; for the Vice-Chancellor, having the jurisdiction of the whole place, play-house and all, as far as relates to matters of this sort, refused to let me lecture either at the play-house, or any where else. Intelligence of this had been sent me to Ely; but it arrived after I came away. Upon my arrival, finding this to be the case, I determined to apply to the Vice-Chancellor myself; and, in consequence of that determination, the following correspondence took place:

“*Cambridge, 26th March, 1830.*”

“SIR,—Some days ago I requested Mr. Hatfield to engage the theatre, or some other suitable place, wherein I was to deliver a lecture or speech in this town. I have just learned from him, that this cannot be legally done without the permission of the Vice-

Chancellor of the University, which post, you, I am informed, at present fill. Mr. Hatfield has further informed me, that he made an application to you yesterday morning for this purpose: and that, in the afternoon of yesterday he received from you a decided refusal.

“Now, Sir, the case to lay before the public is this: I am here for the purpose of establishing, in the presence of such persons as may choose to come and hear me, many propositions necessary for the people to understand and imbibe: and, amongst these, the following:

- “1. That the distress which at present pervades the country, is to be ascribed *solely* to the acts of the Ministry and the Parliament.
- “2. That this distress will not pass away without the application of some great and efficient remedy; and that such remedy is not at all likely to be adopted, unless there be a radical reform in the Commons’ House of Parliament.
- “3. That no reduction of taxation, consistent with any thing like justice to the fundholders, can afford the country relief; unless concurrent with such reduction, there be an appropriation of a large part of the public property, commonly called *church property*, (including the college property) to the defraying the interest of the Debt, and to other public purposes.
- “4. That it is agreeably to the usages and constitution of England; agreeably to the common and statute law, that the people, by their representatives, should deal with, and dispose of, this property, as they may think best; and that no persons, having at present a particular interest in such property, have *any claim in bar* to such right on the part of the people.
- “5. That it is not only expedient to apply this property in the manner above mentioned; but that it is just, strictly just and equit-

- "able, towards the clergy themselves."
- * 6. That within these very few years, "we have seen one law passed, *without any remonstrance on the part of the clergy*, authorising men openly to deny the *divinity of Christ*; or, at least, to remove the penalty awarded by the statute to that denial: another law passed, also *without remonstrance on the part of the clergy*, declaring, in effect, the religion of any Protestant Dissenter whatsoever, to be *as good* as that of the church; another law passed by assent of a majority of the bishops, declaring, in effect, that the *Protestant Reformation was unnecessary*, with regard to which latter law I heartily concur with those bishops.
- * 7. That there is a bill now before the House of Commons, for what is called *emancipating the Jews*; that the clergy of the church are totally silent upon the subject of this bill; and that, if this bill pass, those who call OUR SAVIOUR an IMPOSTOR, who justify the hanging of him upon the cross, and who boast of their descent from his murderers, will be capable of sitting on the bench as judges, of sitting in the Parliament as members of the lower House, and as peers; and of sitting in the council with the King himself.
8. That, therefore, and for other reasons to be stated by me, the property, commonly called church property, ought to be now by law, as it formerly was by law, dealt with, and disposed of, for the general purposes of the nation, now so borne down by debts contracted chiefly for the purposes of upholding this establishment.
- "Sir, I am in Cambridge for the purpose of stating and maintaining publicly these propositions. I propose to you, to select, if you please, the ablest of your disputants. A convenient place shall be provided for one, or even for half a dozen of them, and I engage that they shall be heard in silence while they answer me, if they choose to answer; and I engage, further, not to say a word by way of reply.
- "Upon these conditions, and with a pledge, on my part, to do nothing having a tendency to disturb the peace of the town, I request your permission to hold my lectures here either at the play-house, or some other suitable place, that I shall find within your jurisdiction. I further beg leave to request you to send me an answer, yea or nay, to this proposition, to the Bull Inn, by four of the clock this afternoon, apprising you, in addition, that, in order to explain to my friends the cause of the disappointment which they will experience I, in case of your refusal, shall find it necessary to publish this letter immediately. I am, Sir,
- "Your most humble,
"and most obedient servant,
"WM. COBBETT.
- "P.S. If your notification of assent do not arrive by four o'clock, I shall deem the non-arrival to be a refusal."
- "Downing Lodge, 26th March.
"SIR,—The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. CHAFY, being suddenly called to London, has placed in my hands, as his deputy, your letter dated March 26th. "I have read it attentively. Its contents strongly confirm the opinion which, from my general impressions upon the subject, I gave to the Vice-Chancellor yesterday, viz., that he ought to refuse his assent to your proposal.
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This FRERE is, they tell me, the *Master of a College!* That is to say, the *head teacher* of a collection of young men, who are to be made learned by being in that college! Judge of his qualifications for the post when you are informed, that he was what they call *at the bar* for several years, and until, I believe, two or three years ago. But he is the brother of that JOHN HOOKHAM FRERE, who was CANNING's associate in writing the Anti-Jacobin newspaper, about thirty years ago; who has since been our pretty ambassador at Madrid, and who is, I suppose, now quietly quartered upon a pension for his valuable services. They are the sons of a man who was a back-bone supporter of PITT. He was a member for Norwich at one time; and these sons are deriving the benefit conferred by his immense services.

Now, reader, look at the motto which I have prefixed to this Register. When I first published my opinion, that the learned languages were, generally speaking, worse than useless, I had these colleges in my eye; and I saw that here was an immense mass of public property, which was taken away from the public, and given to the aristocracy and its dependents, under the false and shameful pretext of upholding the learning of the country, and particularly of upholding its religion. These colleges were endowed by our Catholic forefathers, and not for the sake of the aristocracy alone; but for the diffusion of knowledge amongst the people in general; for the providing of a stock of deeply learned men. What would they have said if they had been told that the day would come, when a mere barrister, whose name had hardly ever been

heard of, would be taken and provided for by being made the master of one of these colleges? Here, in this very instance, we have a proof of the soundness of the opinions relative to this subject expressed in my Grammar. Following the paragraph, which I have taken for a motto, is the following. "It is "curious enough, that this appellation "of *learned languages*, is confined to "the English nation. Neither in France, "in Spain, in Italy, nor in Germany, is "this false and absurd appellation in "use. The same motives have not "existed in those countries. There the "monks and other priests have inherited "from the founders. They had not any "occasion to resort to this species of "imposition. But in England, the thing "required to be glossed over. There "was something or other required in "that country, as an apology for taking "many millions a year from the public, "to keep men to do no apparently "useful thing."

This is the true story. All the offices, all the lucrative posts in these colleges, are filled by the relations of the aristocracy or by their dependents. The whole thing is now a political machine; the people see it clearly; and the people only want to be fairly represented, to take this property, and apply it to useful purposes. Talk of *drones*, indeed! Talk of monkish drones! They were drones, were they, for whose sake the people reared all these magnificent colleges and churches and cathedrals; those were drones, who kept the poor and repaired the churches out of the tithes; who visited the sick; who visited the prisoners; who harboured the harbourless, sustained the weak, and comforted the broken in spirit. And those are not drones, I suppose, who waddle about in watering-places and in London; who live on turtle and on wine; who feast to suffocation while the people are starving; and who throw the maintenance of the poor and the repairing of the churches from their own shoulders, to the shoulders of those who pay the tithes.

But, as to my own affair, one would have thought that mere shame would

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Now, reader, look at the motto which I have prefixed to this Register. When I first published my opinion, that the learned languages were, generally speaking, worse than useless, I had these colleges in my eye; and I saw that here was an immense mass of public property, which was taken away from the public, and given to the aristocracy and its dependents, under the false and shameful pretext of upholding the learning of the country, and particularly of upholding its religion. These colleges were endowed by our Catholic forefathers, and not for the sake of the aristocracy alone; but for the diffusion of knowledge amongst the people in general; for the providing of a stock of deeply learned men. What would they have said if they had been told that the day would come, when a mere barrister, whose name had hardly ever been

heard of, would be taken and provided for by being made the master of one of these colleges? Here, in this very instance, we have a proof of the soundness of the opinions relative to this subject expressed in my Grammar. Following the paragraph, which I have taken for a motto, is the following. "It is curious enough, that this appellation of *learned languages*, is confined to the English nation. Neither in France, in Spain, in Italy, nor in Germany, is this false and absurd appellation in use. The same motives have not existed in those countries. There the monks and other priests have inherited from the founders. They had not any occasion to resort to this species of imposition. But in England, the thing required to be glossed over. There was something or other required in that country, as an apology for taking many millions a year from the public, to keep men to do no apparently useful thing."

This is the true story. All the offices, all the lucrative posts in these colleges, are filled by the relations of the aristocracy or by their dependents. The whole thing is now a political machine; the people see it clearly; and the people only want to be fairly represented, to take this property, and apply it to useful purposes. Talk of *drones*, indeed! Talk of *monkish drones*! They were drones, were they, for whose sake the people reared all these magnificent colleges and churches and cathedrals; those were drones, who kept the poor and repaired the churches out of the tithes; who visited the sick; who visited the prisoners; who harboured the harbourless, sustained the weak, and comforted the broken in spirit. And those are not drones, I suppose, who waddle about in watering-places and in London; who live on turtle and on wine; who feast to suffocation while the people are starving; and who throw the maintenance of the poor and the repairing of the churches from their own shoulders, to the shoulders of those who pay the tithes.

But, as to my own affair, one would have thought that mere shame would

restrain this Vice-Chancellor and his dignified deputy from discovering fear at any impression that I might have been able to make in the vicinity of their luxurious abodes. Here am I, a private person, totally divested of all influence; personally unknown to every creature here, except one family; having no power other than that of my mere name and reputation, to draw an audience about me; divested of all the means, even of personal defence, if such defence had been necessary; having nobody pre-engaged to give me support of any description: here am I, thus situated, and frankly stating beforehand, in distinct propositions, the opinions that I mean to maintain, and offering at the same time, to admit any persons belonging to the University, to come and controvert my opinions, backed, as they naturally would be, by all the influence of all the persons interested in the putting of me down: here am I, at this seat of learning, as it is called, thus situated, thus offering, thus flinging myself down, as it were, exposed to every possible disadvantage; and here are this Vice-Chancellor and his deputy exercising all the power which their offices give them to prevent the proposed discussion! This is a university, is it? For the maintenance of a thing like this, this nation is to apply a million a year or more of the fruits of the earnings of the people; for to that it comes at last. The revenues on which these men live, arise from the rents of lands and houses, or from tithes, all of which belong to the nation; all of which are notoriously public property; and if the revenues were applied to the uses of the nation, there would be less necessity for the taxes which are taken from the people, and which have ground the people down to dust.

Every one must be satisfied that a Parliament representing the people at large, would not suffer this abuse to exist for a year. It is a political monster: it is a thing which common sense says ought not to exist. Why, if there had been one single man of common pluck, would he not have rushed to the combat, upon the bare statement of my

eight propositions? Oh, no! they have sense enough to perceive that their cause is not maintainable. "Hold your tongue, if you are wise," is their motto. They dare not dispute. While the Debt was contracting, and the paper-money flowing, they were voluble enough. Now, when the Debt is contracted, and the paper-money drawn in; now, when the nation has to pay the reckoning for that war which these men were the foremost to promote, they are as silent as mice.

It is truly curious that they are silent when there is a bill passing for the express purpose of putting open blasphemers upon the bench, in the Parliament, and in council with the King: silent as mice now; but clamorous enough when the Catholics; when those who built the churches and endowed the colleges; clamorous as Billingsgate, when they were about to be admitted to the enjoyment of the rights now to be given to the Jews. However, enough of this matter: I have here shown what an university is made of. When I was writing my Grammar, which I did in Long Island, I little imagined that I should ever have an opportunity of coming, and, in person, challenging this University, and giving to the whole nation, and to the whole world, a practical proof of the soundness of my opinions, with regard to these expensive and useless establishments.

After the refusal of the Vice-Chancellor and his famous deputy, I was disposed to go and *dine* with the farmers (it being market-day); but I was assured, that it would, sooner or later, *be the ruin of the landlord of the inn!* Good God! Can any just man hesitate to wish for *any* event, that will put an end to a state of things like this? All over the kingdom I will give the history of these University chaps, of their insolence, their conscious incapacity, and of their horrible fears.

Turning from these people, I am sorry to say, that I do not turn to something much more worthy of respect. Babel never gave rise to confusion of tongues more complete, than the confusion of opinions and projects which are now

issuing forth in the form of Parliamentary debates. On Thursday, the 25th March, there was a debate in the House of Lords, upon Lord STANHOPE's presenting the Kentish Petition. I shall notice particularly the speech of Lord DARNLEY, and the short answer of Lord STANHOPE.

"The Earl of DARNLEY could not say, with the noble Marquis who had just addressed their Lordships, that for several years he had found no reason to oppose the measures of his Majesty's Ministers, for it so happened that hitherto he had generally found himself in opposition, though he saw no reason to complain of them in the instance now brought forward. It was said, as a sarcastic taunt, by his noble friend (Earl Stanhope) that he (the Earl of Darnley) and those who acted with him were always accustomed to oppose every thing and propose nothing. But their Lordships would recollect, that he and his noble friends had invariably proposed, and urged upon the attention of his Majesty's Ministers, one most important measure; a measure which had since been fortunately adopted, and one which he looked upon as the greatest he had ever known (the Catholic question, as we understood). He contended that the distress was much more severe in the county of Kent in the year 1822 than at present. In that year a public meeting was called for the purpose of taking into consideration the state of the agricultural interest; and the attendance of the noblemen and gentlemen of the county was very numerous, but the noble Marquis opposite (the Lord Lieutenant) was not present. Among those who attended was Mr. Cobbett, and he proposed to the meeting that what he called '*an equitable adjustment*' should take place. He (the Earl of Darnley) was the only individual who had stood out against this proposition, the whole sense of the county, as expressed by the meeting, being in favour of it, and it was finally carried amidst loud acclamations. He understood that at the late meeting at Penenden Heath, the noble Earl

(Stanhope) had proposed an address to his Majesty, and that a person, who was an auctioneer at Rochester, stood up and proposed another address, as an amendment, which was carried by a large majority. (Hear, hear) Thus did the auctioneer completely knock down the address of the noble Earl. (A laugh.) With respect to the present petition, he would ask the noble Earl if he could put his hand on his heart and say, whether there was a majority of the meeting in favour of it; or rather, whether the voice of the majority was not in favour of a very different petition; one which called for the *total abolition of tithes*? He maintained that the distress was by no means so great as was alleged. But even admitting it to the extent stated by some noble Lords, still he would ask, what were the nostrums they proposed as a remedy? Why, the currency and the corn laws. He hoped, however, that the noble Duke at the head of his Majesty's Government, had too much firmness to suffer either of these to be tampered with. The country had *already reached the lowest point of depression, and signs of improvement were visibly beginning to appear in all directions*. Government had done its utmost to afford relief in the best possible way; namely, by a reduction of taxation. His Majesty's Ministers had moreover pledged themselves to further reductions, whenever convenient opportunities should present themselves. If any man could point out a better mode of relief than that which resulted from a reduction of taxation, then he would support him heart and hand; but he did not think there could be a better. He deprecated the principle of exciting dissatisfaction and discontent in the public mind by exaggerated representations of distress.

Earl STANHOPE, in explanation said, that a majority of the meeting, though not a large one, was in favour of the present petition. With respect to what was said about an equitable adjustment, he had only to observe, that he was no friend to any such

"treasure; for he did not see how there could be any equity in doing that which was in itself inequitable. He still thought, however, that something of the kind must take place, or that there must be an issue of paper-money. He did not, at the same time, mean an unlimited issue; for, in his opinion, country bankers ought to be the distributors, and not the creators of money. Perhaps the best plan would be, that paper-money should be issued on Government security."

With regard to the meeting at Maidstone, to which Lord DARNLEY referred as having been held in the year 1822, his Lordship says, that I, at that meeting, proposed an "equitable adjustment." That is not correct. A petition, supported by him, prayed for relief in various ways. I maintained that there could be no effectual relief without a reduction of the interest of the Debt, and a reform of the Parliament; and I moved, as an addition to the petition, these words: "Your petitioners further pray, that you will make a reform in your honourable House; and that you will then make a just reduction of the interest of the Debt." His Lordship ought to recollect that I objected positively to the use of any other words than these, whether my amendment were rejected or not. A gentleman leaned his body forward, while I wrote upon his back; that gentleman wished me to add some words explanatory of the mode and degree of reduction. I objected to this, and persevered in the use of the word JUST, because with that it was impossible to find fault. His Lordship is mistaken, too, as to his being the only individual who stood out against this proposition. His own son, not only voted, but spoke against it. Skill-shally KNATCHBULL did the same. Lord HANET held his hand up against it; so that the noble Lord takes rather too much to himself in this case.

With regard to "the auctioneer at Rochester" having beaten Lord STANHOPE, the only reason was that the meeting thought with "the auctioneer," who, by-the-by, possesses quite as good a character, is much more popular,

much more beloved in the country, was much more respectfully listened to by the county in October, 1829; and as to talent, I will not do so much injustice to Mr. LARKIN as to compare him for one single moment to the Earl of DARNLEY in this respect. One can see what this sarcasm on "the auctioneer" aims at; and one can see also, why his Lordship referred to the meeting at Maidstone, in the year 1822. It was as much as to say, "These county meetings are not to be attended to; for you see one of them was guided by Mr. Cobbett, and the other by an auctioneer; each of whom carried their propositions with large majorities." The same may be said with regard to his Lordship's mention of Major WAYTH's petition for the total abolition of tithes, which he as good as says, had really a majority upon the division. All this was said with a view of lessening the authority of the meetings: as if he had said, "If you listen to these meetings, you must reduce the interest of the Debt; you must reform the Parliament; you must abolish tithes." Why, all that is true: this is what all the meetings pray for; and these things must be done, or, as Lord STANHOPE said, there must be small paper-money.

And now for these opinions of Lord STANHOPE, of whom I never speak but with the greatest respect. His Lordship acknowledges, that Major Wayth's petition produced a nearly equal division of the meeting; and I can assure his Lordship, that if he were to poll the whole country, he would find more than ninety-nine out of every hundred in favour of that petition. But with regard to the equitable adjustment, how can he make it out that the thing in itself is inequitable? What is asked for is an adjustment; that is to say, settling the thing justly. I need not, however, enter into any defence of an adjustment with Lord STANHOPE; for his Lordship himself confesses, that "something of the kind must take place, or that there must be an issue of paper-money." With very sincere respect, I beg his Lordship to consider whether this be consistent, that the adjustment

must, in itself, be inequitable; for, what would an issue of paper-money do? Would it not reduce the interest of the Debt in fact? Is it not intended to do this? And if this be its intention, as well as its inevitable effect, how can his Lordship deem a direct reduction to be inequitable?

I will not here again go over the ground of showing, for I have proved it again and again, that an issue of paper-money must blow up the whole system; but I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise, my utter astonishment, that a man of Lord STANHOPE's excellent understanding should for one moment imagine, that a paper-money, resting on GOVERNMENT SECURITY, would not be assignats! I am utterly astonished that such a thought should enter into the mind of any man living. O no, my Lord, the crazy vessel is to be saved by no contrivances of this sort? a reformed Parliament must take her gently to pieces, and put her together again; cast out her rotten planks and beams; put in sound ones in their stead; give her new pins and bolts; repair her rigging, and put her once again afloat, tight and trim: without this she goes to pieces, and happy is the man that will be found floating on the wreck.

In the House of Commons, Babel really seems to be come again: every man seems bewildered: no one appears to know which way to steer: the stars and the sun and the moon seem to be of no use to those navigators. There are all the old hankerings after the paper-money; but those who are for it give the strangest reasons for wishing it, and are so bewildered as to the consequences, that they would appear to be reading their lesson sometimes backwards and sometimes forwards; and, really, my old and often-repeated prophecy seems to be upon the eve of fulfilment: "The probabilities are," said I, "what by issuing Exchequer bills, "by loans from the Bank; by all sorts "of tricks and contrivances with paper-
"money, this thundering standing army
"will be kept up, all the enormous ex-
"penses continued, till, at last, amidst

"the war of shifts and expedients, of
"opinions, of interest, of projects and
"of passions, the whole thing will go
"to pieces like a ship upon the rocks."

And this is my opinion still. Even the miserable contest of the other night, which seemed to proclaim as a victory the taking of nine hundred from a hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds, not one single farthing of which would a reformed Parliament have granted; even this is a proof, if any proof were wanted, that the thing is drawing to its close; and Lord DARNLEY, whatever he may think or say of the matter, will find that the distress will go on gradually, becoming greater and greater. His Lordship says, that "the country
"has already reached the lowest point
"of depression, and that signs of im-
"provement are visibly beginning to
"appear in all directions." What view he may have in saying this, I cannot tell; but I can assure him that the fact is contrary to his statement, if that statement be his. When I was at Ely, a gentleman mentioned openly, in the presence of fifty persons, that in the parish of Walberton or Warberton (I forget which), there were now three men cracking stones on the road, and paid by the parish, who had all been *overseers of the same parish within the last seven years!*

This is the process going on all over the country; and this process will continue to be more and more rapid. Three years, at the farthest, would see nine-tenths of the farmers completely ruined. Lord WINCHELSEA gave a very fair description of the situation of the country; and his Lordship may be assured that Kent is not more distressed than other counties. In Gloucestershire, such has been the pressure on the poor-rates, and such the irritation of the suffering parties, that, to use the words of my correspondent, who dates his letter from Gloucester on the 15th of March, "threatening notices have been re-
"ceived, and robbery and outrage pre-
"vail to an extent never before known
"or dreamed of. Such is the pressure
"of the poor-rates in some parts, that
"several farms are offered *rent free*. A

"clergyman of one small parish, whose income from his living was £120 a year, has had £140 to pay for poor-rates within the last year. In another parish, there are 100 labourers now working on the parish roads at four-pence a day each. In what will this state of things end?"

Why, it will end in confusion; in anarchy; in revolt; unless there be that very reform of Parliament which the long and bloody French and American wars were intended to prevent. Thus, as Major CARTWRIGHT used to say, the viper has been twirling in a circle, till at last it has bitten its own tail, and the deadly venom is hastening to its heart. O foolish boroughmongers! O foolish aristocracy! O foolish clergy! The first American war created a debt that was cumbrous; but it was bearable: it was supportable: it was not absolute ruin and wretchedness: the nation was reviving; but that war brought in its suite the French Revolution; and the dread of the effects of that Revolution; the dread of the example of France, made you eager for war with that people. If you had been just; if you had been wise, you would have given the people of England parliamentary reform, which was all they asked and all they wanted: the Debt would have been pared away in time, and your titles, estates, and all the establishments, would have remained unshaken. By rushing into that war, for the very purpose, and only for the purpose, of preventing parliamentary reform, you have brought upon the country sufferings that compel men to look to all the establishments as a resource; and you are now hankering again after the base paper-money; you are seeking safety in the very thing, which, from its nature, must cause your complete overthrow.

WM. CORBETT.

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.

THE Second and Third Numbers of this work, which have been for some time out of print, are now in the press, and will be ready for sale by Monday or Tuesday next at the farthest.

CORBETT-LECTURES.

Cambridge, 29th March, 1830.

I AM just setting off for St. Ives in Huntingdonshire; shall be at Stamford on the 31st March and 1st April; at Peterborough on the 2d April; at Wisbeach on the 3d April; at Lynn on the 6th and 7th of April; at Holbeach on the 8th of April; at Boston on the 9th, and 10th April; shall go to Louth on the 11th; and from Louth I shall go to Hull; from there to Lincoln; thence to Newark; thence to Grantham; thence to Oakham; thence to Leicester, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, and on through the counties of Warwick, Salop, Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, Somerset, Wilts, Berks, Oxford, Hants, Sussex, Kent, and back to London. I request my friends in these several counties to write to me to London, as soon as they can, just to furnish me with names of persons to whom I may write, apprising them in succession of the time of my arrival at the several places; telling me of the most suitable days of the week; pointing out the places for me to go to, and suggesting to me such other matters as their kindness may bring into their minds. We are enjoined not to put our candle under a bushel, an injunction which I am determined not to disobey. The country has long had the doctrines, and it shall now see the man if it like. I have not overlooked Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, and Bedfordshire, and Northamptonshire. But I shall take them in my way when I go to Scotland, which will be about the month of June.

NORFOLK COUNTY MEETING.

(Continued from page 288.)

THE whole country was suffering under the influence of that system, and the whole country ought to unite their efforts in endeavouring to get rid of it before it did any further mischief. (Applause.)

MR. PALMER: As he was one of those who had said "No" to the gallant Colonel's question respecting the evils of free trade, he had felt himself bound to step forward (though he had not other-

wise intended to have done so) to show that he was ready to prove that the system of free trade partook of none of those evils which had been laid to its charge by the gallant Colonel. He had never heard a speech more to the purpose than that which had fallen from Sir Thomas Beevor, and he was, therefore, surprised to hear the gallant Colonel's tirade against free trade. But he was quite ready to meet the gallant Colonel on the threshold of his own argument. Whence was that gold obtained which the Colonel grudged our paying to other nations? There were no gold mines in Norfolk or Suffolk, or any other part of England, that he had ever heard of. But he would tell the manufacturers how it was got. It was purchased by their labour; by the sweat of their brow. (Applause). Gold was as much an article of commerce as any thing else (Cries of "Order!" and "Question!") He had never attended a county meeting at which he had felt more pleasure than at the present one. He had been overwhelmed with surprise at the sentiments which had been uttered by Mr Wodehouse. Were they not the very opinions that himself and his friends had been advocating so long and so urgently? Were not the people told long ago of the ruinous consequences that must attend the paper system? But they would not listen to such a cry then. The case, however, was now altered, and they would be glad of any amendment. For himself, he was opposed to the idea of a property tax, because he did not see that it was any relief to take out of one pocket to put into another. What they really wanted was to retrace their steps, and to have the true principles of legislation advocated. He trusted that the agriculturists would not think, that because he was a commercial man, he was therefore their enemy. He was not such a fool; he looked upon the nation but as one large family, with but one interest to support, and whoever abused one portion of the state inflicted an injury on the whole. Colonel Harvey complained that the waste lands of the country were not cultivated; but if that was the cry, why did he not cultivate Mous-

hold (an estate belonging to Colonel Harvey)? For a very plain reason; because it would not pay for its cultivation; and this was the criterion in all undertakings. He did not approve of the motion of Mr. Bulwer, because he thought that a free trade in beer ought to have formed part of those resolutions (applause), for he could see no reason why beer should not be sold to the people at the chandler's shop, as well as by the publican. (Cheers.) And, after all, what was the effect of this law passed by the aristocracy to take care of the morals of the people? (A laugh and cheers.) Let any one cast his eye round that city, and see how it raised the price of one of the chief articles of consumption for the poor man (applause); let any man cast his eye on the bench, and see whether the magistrates were not put there to support and carry on the shameful trickery. (Cheers.) This he stated as a fact, and he challenged contradiction. He should delight in being contradicted, because he knew that he could overwhelm them with the most undeniable proofs; he wished for nothing, therefore, more than that they would take the subject before the House of Commons, so that a Committee might be appointed, and he would answer for what should emanate from the examination of witnesses (Applause). He would answer for it, that it would be the means of unfolding a system that was both disgraceful and disgusting to humanity. He knew an instance that happened only lately, of 1,800*l.* being given for a house at Great Yarmouth. Was it worth that money intrinsically? No, but 1,200*l.* of it was given for the license alone. Hence arose one of the great sources of the corruption of the magistrates, if it were a corruption, the example of which was followed throughout the whole body. (Applause). Why was not the system of licensed houses cut down in the villages? Simply because the public-house parlour was looked upon as the head-quarters of poaching; a crime more horrible than blasphemy itself in the eyes of the squires. (Cheers). He knew not what might be the fate of Mr. Wodehouse's resolutions; but when he (Mr. Palmer)

had been asked by Sir Thomas Bevor to second his resolutions, he had declined doing so because he was not an agriculturist; and if he had not been challenged to defend the principles of free trade by Col. Harvey, he should only have been present at the meeting as a spectator, without taking any part in it. If, however, the amendment of Mr. Wodehouse should be negatived, he would advise those who constituted the meeting to proclaim for themselves those principles of Parliamentary Reform, without which the vessel of the state could not rightly be navigated. (Applause.)

Archdeacon BATHURST said, that he agreed with those gentlemen who had spoken in opposition to the original motion. The speech and the resolutions which had been given to the meeting by Mr. Wodehouse did both his head and his heart credit; and with Sir Thomas Bevor he agreed in one point, that they ought to go to the root of the evil. (Applause.) He must confess, therefore, that if the meeting was determined to come to a division on the subject, he should prefer the amendment of Mr. Wodehouse. But before there was any division, he begged leave to say a few words. He disagreed entirely in the opinion expressed by Mr. Bulwer, that in the case of a large county they ought not to interfere with advice to the Parliament or the Government as to what line of conduct they should pursue to remedy a general evil. (Hear, hear, hear.) He thought that every county had a right to take into consideration the general measures adopted by the Government, on the same principle that every man was bound to show that he sympathised with the distress of the country, and felt for the unfortunate condition of the poor. (Applause.) This ought to be the universal feeling of the gentry and clergy throughout the kingdom. (Applause.) They ought to announce that they were willing to submit to measures afflicting to themselves for the general relief of the community. After having stated this much, he did not see any objection to coming to a resolution at variance with the original proposed; but, at the same time, though

he thought that the measure first proposed was injudicious, in his opinion, he thought that it might be better to adopt it out of compliment to the six hundred requisitionists who had called the meeting, and to the expressed opinion of Mr. Coke, whose advice, had it been formerly taken, would have saved the country much distress, and for whose services they ought all of them to feel highly indebted. (Applause.) He therefore hoped that both Mr. Wodehouse and Sir Thomas Bevor would consent to withdraw their amendments, so that the original resolutions might be agreed to without opposition.

Mr. WODEHOUSE said, that when he had first introduced his resolutions, he had done so merely for the purpose of recording his sentiments; but as he found that many of the gentlemen present appeared to agree with him in opinion, he should certainly take the sense of the meeting upon them as an amendment.

Mr. CULLEY said, that being one of the requisitionists who had called the meeting, he could not have the object of his colleagues so attacked without saying a few words in their defence and his own. He had now been a farmer for about forty years, and was therefore pretty well acquainted with the habits of the labourers; formerly when they came to work, they would always bring their allowance of beer with them, but now they were only able to bring a bottle of water, (cries of shame), and what is the reason of this? Why the tax upon malt; if that were removed, the labourer would be enabled for a shilling to buy enough malt to procure him a pot of beer every day for a week, (hear,) besides having yeast enough to make a good loaf of bread. (Hear, hear.) On his own part he looked to see all taxes cut down, and the poor man not for ever made a slave of. It almost made him sick to contemplate the scene as it now presented itself; and yet no one could wonder at it. The reason why the requisitionists only meddle with the malt tax was, because they knew that a thing could not be done all at once, but must begin with a part. If a man had to plough a field, he never ex-

pected to be able to do it all at one stroke; no, he did it furrow after furrow, till the whole land was ploughed up. So, when they got that tax off, they would see (A voice in the crowd, "Radical Reform"); aye, radical reform, and everything they could wish for. (Laughter and applause.) What he wanted to see was everything taken out of the way that could oppress the country. But Mr. Palmer wanted to do everything at once: now he never knew anybody that was able to succeed at that (A voice in the crowd, "The world was not made in a day"). No, certainly not! That was a very wise observation, and the only way to get rid of taxation was by removing it piece-meal. (Applause.) How did the hewers do with the oak? He had seen some hundreds of trees felled, but never met with a Mr. Palmer who could tear one up by the roots, and lay it right down prostrate on the ground. (Laughter.)

The resolutions and amendment were then again read *seriatim* to the meeting.

Mr. LEMON said, that no one could find fault with the amendment of Mr. Wodehouse (hear, hear!), for that there was a very general distress throughout the country, no one could deny; but he had had frequent opportunities of witnessing the result of such petitions, and that result was, that when there was no specific complaint in the petition, it gave the Minister an opportunity of saying "Poor souls, how we pity them!" and there they stopped. (Applause.) But by praying for the repeal of some specific tax, they afforded no opportunity for such an answer. (Hear, hear.)

The HIGH SHERIFF was then proceeding to put the question, when

Sir THOMAS BEEVOR requested it to be understood, that if Mr. Wodehouse's amendment was lost, he had one to propose subsequently, and he therefore requested that Mr. Wodehouse's amendment might be disposed of first, without putting the original motion.

The meeting during this period was in considerable uproar, and the High Sheriff reduced the question simply to a show of hands for Mr. Wodehouse's

amendment and for the original resolution, without putting any negative to either.

The original resolutions of Mr. Bulwer were carried by a majority of about three to one.

The HIGH SHERIFF declared the original resolutions to be carried.

Sir THOMAS BEEVOR protested against this course. He ought to have been permitted to propose his amendment.

Mr. COKE then moved a vote of thanks to the High Sheriff, which was carried by acclamation, and the High Sheriff then dissolved the meeting.

After a considerable number of the meeting had withdrawn, Sir T. BEEVOR addressed those that remained. He complained very much of the conduct of the High Sheriff, and said, that instead of a vote of thanks, there ought to have been a vote of censure passed upon him. There was one point, however, which he begged them to observe, which was, that though the requisitionists had carried their resolutions, they had carried no petition, and therefore any petition that was presented to Parliament in the name of that meeting, would be a forgery. They were no longer, legally speaking, a meeting, and therefore he could not propose any motion; but, with permission, he would read to them the resolutions and petition which he had drawn up. They were as follow:

"That this meeting is of opinion that the state of distress under which all the productive interests of the country, whether agricultural, manufacturing, or commercial, have long been, and still are, suffering; and this, at a period when we have been at peace with all the world, is mainly owing to the pressure of an overwhelming burden of taxation, occasioned by an enormous public debt, a large standing army, and other unnecessarily expensive public establishments of every kind, in conjunction with an extensive change in the quantity, and consequently in the value, of the circulating medium of the country, whereby these burdens have, in effect, been doubled; and that this change has been wrought, this debt has been incurred, and is still kept up,

by a House of Commons, with the election of whom the majority of the people of Great Britain have nothing to do.

"That, although this meeting is not sanguine enough to expect, from any partial measure of relief, that permanent benefit which is to be obtained only by a vigorous and decisive course of policy, and that such a course has been pointed out in a former petition from this county; yet it is of opinion, that the total repeal of the malt, and of all other taxes on articles of general consumption, would contribute materially to the present relief of all classes of the community, more particularly of those who are most entitled to our consideration, as suffering the greatest privations; namely, those who are compelled to labour for their daily bread."

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

"The Petition of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the County of Norfolk in County Meeting assembled, this 16th day of January, 1830.

Most respectfully sheweth,

"That your petitioners, in common with all classes of the community (those only excepted who are maintained out of taxes, wrung, in great part, from an almost starving population), have long suffered, and are still suffering, under difficulties and privations which, so far from being alleviated by the hand of time, have gone on progressively increasing, whilst thousands of respectable families have been reduced to actual want, until, at length, all the productive interests of the country are threatened with either ruin or destruction.

"Your petitioners most respectfully represent to your honourable House their firm conviction that this state of distress is mainly owing to the pressure of an overwhelming burden of taxation, occasioned by an enormous public debt, a large standing army, and other unnecessary expensive public establishments of every kind; in conjunction with an extensive change in the quan-

tity, and consequently in the value of the circulating medium of the country, whereby those burdens have in effect been doubled, together with the fact, that this change has been wrought, this debt has been incurred, and these taxes have been imposed, and still continue to be raised, by the authority of your honourable House; and that it is their decided opinion that these events would not have taken place had the members of your honourable House been elected by the people at large.

"That in the month of January, 1823, your petitioners then, as now, in county meeting assembled, made a representation, and tendered a prayer to your honourable House. Time has tended to convince them that the opinions which they then expressed are right; and that it is only by the measures which they then recommended that the country can be extricated from its present difficulties. As, however, some considerable time must necessarily elapse before those measures can be fully carried into effect, your petitioners are of opinion, that the immediate repeal of the whole of the tax on malt, and of all other taxes on articles of general consumption, would be productive of some present relief to all classes of the community; more particularly to those who stand most in need of that relief as suffering the greatest privations, namely, those who are compelled to labour for their daily bread.

"Your petitioners therefore pray, that your honourable House will be pleased, immediately after the meeting of Parliament, first to repeal the whole tax on malt and all other articles of general consumption, and then forthwith to turn its attention to the consideration of the prayer of that petition which has lain so long unheeded on the table of your honourable House, with a view to carrying into effect the recommendations therein contained.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will every pray."

The rest of the meeting then separated.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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[Price 7d.



MR. COBBETT'S ADDRESS TO HIS POLITICAL FRIENDS.

*Crowland, in the Fens of Lincolnshire,
5th April, 1830.*

Pray read this paper *three times over*. It contains matter deeply interesting to me, and I hope you will think it equally interesting to you. It settles several great points; and must and will be remembered. I shall *republish it in a pamphlet* in a few days. You will see the *great importance of it*; and if any gentleman should wish to have it to *circulate*, it will be sold on the following terms: 2d. for one copy; 1s. 6d. for twelve copies; 5s. for fifty copies; and 8s. 4d. for 100 copies. Gentlemen may have parcels sent to the country, if they apply by letter, *postage paid*, to Mr. JOHN AKERMAN, No. 183, Fleet Street, London. You will see that there are many reasons why it should be *widely circulated*; why, indeed, it ought to be, if possible, in the hands of every man and woman in England and Scotland.

WM. COBBETT.

MR. COBBETT'S ADDRESS

TO THE

Tax-payers of England and Scotland,

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE

SEAT IN PARLIAMENT.

HAVING had time duly to reflect on this matter, and to state to Sir THOMAS BEEVER my views and intentions relative to it, I will now, once for all, communicate to the public not only those views and intentions, but the decided ground on which the matter must stand; or, in other words, the express condi-

tions on which, and on which alone, I am willing to undertake the *labour* and to incur the pecuniary *loss*, that must of necessity be the consequence of my becoming a member of Parliament, and doing my duty well and truly in that capacity.

These conditions are, that *ten thousand pounds* shall be subscribed, and put into *my hands*, I, pledging myself, first to purchase the *qualification* with it, and then to get the *seat*. Six thousand will be demanded for the purchase of freehold or other land; and the other *four* to secure the seat. "What! give you an *estate* of six thousand pounds worth? For what *reasons*? On what *grounds* do you propose it?"

First of all, it is not I who am the *proposer* of any thing relating to the matter. Friends, I mean friends on public grounds, have, from the first, been the proposers. I have, indeed, wished to be in Parliament; I have had this wish for more than twenty years; I have the wish still; this wish ardent; but I am by no means the proposer; nor am I to be the *gainer* by any good effects that I may be able to produce; at most, not *more* the gainer than any other tax-paying individual in the kingdom; while I must, in all probability, be a pecuniary *loser*, unless a sum, such as I have named, be given me beforehand.

For, observe, I stand pledged never to *pocket* a farthing of the *public money*, in any *shape*, or under any *pretence* or any *colour* whatsoever. It might become my duty to my country to fill some office of state; but then, I would do as General WASHINGTON did, when he became President; that is, take the salary, and *pay back* to the public all that was not required to defray expenses arising solely from the possession of my office. If, for instance, my expenses be yearly, £1,000 a year *now*; and if £500 more were required in *consequence* of my being First Lord of the Treasury; I would keep the £500; and if the

salary were £10,000, pay the £9,500 back into the Treasury. I do not say, that *every man* ought to do this. I have been, and am, peculiarly situated: to have great *fame* has always been my most anxious desire; and to have that and have *heaps of money too*, God and nature have said shall never be. I have got the first: nothing can take that from me, nor from the memory of me; and, as to the last, I have never coveted only just enough to keep above the ordinary chances of penury a most virtuous wife and children.

This being the case, it being impossible for me to derive any *benefit* in a pecuniary way from obtaining a seat in Parliament; and it being manifest to every one, that I must *cease* to follow all other gainful pursuits; it being clear that I must devote the remainder of my life to the public advantage, and not to my own and that of my family, it will, to every reasonable man, appear *just* that I should, beforehand, receive an indemnification for so great a sacrifice. For it is the first duty of every man to provide for his *own*, if he can do it without the commission of crime, legal or moral. And what is the amount? *Six thousand pounds*. In the first place this is necessary to give me a *real qualification*; and it does not become me to have, and I will not have, a *sham* qualification. To require the qualification is an unjust thing: it is one of the things of which we complain. I blame no man for resorting to it, if his object be to combat the boroughmongers. But I will never do it again: it is, at the least, a personal favour to ask; and as I have no personal advantage in view, I will never ask such favour again. The sum is 6,000*l*. And is not the remainder of all my labour *worth that*? A question that I leave to be answered by those whom I hereby inform, that every single number of the "*Advice to Young Men*" is worth much more than 100*l*. If I were to become a member of Parliament, away would go every thing else; and the nation would have every vigorous hour of my remaining life; a thing to which it has no claim without making compensation to my wife and

family, who have already suffered so much on account of my endeavours to save and to serve it.

But what *security* has the nation, that I should not pocket public money, and that I should act the disinterested part that I profess? It has ample security; better security than the most cautious of mankind ought to demand of any man. For, in the first place, and without reference to any particular facts, must not every reflecting man be satisfied, that, if I had been capable of being feed, or bribed, or paid for the use of my pen, I might, with my moderate way of living, have now had an estate larger than I could have ridden a horse round in a day? Is there any such man who does not think, that if I had been capable of receiving it, of the about *six millions* which have been expended in "*secret service money*," since I began to write and publish, some stray hundred thousand, or so, would have been impounded by me? It is notorious, that, for now more than twenty-five long years, I have been the great and constant and only really sharp and efficient thorn in the side of that system which has, at last, brought this great country to the verge of convulsive ruin; it is notorious, that I have been the evening and the day star, the moon and the sun and the aurora of the press; that all the other parts of it have come twinkling behind me, shining now and then, indeed, but shining with a borrowed light. I have always led the way at a great distance forward; I have foreseen, foretold, every event, every effect; my *predictions* have, in due succession, become *history*; I have been the teacher of the nation; the great source of political knowledge, and of all those powerful arguments by which so many hundreds of thousands are now able to combat this nefarious and desolating system of sway. Is there a man of ordinary information who does not know all this? And, knowing this, and knowing the powerful motives the assailed system must have had to silence such a pen, and knowing also the millions that it has always had at its command; is there any man who thus

knows, who must not believe, that if I had been capable of touching public money, I should not, at this day, have wanted a legal qualification to sit in Parliament? Nay, is there any such man who must not be convinced, that, if I had a mind, I might, *even now*, with ample qualification, be in Parliament in a month from the day that this that I am now writing shall come from the press?

Here, as to this point, I might stop; but bare justice to myself calls on me to appeal, on this occasion, to particular facts. The greater part of these facts are known to many; but to *young men* in general they must be wholly unknown. The detail may be tedious, but it is my just due.

As a writer, I began my career in *Philadelphia*, 1791. The French war had just then begun; I, who was then twenty-eight years old, and two years married, having been eight years before in the army (chiefly in New Brunswick), and having been made the serjeant-major of the regiment at the age of nineteen, and knowing nothing at all of the merits of the French Revolution, or of the war of England against it, took up the pen in defence of the character, and what I deemed the cause, of my own country. The people of America, still sore from the wounds of their war against England for liberty, were so loud and so enthusiastic in the cause of the French, that the far greater part of the young men, hoisted the famous tricoloured cockade; and every thing seemed to indicate that the Government would be forced into a war with England in aid of the French. I, first by occasional pamphlets, and afterwards by a newspaper, took the English side; the force of my writings gave them effect; that effect was prodigious; it prevented that which both Governments greatly dreaded; peace between America and England was preserved; but the hostility excited against me produced unjust and villanous prosecutions; and though the main part of the expense of one of the prosecutions was generously defrayed by some public-spirited men (chiefly *Scotchmen*) in

Canada, the weight of the rest fell upon me; and I had to come to England, in 1800, stripped of a fortune, leaving thousands of pounds in small debts due to me, scattered all over that immense country; leaving behind me my curses on the tyrannical and corrupt Government of PENNSYLVANIA; but leaving also my blessings on some of the kindest friends that man ever knew, and those friends *Quakers*, one of whom (*JAMES PAUL*, after whom I named my own son James four years afterwards) I always cite as an example for all mankind.

We came home from New York, I, my wife, and two little children, in the post-office packet, for which I paid very highly. Stopping at Halifax, I was very graciously received by the Duke of Kent, then commander-in-chief in the province of Nova Scotia. Arrived at Falmouth, I was most kindly lodged and entertained by the collector of the customs. For my same had, even then, spread very widely amongst all persons connected with the Government. Arrived in London, (July, 1800,) I took a hired lodging, and was deliberating what I should do with my slender means, amounting to only about 500*l.*, the proceeds of the sale of goods and books at New York.

While I was at Philadelphia, making that gallant and most effectual stand against the French influence, our *envoy* there was Sir ROBERT LISTON, who, *on the part of the Government at home*, offered me, in the presence of Lord HENRY STUART, *great pecuniary reward*; and the public believed that I had it. This reward I *refused*. He then proposed, that provision should be made for any of my *re'utions* in England that might need it, which I *also refused*, saying, that they might not be made *happier* by it, and that, at any rate, they, having rendered no public service, had no right to live on the taxes paid, in part, by other labouring people. I should have some scruple in stating this, both the gentlemen being now *dead*; but I published it while the former was alive, in January, 1817; and, besides this, he, being called as a wit-

ness on a trial of me for a libel on Lord Handwicke, in 1803, *stated all this* in the Court of King's Bench, *on his oath*: and as Lord Henry Stuart was very intimate with Lord Folkestone (now Earl of Radnor), I dare say, that the latter frequently heard my conduct, in this respect, described by the former; and, perhaps, to this I partly owe the unshaken friendship of the Earl of Radnor for now thirty years, and which his Lordship has been always, and is always, ready openly to avow. A most worthy man he was, a most faithful and able envoy: he and the Government did nothing wrong in making the offer; for my services to England were so great, so manifest, that it would have been criminal not to have made the offer.

Before I proceed to speak of my reception in London, I cannot refrain from relating, though it be rather of a private character, a circumstance that took place in Philadelphia, because it is illustrative of *my disposition*. I rented my house at more than 300*l.* sterling a year of Mr. JOHN OLDEN, of that city, who was a very rich man, a Quaker, having a wife, two sons, and a daughter. He was rather a *free* Quaker; liked to laugh, and liked my gay and slap-dash conversation. He offered to *give me the house*. I refused to have it in spite of all he could say. He then wanted to give it to my wife, who also refused; and, indeed, if I could have laid my head upon that just and disinterested and generous bosom for half a dozen years, and could still have retained, if I had ever possessed it, one single selfish feeling, I must have been a callous wretch indeed! Mr. OLDEN died suddenly, in 1799; and his eldest son was surprised, that I did not come with the *will*, and take the house, his father having told many persons that I was to have that house. He left no will, and the law made the usual division of his great property. I should not have related this were it not notorious in Philadelphia, and were not that son now alive. I had rendered no *service* to Mr. Olden, and, therefore, did not think it just to take the property from his family.

Arrived in London, all who knew the

history of my exploits in America, supposed, as a matter of course, that showers of gold were about to fall upon me. Many persons will recollect that, in 1803, the late Mr. WYNDHAM said, in the House of Commons, that I, for my services in America, "*merited a statue of gold*." In a few days after my arrival, I was, by him, who was then secretary at war, invited to dine at his house, with a party, of whom PIERCE and CANNING were two. I was, of course, very proud of this invitation; and I felt more than ever disposed to use my talents in support of the system as it was then going on; which stood in real need of support, for Bonaparte was making fearful progress; and I resolved in my mind to set up a daily paper.

While, however, I was thinking about this, Mr. GEORGE HAMMOND, the under secretary of state for foreign affairs (Lord Grenville being the secretary), sent for me to his office, and made me an offer of a Government paper. The Government had two, the TRUE BRITON and the SUN; the former a morning and the latter an evening paper. They were *their property*, office, types, lease of houses, and all; and the former was offered to me as a *gift*, with all belonging to it. My refusal of Sir ROBERT LISTON's offer had convinced them, that to offer *money* was of no use. This course, therefore was taken. My answer to Mr. HAMMOND was conveyed in reminding him of the fable of the *wolf* and the *mastiff*, the latter of which having, one night, when loose, rambled into a wood, met the former all gaunt and shagged, and said to him, "Why do you 'lead this sort of life? See how fat and 'sleek I am! Come home with me and 'live as I do; dividing your time between eating and sleeping.' The 'ragged friend having accepted the 'kind offer, they then trotted on together till they got out of the wood, 'when the wolf, assisted by the light 'of the moon, the beams of which had 'been intercepted' by the trees, spied a 'crease, a little mark, round the neck 'of the mastiff. 'What is your fauce,' said he, 'for making that mark round

"'your neck?' 'Oh,' said the other, 'it is only the mark of my collar that my master ties me up with.' 'Ties you up!' exclaimed the wolf, stopping short at the same time; 'Give me my ragged hair, my gaunt belly and my freedom'; and so saying, he trotted back to the wood."

In short, I refused the offer, though worth several thousand pounds; a fact *stated by me in my Register of January 1817*, when Mr. HAMMOND was alive, as I hope he now is. From that moment, all belonging to the Government looked on me with *great suspicion*. I set up my daily paper; but I knew nothing of such a business, which demanded thousands in place of a few hundreds; and, which is very well worth recording, the *advertisements of the Government, which were given even to their opponents*, were never, in one single instance, given to me! So strong is their hatred of every thing like freedom of mind. They had proof of my zeal and talent; but, they were more afraid of my *disinterested* friendship, than they were of the interested hostility of their most desperate foes.

My daily paper was soon gone, and with it *more* than all that I possessed in the money way; and if I had not been aided by a private subscription, set on foot by Mr. WYNDHAM, and the good Dr. LAWRENCE, this famous Register never could have been begun. But though thus treated by the Government, I, still thinking it right as to the war, gave it all the support in my power, as far as related to that war, though I opposed ADDINGTON, who, in 1801, had become Minister. I opposed the *peace of Amiens*, which was nothing but a disgraceful and hollow truce; but when the war began again, and when, in 1803, *invasion* was threatened, and when I was foolish enough to believe that it was intended, I wrote a paper called, "*Important Considerations for the People of England*." This was given to CHARLES YORKE, then secretary of state, and the Ministry caused *more than a million* of copies to be printed; they sent them through the general post-office to all parts of the

kingdom; the paper was, in many parishes, *read from the pulpit*; as the effect was great and universal; and the apology that I have to offer for having been instrumental in this work of delusion, is, that I was inexperienced; that my zeal outran my knowledge; that I was sincere in the alarm that I expressed, and that *I refused the reward offered me by the Government*.

It was this refusal to which the London COURIER alluded in 1817, lamenting that a man "*so disinterested*" should be so "*perverse*." The nation was at that moment *crying shame*, that such a man should be driven from his native country to avoid a dungeon, which was nearly certain death. The hearts of even the rapacious tax-devourers seem to have been softened at seeing such a man compelled to flee, and leave his wife and young children behind him. Mr. PONSOMBY said to a gentleman who told it me: "It is a stain on the character of the country, that the talents of such a man should be extinguished in such a way." This was the feeling of every man but BURDETT, who owes more to me than was my due from all the rest of the nation put together, and of whose ingratitude I have plenty to say by-and-by. The COURIER, seeing this feeling to be so prevalent, fell so far into it as to extol *my talents*, and my *rare disinterestedness*, observing, that the editor himself knew, that, in one instance, I had refused to receive a reward for my writings, "*when, from the circumstances, the sum must have been considerable*." This will be found in the COURIER of April or May, or late in March, 1817. The COURIER (like many others) thought I was *gone for ever*; and that, therefore, it might safely be civil in writing my *epitaph*! But the moment that it found that I was *still alive*, it began again to revile me.

And if I had had a mind, even in 1817, to touch the public money, I might have remained in safety, and with *ten thousand pounds in my pocket*; or, at least, such an offer was made me, by a gentleman in whose word and authority I firmly believed. The sole condition was, *future silence*. I gave no

answer, but, with my two eldest sons, resolved upon flight, it being manifest that *silence*, or a *dungeon*, must attend my staying; and, observe, a dungeon was *silence*; for the use of pen, ink, and paper, was not to be, and *was not*, allowed to the victims. As to *courage*, of what use was that, unless I had, in my single person, been a match for the standing army? The *courage* that was wanted was, to take myself across the sea; to tear myself from a wife and small children, especially considering the state in which that wife then was, and which made it impossible for her to go on board of ship without manifest danger to her life. The *real courage* was shown in coming back again in the face of the *Manchester massacre*, and remaining in the face of *six acts*, passed, in their severest parts, expressly for me. I, who was in London, watching the progress of the dungeon-scheme, seeing what it was to be, sent for my wife to come up from Botley, and told her what I had resolved on. She did not utter a single plaintive accent: a few big tears rolled down her face; she resumed her smiles in an instant, and, having come up in the night, she prepared for returning (seventy miles) to her children the next night, which she did. The part which the sordid and callous and ungrateful BURDETT acted upon this occasion, I shall have hereafter to notice.

As many, who will read this, have never heard of the ruinous sentence passed upon me in 1810, I must here speak of it rather in detail; because out of it grew most important consequences to me, and especially the affair of BURDETT. In 1809, some young men at Ely, in what was called the "*local militia*," had refused to march without the "*marching guinea*," which the Act of Parliament awarded them. This was called *mutiny*; and a body of *Hanoverian* horse were brought from Bury St. Edmund's, to *compel these young Englishmen to submit to be flogged!* They were flogged, while surrounded by these *Hanoverians*; and the transaction was recorded in the *Courier* ministerial paper. I, in my Register,

expressed my indignation at this, and to express it too strongly was not in the power of man. For this I was, after a year's harassing, sentenced to be imprisoned two years in Newgate, *amongst felons*, to pay a fine to the good old King of 1,000*l.* at the end of the two years, and to be held in bonds, 5,000*l.* myself, with two sureties in 3,000*l.* each, to *keep the peace* and be of *good behaviour* for *seven years* after that; and, what was never heard of before, my printer, my publisher, and a bookseller, were all prosecuted and put into prison for printing and publishing the article. Every one regarded it as a sentence of *death*; and it was *intended* to be a sentence of death. I was followed to the prison by my excellent friend, Mr PETER WALKER, Major CARTWRIGHT, and Mr. ASBURY DICKINS, an American, whom I had known in Philadelphia, and who, casting his eyes round the gloomy yard, and on the infamous wretches who were to be my companions, exclaimed, "Damnation! Is this the way that they repay all your services and all your sacrifices in America!"

My wife arrived in about half an hour after; but before that time, I had *bought* myself out of the company of felons. By great favour, I finally obtained leave to occupy two rooms in the jailor's house, paying for them *twelve guineas a week*, and it required *eight more* to fee the various persons, and to get leave to walk an hour on the leads of the prison in the morning: so that here were 2,080*l.* during the two years, besides the 1,000*l.* to the good old King. These direct losses were, however, trifling, compared with the indirect. I was engaged in the publishing of two works, called the *STATE TRIALS* and the *PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY*. There had been a great outlay for these works; several thousands of pounds were due to the paper-maker and the printer. These works were now, as far as regarded me, ruined. I had bought land in 1806 and 1807. This land, about 500 acres, was *in hand*. I had made plantations, and had made preparations for others. I had then a trifling mortgage to pay off; but quite within the

reach of my earnings; and, in short, if it had not been for this savage sentence, I should, by the year 1814, have had my estate clear.

Every one will easily imagine, that every debt that I owed, of every description, came pouring in for payment: the whole nation was cowed down at the time, and under the sway of Percival, Gibbs, and Ellenborough, and with several parts of the country actually under the command of Hanoverian generals; the people seemed like chickens, creeping and piping to find a hiding place, while the kite was hovering in the air. The sons and daughters of corruption openly chuckled at what they deemed my extinguishment; those base pretenders to patriotism, the Whigs, congratulated each other in secret, on the fall of their detector; even *some* of the "reformers" thought I had "*gone a little too far*"; they, poor souls, not perceiving, that this miserable apology for their cowardice and selfishness only added contempt to that hatred which the boroughmongers entertained towards them. Almost every one stood aloof, except my *creditors* (never the last to visit you in such a season), who pressed on amain; so that I really forgot that I was in a prison, so great and so numerous were the torments arising from my pecuniary concerns, which, if I had been at large, would have given me no trouble and no care at all. I was looked upon as a man *given over by the doctors*, and every one to whom I owed a shilling, brought me sighs of sorrow, indeed; but, along with these, brought me *his bill*. Look at me, reader: behold me within a prison walls, paying twenty guineas a week to redeem myself from the society of felons; see me dragged from my garden and my fields and flowers and trees, and shut up in a stinking jail; see me, who had led a life of ardent and uninterrupted love, with my wife and children always around me; see me harassed incessantly by dunnings, which must necessarily make me fear, that after all the hopes so fondly entertained of being able to provide for wife and children, I might be snatched away, leaving them

to be turned out into the high road: behold me thus, and wonder how I had the fortitude, the calmness, the clearness of mind and the spirit, and the profundity of thought, so conspicuous in "PAPER AGAINST GOLD," which I wrote in that prison, over and above the writing of the Register. Why, the truth is, that had it not been for *one thing*, I should not have been able to bear up under this accumulation of evil; and that *one thing* was, that I had a friend to whom, on the third day after I entered the accursed jail, I wrote, requesting him, in case of my death, to send for, and take care of my wife and children, and from whom I, *as quickly as possible*, received an answer, containing, amongst others, these words: "Give thyself no trouble about Nancy and the children. If thee should die, which I hope thee will not for years to come, thy dear family shall find a home under my roof, and shall be to me and all of us *as our own kindred*." At 64 years of age, I feel the tears of gratitude on my cheeks as I transcribe his words. And who was this man? It was JAMES PAUL, a Quaker farmer, of Lower Dublin township, in the state of Pennsylvania; a native American, from a Yorkshire father and mother; a man, on whom I had never conferred a favour to the amount of the value of a pin; but under whose hospitable roof I and my wife had spent many and many a happy day, always treated as a son and daughter of the family, though both of us *English*, and in no way related to this family.

Having written this letter to Mr. PAUL, I was quite tranquil on the score of provision for wife and children. I wanted not to wait for *an answer*: all that was necessary was, to make *sure of his getting my letter*; and of that I took care. So that, the truth is, the greatest load of all was off from my mind at the end of three days. I wanted *no answer* to my letter: I was *sure* that my family would be provided for: I was *sure* that the tigers would never be able to make them beg their bread, nor to cram them into a workhouse; and it is curious, but not more so than true, that I took

delight in reflecting on the innocent and happy life that my children would lead in case of my perishing in the hellish jail. If my friend had died before my letter reached him, no matter; there were sons, daughters, plenty of relations; all, or any of them, would have been eager to fulfil my wishes, and to receive my wife and children as their own. How snugly hidden *causes* lie, while *effects* are so glaring! Looking rightly at the matter, my friends in Pennsylvania were, in great part, the cause of PAPER AGAINST GOLD, which laid the axe to the root of the paper-money system, and which will be admired for ages to come; for it was my reliance on those friends that gave me the spirit and the tranquillity of mind that enabled me to write that celebrated series of letters.

Such was the friendship of JAMES PAUL. No wonder that I named a son after him, and no wonder that that son should, when he signs, never fail to stick the *Paul* into his name; a name that will be honoured by my children's children, as synonymous with all that is frank, sincere, benevolent, kind, and generous. Such was the friendship of my friend PAUL: let us see, by-and-by, what was, in this time of trial, the friendship of my "*friend*" BURDETT! The former, upon one occasion, when my wife, who was in the family-way, was discovering a strong desire to have some chesnuts (which were not then ripe enough to fall), seeing her *hankering about* under the tree (which was not far from the house) and *looking up at the chesnuts*, took his axe, and without saying a word to any one, went and felled the tree, containing a load or more of timber, and when I deplored the loss of the beautiful tree, and the spoiling of the timber by cutting it at that season, "*Poh!*" said he, "*what is a tree compared to a woman or a child?*" Such was the friendship of the farmer at Pennsylvania. When we come to see what was the "*friendship*" of "*Westminster's pride and England's glory*," we shall find, that vice from virtue, lies from truth, sincerity from hypocrisy, sordidness from generosity, kindness from cruelty, hell from heaven

are not more widely apart in character and in effect: but for this *contrast* (to the drawing of which no pen can do full justice) we must wait until I trace myself back to England after the exile to Long Island, in 1817; it being desirable to serve him up in one *single dish*.

My imprisonment, which ended in July, 1819, gave me, as to money matters, a blow not easily recovered. The peace came, too, in about twenty months afterwards, which was greatly injurious to me as a farmer, and, at the same time, as a writer; for, in its fit of drunken joy, the nation in general laughed at me; and, which was the heaviest blow of all, I, under such heavy bonds, *did not dare to be the proprietor of the Register*; it was transferred to another, in order to screen me; that other would, of course, have the greater share of the profits; so that by the beginning of the year 1816, my pecuniary affairs had become so desperate as to make me determine on selling my land and every thing else, and on beginning the world afresh; and, as will have to be mentioned by-and-by, I communicated this my determination to *Burdett*.

But, before the year 1816 had expired, my affairs began to take a different turn. The "*reckoning*" had not been paid; "*dear Old Blucher*," as the nasty tax-eating women called him, was gone away to "*dear Brunswick*," and had left us all the score to pay. "*Agricultural distress*" began to make the nation listen to the call for *parliamentary reform*; and the latter part of 1816, saw the kingdom agitated from one end to the other. Now was the time for me to *lay on* upon the THING, which I began to do in November, 1816, changing the price of the Register from 1s. to 2d., publishing it without a stamp, and keeping myself sheltered from the law by not being the legal proprietor. This gave a totally new turn to my pecuniary affairs. The sale of the Register was prodigious; the sale was forty or fifty thousand copies a week, besides the Paper Against Gold, which was selling in weekly numbers at the rate of from twenty to thirty thousand a week. In

short, clear of all expenses, and making due allowance for bad debts, there was a *profit* of 200*l.* a week, and more than that; so that if I had been let alone, if *no law* had been passed to stop and to ruin me, my estate would have been clear at the end of two years, and I should have been as rich as I ever wanted to be.*

Ah! but I had this pretty Government to deal with; I had the "envy of surrounding nations" to watch me; I had the "representatives of the people" to take care of me. They saw not only that I should rouse the whole nation to demand reform; but that I must soon, by the weight of my purse, *be in Parliament*; and therefore they passed a law to enable *some of themselves* to shut me up in prison at *their pleasure*; to put me into any dungeon in any jail; to prevent me from seeing wife, child, or friend; to deprive me of the use of pen, ink, and paper; to keep me in such dungeon as long as they pleased; and this too without even telling me what I was accused of; and all this they did, as expressly stated by SIMMOUTH, when he brought in the bill, *because I had committed no offence against the laws*: because the *law officers* could find *nothing to prosecute in my publications!*

To carry on the combat further, seemed impossible; but I did it. Between *silence* and a *dungeon* lay my only choice, unless I resorted to *flight*. I did resort to it, and the "envy and admiration" found, to its astonishment, that I hit it harder blows from across the Atlantic than I had ever given it before. Aye, and I hit it blows too, that the nation never perceived; for, it was by the PUFF-OUT, and by the terrors that I contrived to fill the THING with, that PERL'S BILL was produced. I was savagely treated by the "envy"; but I took ample revenge: while I was frolicking about, free and happy in Long Island, I kept the "ADMIRATION" in a continual *fright!* This is not a time, nor have I room for the purpose, to relate the various *private ways*, in which I plagued and scared the THING. It had ruined me as to property; it had left me without a shilling; it had *flung*

away my stock and my goods; it had caused the very bed to be sold from under my wife and her children; it had made me land on a foreign shore without a penny; of *more than seventy thousand pounds* that I had earned in sixteen years, it had, by the blow of 1810 and by this second blow, stripped me of every farthing that had not been absolutely necessary to the rearing of my family in a very modest way. The "envy and admiration" had done all this; and left me worth *thousands less than nothing*. But so complete was my revenge; and so fully did I enjoy it, that when PERL'S BILL was passed, I looked upon my account with the THING as being *square*.

Not thus, however, did the "admiration" view the matter: it was resolved to *open the account again*; for, hearing of my *intended return*, and knowing that I should land in November, 1819, it hastened to *collect itself together*. I being out of the "ADMIRATION'S" reach, it had put an end to the dungeon-law; but when it saw me coming again, it hastened to do something that should answer its purpose, even if I again went to Long Island! The dungeon-bill had *not silenced* me; another dungeon-bill would only have made me go back to America; and that would not have answered the purpose. Therefore, the "envy of surrounding nations" resorted to a law to *prevent cheap publications*. I beg the reader to look well at this law. My Register was sold for *two-pence*, of which, after expenses and allowances, there was about a penny for me; but a thousand pence make 4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; and that would amount, at only 20,000 copies, to 84*l.* a week, or 4,368*l.* a year. The "admiration" calculated all this. It, therefore, in order to promote *mental improvement* amongst "the lower orders," passed a law to compel me to sell the Register for *sixpence*; and to *prevent me from gaining money by it*, to put into each Register *two sheets and a quarter of paper*, each sheet being, at the least, *twenty-one inches one way and seventeen the other way!* Or, if I did not choose this, to have a stamp, and to pay the

"*envy*," FOUR-PENCE (besides the paper-tax) out of every SIXPENCE that I received: and *this is what I now do*. I sell for sixpence, and the "*admiration*" makes me pay four-pence of the money before I sell! The "*admiration*" further enacted, that any pamphlet, under the price of sixpence, might be published occasionally; but not periodically, oftener than once a month; but in order to prevent publishing weekly under different titles, the "*envy*" enacted, that a monthly pamphlet should not be published, except at the end of the month! Clever "*admiration*"! *Noblest assembly of freemen in the world"! It does make my blood boil to think, that I am thus made the instrument of taking thousands a year out of the pockets of the best men in the country to give to this THING and its tax-eaters; and some way or other to put an end to this, *I will find out*.

-We are now arrived at the autumn of 1819, when I returned to England; and this, before I proceed to the third stripping, is the place to serve up the sordid and calumnious BURDETT. Who that has heard the stories propagated by this mean, malignant, and mercenary fellow, and his base understrappers, would not suppose, that I had actually robbed the poor soul; that I had picked his pocket, or, at least, got money from him under false pretences; that, in short, I had been either thief or swindler? Indeed, they have called me thief, robber, swindler, and particularly have charged me with ingratitude to this fellow. "Poor Burdett" has always, when I have heard of this "*robbery*," put me in mind of PARSON TRULLIBER, who, when ADAM asked him for the loan of eighteen-pence, exclaimed, "Does thee want to rob me"; the wife putting her hands together and saying, "Pray, sir, don't rob my master"! For BURDETT, in more respects than one, resembles this Wiltshire clerical hog-merchant. Who would imagine that the fellow held, and holds, regular bonds for the money, bearing interest of 5 per cent.; that the debt was included amongst those from which I was legally relieved by a statute of bankruptcy? that of the

money, not a farthing ever went into my pocket, but (for the greater part) never was touched by me, but went to pay a debt which I owed to a man, for whom BURDETT professed a great regard: who would imagine that that man, and not I, actually received 2,000*l.* out of the 2,700*l.* from Burdett; and that the latter knew that it was to pay a debt due to this man (whom I shall presently name), and not to go into my pocket at all: who would imagine, that in 1816, when I despaired, as I have before said, of getting through my embarrassments without selling my land, I, by letter, proposed to him to sell every thing I had of every sort, and to pay him: who would imagine, that he, in answer, begged me not to do it, assuring me that he thought nothing of the debt, and expressing his fears lest the breaking up should detract from my weight with the public: who would imagine, that this "*glory of England*," when I had fled to avoid the dungeons of Sidmouth, the moment my back was turned, published in all the newspapers, or connived at it, that I was "*gone off with three thousand pounds of his money*"; who would imagine, that the fellow never dared to come and prove his debt before the commissioners of the bankruptcy: who would imagine that the three hundred pounds, that made up the three thousand, was a sum lent by him (or rather given) to John Wright (my clerk of private letter fame) for Wright's own use, for assisting him to write the stupid pamphlet that got him into the Tower; and which Wright is now, or was, the schemer of the PURE-WATER SCHEME, of which GLOWY is, or was, the Parliamentary advocate: who would imagine, that instead of my going off with poor Sir Francis's money, I had, in order to be able to get away, to borrow 500*l.* from Mr. THOMAS HULME, and that Mr. WILLIAM CLEMENT repaid Mr. HULME out of the proceeds of my works? Who would imagine all these facts to be true? And yet every one of them admits of juridical proof. But, in order to show the ingratitude, the black ingratitude, of this fellow towards me, I must beg

the reader's patience while I relate the whole of the circumstances of this "*robbery of poor and generous Burdett.*"

I have before described the ruin that the falling of 1810; that sentence of death, brought upon me. The late Mr. BOSVILLE, knowing my state, lent me, and finally gave me, *a thousand pounds*, and he proposed to BURDETT, that he should give me *two thousand*, to which Burdett assented. God knows he had ~~cost~~ me more money, in one way or another, expended for him. But while this was *talking about*; before it was done, the affair about the CHILD AND THE LADY came out; and I had heard *generous Burdett's* miserable explanation. On a Sunday, while this really shameful story was circulating in the papers, Mr. and Mrs. MILLARD, then straw-hat manufacturers in the Strand, came to see me and my wife, who was then with me in Newgate. Mrs. MILLARD asked me *what was "this story about Sir FRANCIS BURDETT and the CHILD,"* and how he came *first to give*, and then to *demand back*, the money? I explained the matter: I told the story that *generous Burdett* had told me. Women are keen in *these matters*, and they are a sisterhood besides. When Mrs. MILLARD went away, my wife went to the room-door with her, and having shut it very *gently and very close*, she came to me, and taking my hand, and looking very seriously in my face, she said, "*My dear Billy, pray never tell that story again.*" That was all she said; but that little, and the manner of it, made me ashamed of having made the attempt; and it made me resolve to take nothing from generous Burdett in the way of *gift*. He was, at that time, at the prison almost daily, and did me the honour to dine with me four or five days in the week. He never positively asked me to write in his defence on that score; and the 2000*l.* came at last, in the way of *loan*, for which I gave him a regular bond, costing me, I think, 4*l.* I sent it to him, *filled up by myself*, in order, as he requested, that *nobody might know any thing about the matter but our two selves!* The next time he came, he took it out of his pocket, and said:

"Think nothing of this, Cobbett; it shall never rise in judgment against you." I thanked him, but said that I hoped to be able duly to pay it.

Amongst my creditors was Mr. JAMES SWANN, of Wolvercot, near Oxford, a paper-maker, and a most worthy man. Burdett, in those his democratic days, had, through me or my clerk, Wright, become acquainted with Mr. SWANN, and had *visited him at his house in Oxfordshire*; and considering his then low state (after the *Tower affair*) it was no small condescension on the part of a man like Mr. SWANN, to suffer him to eat and drink in his house. He knew of my debt to Mr. SWANN, and was told that the 2000*l.* was wanted for him. When he gave me the check on Old Coutts, I handed it to SWANN; SWANN went and got the money, and placed it to my credit in his account. I have neither seen nor heard of Mr. SWANN for some years. If he be alive, as I hope he is, he will bear testimony to the truth of* this statement: if he be dead, the entry will be found in his books; and that entry will be found to agree precisely with the date of the bond, which, I am sure, is carefully preserved in the archives of "*England's glory.*"

The 700*l.* the generous soul lent me early in 1816, at the time when I proposed to sell all off and to pay him. I forget who had that sum; but I am sure it went to pay some debt. The 300*l.* was a curious affair. It had been got from him by WRIGHT, in the winter or spring of 1810; and Burdett, in 1812, brought it against me. I had a long account to settle with this Wright. An arbitration was held in Newgate; Mr. COOKE, of Lincoln's Inn, was the arbitrator. Burdett, on his oath, declared, that he lent the money to WRIGHT FOR ME, which WRIGHT DENIED. However, in consequence of Burdett's oath, the arbitrator decided, that the money was due from me to Burdett, but that, of course, Wright had to pay me the money. It was a promissory note, given by Wright to Burdett, without any mention of me. Amidst the confusion attending the flight to Long Island, this

note, given up to me by Burdett, was mislaid; but having found it there, I sent it home to Mr. WHITE, solicitor, Essex-street, Strand, to get Burdett to endorse it, to get the money from Wright, and to pay it to Burdett. But Burdett having got the note, never returned it to Mr. White; and SCARLETT, in the libel trial of Wright against me, in 1820 (Burdett sitting in court), said that the note was cancelled or satisfied, I forget which! Now, I appeal to the notes of Mr. COOKE and the memory of Mr. WETHERALL (this Wright's advocate) for the verification of these facts; and here is now this WRIGHT, who published my private letters to serve Burdett, in his election of 1818, and who brought a whole bundle of them into court in 1820; here is now this WRIGHT, the projector of the PURE-WATER scheme, of which Burdett is the parliamentary eulogist!

Now, mark, this money was lent by generous Burdett to Wright at the time when Burdett was writing his *tower-pamphlet*. One HOWELL, a little lawyer, whom I was employing on the State Trials, furnished the statesman with his law; Wright contributed, I dare say, the greater part of the literary talent. The great affair was executed at WRIGHT'S LODGING (at a tailor's in Panton Square); and when Burdett showed it to me, I, finding it so monstrously dull and pointless, proposed the putting of an introduction to it, that it might have a head, at any rate, if it had no tail. At the legislator's request, I wrote that part; and this child of many fathers brought its reputed papa to the Tower.

How he got out of the Tower, all the world knows. He never got over that. ATLAS himself could not have held him up. I had entered my prison just after he came out of the Tower. Did I abandon him to the contempt that he was labouring under, and that he so well deserved? Let him look back to the pages of the Register of that time, and let him, if he have any feeling left, drop down dead at the thought of his matchless ingratitude. Between 1809 and 1816, both inclusive, I had per-

formed not less than a hundred journies from Botley to London and back, for no other purpose than that of assisting and upholding him, each journey costing me (always in post-chaise) about eleven or twelve pounds; for at his house (if house I must call it) I never ate or drank but twice in all my life, and never but once, out of hundreds of times, saw any part of his family, and never saw the appearance of any house-keeping, though he fed so many, many times at my table in Newgate. But when he had got into the Tower what did I do? Did I desert him? I had none of his money then, at any rate. I came to London on purpose to uphold him. His Westminster Committee met to consider of what should be done. They had resolved to abandon him; and, before they separated, I and Mr. WM. FRIEND prevailed on them to present to him an address full of praise of his conduct, which address I drew up, and which address brought others in the same strain from all parts of the kingdom. Mr. FRIEND may now be dead; but I published the facts while he was alive. For seven long years I was his sole prop. A good large volume would not, all put together, contain the facts that I collected for him; the notes that I made for his speeches; the various things that I wrote to uphold him. Two particularly I must mention. His sensible speech on the currency, recorded in Paper against Gold, I wrote out for him, and then published it and praised it as his, which was, indeed, my constant practice. In 1812, he made a grand stroke. He moved the answer to the King's speech, or, rather, the Regent's; and made a long speech, which brought plaudits from every part of the country. I wrote the answer and the speech; and the former was copied by his own daughter, that my hand might not appear, and that the secret should not become public. Nay, these were published in a pamphlet, by subscription, and I was myself the greatest subscriber! Shame, indeed, would it be to relate this; but, good God, what has he not endeavoured to do to me! What has he left undone that he thought had

a tendency to destroy my character, to destroy the effect of my Herculean labours, and to entail upon my virtuous wife and children the ruin of their kind, disinterested, zealous, and generous, and, above all things, their beloved, husband and father!

But I wrote him a letter from America, containing an assertion, that a man, against whom ruinous laws had been *singly pointed*, was, by the law of nations, exonerated from obligations by which men, *not so singled out*, were bound; but, at the same time, saying, *that I would not avail myself of that principle*, but would pay every one (though *out of the reach of creditors*) *as fast as I could earn the money*. The ungrateful fellow, keeping the letter out of sight, published an answer to it, misrepresenting its meaning. I sent a copy of the same letter to my friend Mr. TIMOTHY BROWN, to whom I owed a good deal. Did he cavil at it? He hastened to me on my arrival in London, though then bandaged up for the gout; took me to his house; brought on my bankruptcy in the most friendly manner; cherished me to the last hour of his virtuous life; and has left his memory engraven on a heart which has never been wanting in gratitude. I wrote the *same letter* to Mr. TIPPER, a paper-maker, to whom I really owed 3,000*l.*, and with whom I was but very *slenderly* acquainted. Without a farthing of dividend (for I had not a penny) he signed my certificate at the first possible moment; and he, or Mr. Brown, I forget which, *actually gave me a pound-note and a few shillings*, that I might, for form's sake, have *something* to surrender to the commissioners; and I must do those commissioners the justice to say, that they, seeing a great crowd in Guildhall staring at me, behaved towards me in a manner that showed the best of feelings; put no questions to me, dismissed me in a minute, and very kindly shook me by the hand when I went away.

Every one, even the bitterest political enemy; every one felt, but the steely-hearted Burdett. The OLD LORD CHANCELLOR; though he had advocated the

bills that had ruined me, signed my certificate *out of rule*: "It is *too late*," said the officer: "his Lordship will not sign any *more* until such a day." I wrote my name upon a bit of paper, and begged him just *to show* it the Chancellor. When he came out, he smiled with surprise, and said, "His Lordship *will* sign it." Every soul but that of the steeled and sordid and envious Burdett, was softened. And what were his *real* motives for seeking my destruction with such unquenchable thirst? For, though he is sordid; though never surpassed in this by miser upon the face of the earth; yet this *alone* would have been too weak a motive. He knew that I, as soon as I arrived in America, *should expose first his urging on, and then his base abandonment of, the reformers*, in February, 1817; and, therefore, the moment I was gone he put forth the story of the 3000*l.*, with the view of *blunting the expected attack*; and, in 1818, he put forth his answer to my letter, in the hope of making me so odious as to *prevent me from ever seeing England again*. Here were the real motives; and, from first to last, his conduct has been without a parallel in the history of baseness and malice and ingratitude. But, compared with his conduct at my flight from the dungeons, all the rest sinks into nothingness. There was my wife with her daughters, two of them very small, in a lodging in London, the mother *ready to be confined*, and the newspapers had told him that *the bailiffs* had put them out of the house in which some of them had been born, and in which they had all been so happy! There she was, her husband and two sons on the seas, and she about to encounter the perils of child-birth, always great to her; and this was the moment that he, with all the hellish press at his nod, chose to stab her to the heart by publicly proclaiming her husband to be a fraudulent wretch, that had *run off with a parcel of his money*! Perhaps her life was preserved, at this dismal moment, by the most kind and attentive conduct of the now Lord and Lady RADNOR, who, as soon as they found out her lodging,

visited, consoled, and upheld her; an act which imprinted gratitude on our hearts, not capable of receiving an addition even from his Lordship's recent declaration on PENENDEN HEATH, as to his long knowledge of me and my writings.

This man of inordinate ambition, but with disproportionate talent and a total want of political courage and constancy, has in his bosom (if I may call it one) more of the base passion of *envy* than any man that I have ever known. He knew my sincere devotion to my country; he could justly estimate my capacity to serve it; but he knew, that I, being upon the same boards with himself, *he would become nothing*. One of his objects, even from his first knowing me, was to *keep me out of Parliament*. I always knew this; but I held him up, because he was *in* and I was *not*; and because I preferred the good that I hoped to do through him to the doing of no good at all. He was the COCK of our cause; the people thought him good, and, therefore, I upheld him, while I despised his niggardliness and selfish ambition.

In 1810, when he had come, or rather *skulked*, out of the Tower, he would have *quitted politics altogether*, if I would have done it. He made an attempt at getting me to do this, by telling me, that Lord THANET had, when he visited him in the Tower, said, "When I quitted this place, Burdett, I went to *my farm, and you will do the same*;" and, added Burdett, "*I would do it, COBBETT, if you would*." He took occasion to say this before my wife, with whose anxiety about me he was well acquainted. I treated the proposal with ridicule. The truth is, that he was afraid to slide away *and leave me to take his place*; and thus he has hung on ever since. His great dread has been to see me supplant him for Westminster, which he keeps merely because he is not vigorously opposed; merely because the people are not *roused*. Hence his *promised subscriptions towards a seat for me*. He, as I have before related, volunteered his offer to subscribe towards my election. Seeing, in 1824, that there

was a *stir* about this matter, fearing that a sufficiency of money would be raised, and that I should make a stand for Westminster, what did he do? Did he come forth, and say that I was a *person unworthy* of being chosen? No; but wrote to RICHARD GURNEY of Norwich (then a member of Parliament himself), authorising him to say, that he (Burdett) *would subscribe 500l.*, and that he *did not care who knew it*. GURNEY, who was his *bosom friend*, and who was quite worthy of his friendship, showed the letter, or read it to two gentlemen who were, as GURNEY knew, very intimate with me; and, as was very natural, they besought me to let the fellow alone. "*Things came about*;" wheat rose in price; "*prosperity came*;" and the affair dropped for that time. When 1826, when the general election, came, and came *accompanied with the panic*, a subscription was really set on foot; and the contest at Preston followed. And what did this selfish and sordid man do now? He now wrote to Colonel JOHNSTONE to say, that he would subscribe towards obtaining me a seat. He afterwards verbally *promised* him that he would do it; but, *seeing me gone to Preston; seeing Westminster safe, he never subscribed a farthing!* Now, either he meant to subscribe, or he did not: if the latter, who shall describe his falseness and meanness? and, if he did mean to do it, where are the words to be found to describe the baseness that could induce him *to give money to put into Parliament* a man whom he had accused of *robbing him*, and to destroy whom he had used all the means in his power?

Thus have I given a full and true account, up to the year 1820, of my progress, of my sacrifices, and of the injuries which I and my beloved family have sustained as the reward of my great and disinterested efforts to serve my country; and I will now shortly state my pecuniary history since that time. In January 1821, my family, after having for years been scattered about like a covey of partridges that had been sprung and shot at, got *once more together*, in a *hired lodging at Brompton*;

and our delight and our mutual caresses, and our tears of joy, experienced no abatement at our actually finding ourselves with **ONLY THREE SHILLINGS IN THE WHOLE WORLD**, and at my having to borrow from a friend the money to *pay for the paper and print of the then next Saturday's Register!* Since that day, what, good God, have been my labours! A Register every week; nearly 500 Registers, more than enough to occupy the whole time of any other man; my French Grammar, Woodlands, Gardening Book, Cottage Economy, Sermons, Protestant Reformation, Corn Book, Advice to Young Men, and Guide to Emigrants, besides all my labours and cares about trees, seeds, corn, straw-plait, and about every thing that I could possibly think of, tending to the good of my country; and, am I now, at the age of 64, to expend the fruit of these labours, or to give up the worth of the labour of my remaining years for the public advantage? Every just man will say, NO! All that I possessed, worth speaking of, consisted of the *copy-rights of my books*. They are valuable: that of my English Grammar was *given up to help to pay my debts*; but I have *earned it back*, and actually paid 1200 sovereigns for it several years ago. These copy-rights *I have given to my children*, their generous mother being quite willing that it should be done. All I can yet earn is due to them, and more especially to her; and there is no man, whose heart is not like that of Burdett, who will not say, that not one single shilling of those earnings ought to be withdrawn from them.

Therefore, while I repeat, that I have the most anxious desire to devote the remaining vigour of my life to the service of the country in Parliament, I will not attempt it without first securing an *indemnification* for the great pecuniary sacrifice that I must make. *Ten thousand pounds* would provide the legal qualification, and, I am very sure, *even a couple of seats*, for the second of which *I need not name the man*; and *he has a tenfold qualification*. And what is the sum amongst so many? And amongst so many who *most anxiously*

wish it too? Two pounds each from every reader of the Register, would about do the thing. Forbearance from one single glass of grog for one market-day, on the part of each farmer, would do it. In 1824, I caught a cold in the ear, which led to an abscess in the temple, and which cost me nine months of pain, in the *intervals of which pain, I*, besides writing the Register, wrote nine out of fourteen parts of the most famous book in the world, the Bible only excepted. For these nine months the late Mr. CLINE attended me, coming to Kensington twice or thrice in every week. When I had got well, I had got a purse of gold, and was about to give it him; but he, putting my hand away with his left, and patting me on the head with his right hand, said: "No, no! I owe a great deal to that head!" Ought not *that*, then, if he had witnessed it, to have made the sordid and ungrateful Burdett drop dead with shame!

And what did Mr CLINE owe to "*that head*" more, or so much, as hundreds of thousands of others? The truth is, that all these *feel it too*; and if I were to die to-morrow, their lamentations would be as sincere as if I were their father. Double the sum now proposed would be uselessly expended to show their gratitude to my *memory*. Why not, then, raise the money *now*, when it would be of *use*; when it would benefit my country, add to my fame, and make my memory still more dear to Englishmen? The real truth is, that the thing would be done, and done *immediately*, if *set about in a proper manner*; and that manner has been suggested by some gentlemen of *Rutlandshire*, whom I had the pleasure to meet at STAMFORD, in Lincolnshire. After hearing my speeches there, they asked about the *seat*. I told them what was my view of the matter, and what was the *sum*. "How much," said one of them, "would be the **SHARE OF** **UTLAND-SHIRE?**" I said, about *thirty pounds*. "Call upon me when you like," said one of them, "*for fifty*, and I will collect it myself." This thought was a good one. Let each county contribute its share, according to its population,

with a little deviation, on account of particular circumstances; and the thing is done at once. The just proportions, as nearly as I can calculate, would be as follows :—

	£
Bedfordshire	90
Berkshire	150
Buckinghamshire	130
Cambridgeshire	140
Cheshire	220
Cornwall	160
Cumberland	120
Derbyshire	320
Devonshire	300
Dorsetshire	110
Durham	150
Essex	270
Gloucestershire	250
Hampshire	210
Herefordshire	140
Hertfordshire	140
Huntingdonshire	50
Kent	300
Lancashire	770
Leicestershire	130
Lincolnshire	300
Middlesex	790
Monmouthshire	50
Norfolk	370
Northamptonshire	140
Northumberland	120
Nottingham	350
Oxfordshire	110
Rutlandshire	30
Shropshire	130
Somersetshire	310
Staffordshire	270
Suffolk	230
Surrey	280
Sussex	190
Warwickshire	300
Westmoreland	50
Wiltshire	200
Wiltshire	150
Wiltshire	140
Wiltshire	150
Wiltshire	600

Now, counties have to pay ten times as much as this every year, to be sent ABROAD to pay pensions to foreign officers, their widows and children! BURKE's pension, though he has been dead thirty years, demands, every five

years, more than this sum. But arguments would be thrown away; and all that I have to do is, to point out what I think the best mode of going to work, which is this: that friends, in each county should write to me as soon as possible, at No. 183, Fleet-street, postage paid, authorising me to say, that they will be collectors; that I should then publish their names; that they should, if they choose, appoint some one of themselves to receive their various collections; and that, when the sum is completed for the county, it should be transmitted to me, and my receipt of it be published. In Lancashire, Middlesex, and Yorkshire, it will, perhaps, be found necessary to form committees. But this I must leave to the parties.

If any gentleman choose to subscribe singly, he may do it at Fleet-street, where a book will be kept for the purpose; or he may do it by letter to me. I have not mentioned the counties in WALES, nor those in SCOTLAND and IRELAND; but if any gentleman in those counties choose to subscribe, they will readily find out the means of doing it.

Here, then, are the terms on which I am willing to devote the, I hope, five, or perhaps, ten years of labour that remain in me. Whether the years be few or many, I am sure I have not one to deduct from what is due to my family. In a pecuniary point of view, I make a sacrifice in making the offer. By casting aside politics, even now, I could in five years of health gain twice ten thousand pounds. I make the offer, however, with the most anxious desire that it may be zealously embraced. As to labour for the freedom and happiness and renown of my country has been the delight of my life, so I ardently wish the success of that labour to be my consoling reflection in death; but on one thing I am resolved, namely, that, unless snatched away very suddenly, I will not die the MUZZLED slave of this THING!

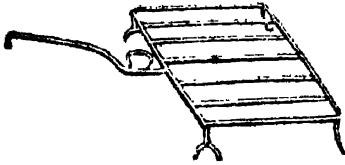
WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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[Price 7d.]



This year there have been voted by the House of Commons, *ninety-five thousand and odd pounds*, to be paid to the *Hanoverian* and other *foreign officers*, as half-pay and allowances, and to *widows and children* who belong to them; and *since the peace*, we have been taxed to pay about *one million and seven hundred thousand pounds*, to be sent to these *people*!

EASTERN TOUR.

Boston, Friday, 9th April, 1830.

QUITTING Cambridge and Dr. Chafy and Serjeant Frere, on Monday, the 29th of March, I arrived at St. Ives, in Huntingdonshire, with my two daughters (my son having gone off for London), about one o'clock in the day. In the evening I harangued to about 200 persons, principally farmers, in a wheelwright's shop, that being the only *safe* place in the town, of sufficient dimensions and sufficiently strong. It was market-day; and this is a great cattle market.

As I was not to be at STAMFORD in Lincolnshire till the 31st, I went from St. Ives to my friend Mr. Wells's, near HUNTINGDON, and remained there till the 31st in the morning, employing the evening of the 30th in going to CHATWERTS, in the Isle of Ely, and there addressing a good large company of farmers.

On the 31st, I went to STAMFORD, and, in the evening, spoke to about 200 farmers and others, in a large room in a very fine and excellent inn, called STANDWELL'S HOTEL, which is, with few exceptions, the nicest inn that I have ever been in. On the 1st of April, I harangued here again, and had amongst my auditors some most agreeable, intelligent, and public-spirited yeomen, from

the little county of *RUTLAND*, who made, respecting the *seat in Parliament* the proposition, the details of the purport of which I communicated to my readers in the last Register.

On the 2d of April, I met my audience in the playhouse at Peterborough; and though it had *snowed all day*, and was very wet and sloppy, I had a good large audience; and I did not let this opportunity pass without telling my hearers of the part that their *good* neighbour, Lord FITZWILLIAM, had acted with regard to the *French war*, with regard to *Burke and his pension*; with regard to the *dungeoning law*, which drove me across the Atlantic in 1817; and with regard to the putting into the present Parliament, aye, and for that very town, that very Lawyer SCARLETT, whose state prosecutions are now become so famous. "Never," said I, "did I say that behind a man's back that I would not say to his face. I wish I had his face before me: but I am here *as near to it as I can get*: I am before the face *of his friends*: here, therefore, I will say what I think of him." When I had described his conduct, and given my opinion on it, many applauded, and not one expressed disapprobation.

On the 3d, I speechified at Wisbeach, in the playhouse, to about 220 people, I think it was; and that same night, went to sleep at a friend's (a total stranger to me, however) at St. EDMUND'S, in the heart of the FENS. I staid there on the 4th (Sunday), the morning of which brought a *hard frost*: ice an inch thick, and the total destruction of the apricot blossoms.

After passing Sunday and the greater part of Monday (the 5th) at St. Edmund's, where my daughters and myself received the greatest kindness and attention, we went, on Monday afternoon, to CROWLAND, where we were most kindly lodged and entertained at the houses of two gentlemen, to whom also we were personally perfect strangers; and in the evening, I addressed a very

large assemblage of most respectable farmers and others, in this once famous town. There was another *hard frost* on the Monday morning; just, as it were, to *finish* the apricot bloom.

On the 6th I went to LYNN, and on that evening and on the evening of the 7th, I spoke to about 300 people in the playhouse. And here there was more *interruption* than I have ever met with at any other place. This town, though containing as good and kind friends as I have met with in any other; and though the people are generally as good, contains also, apparently, a large proportion of *dead weight*, the offspring, most likely, of the *rottenness of the borough*. Two or three, or even *one* man, may, if not *tossed out at once*, disturb and interrupt every thing in a case, where constant attention to *fact* and *argument* is requisite, to insure utility to the meeting. There were but *three* here; and though they were finally silenced, it was not without great loss of time, great noise and hubbub. Two, I was told, were *dead-weight* men, and one a sort of *higgling merchant*.

On the 8th, I went to HOLBEACH, in this noble county of Lincoln; and, gracious God! what a *contrast* with the scene at LYNN! I knew not a soul in the place. Mr. FIELDS, a bookseller and printer, had invited me by letter, and had, in the nicest and most unostentatious manner, made all the preparations. HOLBEACH lies in the midst of some of the richest land in the world; a small market-town, but a parish more than twenty miles across, larger, I believe, than the county of Rutland, produced an audience (in a very nice room, with seats prepared) of 178, apparently all wealthy men in that rank of life, so deeply attentive, which I seldom met with in Holbeach, that of the "ne skies"; gardens, and grass ready to burst; and land, of colour, and as fine in substance as *flour*, as fine as if

sifted through one of the *sieves*, with which we get the dust out of the clover seed; and when cut deep down into with a spade, precisely, as to substance, like a piece of hard butter; yet no where is the *distress* greater than here. I walked on from HOLBEACH, six miles, towards Boston; and seeing the fatness of the land, and the fine grass and the never-ending sheep lying about like *fat hogs*, stretched in the sun, and seeing the abject state of the labouring people, I could not help exclaiming, "God has given us the best country in the world; our brave and wise and virtuous fathers, who built all these magnificent churches, gave us the best government in the world, and we, their cowardly and foolish and profigate sons have made this once-paradise what we now behold!"

I arrived at Boston (where I am now writing) to-day (Friday, 9th April) about ten o'clock. I must arrive at Louth before I can say *precisely* what my future route will be. There is an immense FAIR at Lincoln next week; and a friend has been *here* to point out the proper days to be there; as, however, this Register will not come from the press until after I shall have had an opportunity of writing something at Louth, time enough to be inserted in it, I will here go back, and speak of the country that I have travelled over, since I left CAMBRIDGE on the 29th of March.

From Cambridge to St. Ives the land is generally in open, unfenced fields, and some common fields; generally stiff land, and some of it not very good, and wheat, in many places, looking rather thin. From St. Ives to CHATTEIS (which last is in the Isle of Ely), the land is better, particularly as you approach the latter place. From CHATTEIS I came back to HUNTINGDON, and once more saw its beautiful meadows, of which I spoke when I went thither in 1823. From Huntingdon, through STILTON, to STAMFORD (the two last in Lincolnshire), is a country of rich arable land and grass fields, and of beautiful meadows. The enclosures are very large, the soil red, with a whitish stone below; very much like

the soil at and near Ross in Herefordshire, and like that near Coventry and Warwick. Here, as all over this country, everlasting fine sheep. The houses all along here are built of the stone of the country: you seldom see brick. The churches are large, lofty, and fine, and give proof that the country was formerly much more populous than it is now, and that the people had a vast deal more of *wealth* in their hands and at *their own disposal*. There are three beautiful churches at STAMFORD, not less, I dare say, than three hundred years old; but two of them (I did not go to the other) are as perfect as when just finished, except as to the *images*, most of which have been destroyed by the ungrateful Protestant barbarians, of different sorts, but some of which (*out of the reach* of their ruthless hands) are still in the niches.

From Stamford to PETERBOROUGH is a country of the same description, with the additional beauty of *woods* here and there, and with meadows just like those at Huntingdon, and not surpassed by those on the SEVERN near Worcester, nor by those on the AVON at TEWKESBURY. The cathedral at Peterborough is exquisitely beautiful, and I have great pleasure in saying, that, contrary to the *more magnificent* pile at ELY, it is kept in good order; the Bishop (Herbert Marsh) residing a good deal on the spot; and though he *did* write a pamphlet to justify and *urge* on the war, the ruinous war, and though he *did* get a *pension* for it, he is, they told me, very good to the poor people. My daughters had a great desire to see, and I had a great desire they should see, the burial-place of that ill-used, that savagely-treated, woman, and that honour to woman-kind, CATHERINE, queen of the ferocious tyrant, Henry the Eighth. To the infamy of that ruffian, and the shame of after ages, there is no *monument* to record her virtues and her sufferings; and the remains of this daughter of the wise Ferdinand and of the generous Isabella, who sold her *jewels* to enable Columbus to discover the new world, lie under the floor of the cathedral, commemorated by a short inscription on a plate of

brass. All men, Protestants or not Protestants, feel as I feel upon this subject: search the *hearts* of the bishop and of his dean and chapter, and these *feelings* are there; but to do *justice* to the memory of this illustrious victim of tyranny, would' be to cast a reflection on that event, to which they owe their rich possessions, and, at the same time, to suggest ideas not very favourable to the descendants of those who divided amongst them the plunder of the people arising out of that event, and which descendants are their patrons, and give them what they possess. From this cause, and no other, it is, that the memory of the virtuous CATHERINE is unblazoned, while that of the tyrannical, the cruel, and the immoral Elizabeth, is recorded with all possible veneration, and all possible varnishing-over of her disgusting amours and endless crimes.

They relate, at Peterborough, that the same SEXTON who buried Queen CATHERINE, also buried here *Mary, Queen of Scots*. The remains of the latter, of very questionable virtue, or, rather, of unquestionable vice, were removed to Westminster Abbey by her son, James the First; but those of the *virtuous* Queen were suffered to remain unhonoured! Good God! what injustice, what a want of principle, what hostility to all virtuous feeling, has not been the fruit of this PROTESTANT REFORMATION; what plunder, what disgrace to England, what shame, what misery, has that event not produced! There is nothing that I address to my hearers with more visible effect than a statement of *the manner in which the poor-rates and the church-rates came*. This, of course, includes an account of *how the poor were relieved in Catholic times*. To the far greater part of people this is information *wholly new*; they are *deeply interested* in it; and the impression is very great. Alas! before we part, TOM CRANMER's cause receives a considerable blow.

There is in the cathedral a very ancient monument, made to commemorate, they say, the murder of the abbot and his monks by the Danes. Its date is the year 870. Almost all the cathedrals, were, it ap-

pears, originally churches of monasteries. That of Winchester and several others, certainly were. There has lately died, in the garden of the bishop's palace, a TORTOISE that had been *there* more, they say, than *two hundred years*; a fact very likely to be known; because, at the end of thirty or forty, people would begin to talk about it as *something remarkable*; and thus the record would be handed down from father to son.

From Peterborough to WISBEACH, the road, for the most part, lies through the *Fens*, and here we passed through the village of THORNEY, where there was a famous abbey, which, together with its valuable domain, was given by the savage tyrant, Henry VIII., to JOHN LORD RUSSELL (made a lord by that tyrant), the founder of the family of that name. This man got also the abbey and estate at WOBURN; the priory and its estate at TAVISTOCK; and in the next reign, he got COVENT GARDEN and other parts adjoining; together with other things, all then *public property*. A history, a *true history* of this family (which I hope I shall find time to write) would be a most valuable thing. It would be a nice little specimen of the way in which these families became possessed of a great part of their estates. It would show how the poor-rates and the church-rates came. It would set the whole nation *right* at once. Some years ago I had a set of the ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA (Scotch), which contained an account of every other *great family* in the kingdom; but I could find in it no account of *this* family, either, under the word RUSSELL or the word BEDFORD. I got into a passion with it, because it contained no account of raising the

gold to a son (as an HEYGATE; look into the way to be true; or about this, goodness to let be obliged to any one out any printed account of family; and particularly to tell me where I can get an old folio,

containing (amongst other things) BULSTRODE's argument and narrative in justification of the sentence and execution of Lord William Russell, in the reign of Charles the Second. It is impossible to look at the now-miserable village of THORNEY, and to think of its once-splendid abbey; it is impossible to look at the *twenty thousand acres* of land around, covered with fat sheep, or bearing six quarters of wheat or ten of oats to the acre, without any manure; it is impossible to think of these without feeling a desire that the whole nation should know all about the *surprising merits* of the possessors.

WISBEACH, lying further up the arm of the sea than LYNN, is, like the latter, a little town of commerce, chiefly engaged in exporting to the south, *the corn* that grows in this productive country. It is a good solid town, though not handsome, and has a large market, particularly for corn.

To CROWLAND, I went, as before stated, from Wisbeach, staying two nights at St. Edmund's. Here I was in the heart of the Fens. The whole country as *level* as the table on which I am now writing. The horizon *like the sea in a dead calm*: you see the morning sun *come up*, just as at sea; and see it *go down over the rim*, in just the same way as at sea in a calm. The land covered with beautiful grass, with sheep lying about upon it, as fat as hogs stretched out sleeping in a sty. The kind and polite friends, with whom we were lodged, had a very neat garden, and fine young orchard. Every thing grows well here: earth without a stone so big as a pin's head; grass as thick as it can grow on the ground; immense bowling-greens separated by ditches; and not the sign of dock or thistle or other weed to be seen. What a contrast between these and the heath-covered sand-hills of Surrey, amongst which I was born! Yet the labourers, who spuddle about the ground in the little *dips* between those sand-hills, are better off than those that exist in this fat of the land. *Here* the grasping system takes *all* away, because it has the means of coming at the value of all: *there*, the

poor man enjoys *something*, because he is thought too poor to have any thing: he is there allowed to have what is *deemed worth nothing*; but here, where every inch is valuable, not one inch is he permitted to enjoy.

At CROWLAND also (still in the Fens) was a great and rich *abbey*, a good part of the magnificent ruins of the church of which are still standing, one corner or part of it being used as the *parish church*, by the worms, which have crept out of the dead bodies of those who lived in the days of the founders;

"And wond'ring man could want the larger pile,

"Exult, and claim the corner with a smile."

They tell you, that all the country at and near CROWLAND was a mere *swamp*, a mere bog, *bearing nothing*, bearing nothing worth naming, until the *modern drainings* took place! The thing called the "REFORMATION," has led common sense out of men's minds. So *likely* a thing to choose a *barren swamp* whereon, or wherein, to make the site of an abbey, and of a benedictine abbey too! It has been always observed, that the monks took care to choose for their places of abode, *pleasant spots*, surrounded by *productive land*. The likeliest thing in the world for these monks to choose a swamp for their dwelling-place, surrounded by land that produced nothing good! The thing *gives the lie to itself*: and it is impossible to reject the belief, that these Fens were as productive of corn and meat a thousand years ago, and more so, than they are at this hour. There is a *curious triangular bridge here*, on one part of which stands the statue of one of the ancient kings. It is all of great age; and every thing shows that Crowland was a place of importance in the earliest times.

From CROWLAND to LYNN, through Thorney and Wisbeach, is all *Fens*, well besprinkled, formerly, with monasteries of various descriptions, and still well set with magnificent churches. From LYNN to HOLBEACH you get out of the *real Fens*, and into the land that I attempted to describe, when, a few pages back, I was speaking of Holbeach. I say at-

tempted; for I defy *tongue or pen* to make the description adequate to the matter: to know what the thing is, you must see it. The same land continues all the way on to BOSTON: endless grass and endless fat sheep: not a stone, not a weed.

Boston, Sunday, 11th April, 1830.

Last night, I made a speech at the playhouse to an audience, whose appearance was sufficient to fill me with pride. I had given notice that I should perform on *Friday*, overlooking the circumstance that it was GOOD FRIDAY. In apologising for this inadvertence, I took occasion to observe, that even if I had persevered, the *clergy of the church* could have nothing to object, seeing that they were now silent, while a bill was passing in Parliament to put *Jews* on a level with *Christians*; to enable Jews, the blasphemers of the Redeemer, to sit on the bench, to sit in both Houses of Parliament, to sit in council with the King, and to be *kings of England*, if entitled to the crown, which, by possibility, they might become, if this bill were to pass; that to this bill the *clergy had offered no opposition*; and that, therefore, how could they hold sacred the anniversary appointed to commemorate the crucifixion of Christ by the hands of the blaspheming and bloody Jews? That, at any rate, if this bill passed; if those who called Jesus Christ an *impostor* were thus declared to be *as good* as those who adored him, there was not, I hoped, a man in the kingdom who would pretend, that it would be just to compel the people to pay tithes, and fees, and offerings, to men for *teaching Christianity*. This was a *clencher*; and as such it was received.

This morning I went out at six, looked at the town, walked three miles on the road to Spilsby, and back to breakfast at nine. BOSTON (*bo* Latin for *ox*) though not above a fourth or fifth part of the size of its sister in New ENGLAND, which got its name, I dare say, from some persecuted native of this place, who had quitted England and all her wealth and all her glories, to preserve that *freedom* which was still more dear to him; though not a town

like new Boston, and though little to what it formerly was, when agricultural produce was the great staple of the kingdom and the great subject of foreign exchange, is, nevertheless, a very fine town; good houses, good shops, pretty gardens about it, a fine open place, nearly equal to that of Nottingham, in the middle of it a river and a canal passing through it, each crossed by a handsome and substantial bridge, a fine market for sheep, cattle, and pigs, and another for meat, butter, and fish; and being, like Lynn, a great place for the export of corn and flour, and having many fine mills, it is altogether a town of very considerable importance; and, which is not to be overlooked, inhabited by people none of whom appear to be in misery.

The great pride and glory of the Bostonians is *their church*, which is, I think, 400 feet long, 90 feet wide, and has a tower (or steeple, as they call it) 300 feet high, which is both a land-mark and a sea-mark. To describe the richness, the magnificence, the symmetry, the exquisite beauty of this pile, is wholly out of my power. It is impossible to look at it without feeling, first, admiration and reverence and gratitude to the memory of our fathers who reared it; and next, indignation at those who affect to believe, and contempt for those who do believe, that, when this pile was reared, the age was *dark*, the people rude and ignorant, and the country *destitute of wealth and thinly peopled*. Look at this church, then; look at the heaps of white rubbish that the parsons have lately stuck up under the "*New-church Act*," and which, after having been built with money forced from the "odious taxes, they have locked-up pews, call let for money, as call ig-pews are let at fair, after having taken a "dark ages," meaning heavy, ugly, unbecoming called St. Paul's, which an American friend of mine, who came to London from Falmouth and had seen the cathedrals at Exeter and Salisbury, swore to me, that when he

first saw it, he was at a loss to guess whether it were a *court-house* or a *jail*: after looking at Boston church, go and look at that great, gloomy *lump*, created by a Protestant Parliament, and by taxes wrung by force from the whole nation; and then say which is the age really meriting the epithet *dark*.

St. Botolph, to whom this church is dedicated, while he (if saints see and hear what is passing on earth) must lament that the piety-inspiring mass has been, in this noble edifice, supplanted by the monotonous hummings of an oaken hutch, has not the mortification to see his church treated in a manner as if the new possessors sighed for the hour of its destruction. It is taken great care of; and though it has cruelly suffered from *Protestant repairs*; though the images are gone and the stained glass; and though the glazing is now in squares instead of lozenges; though the nave is stuffed with *pews* called pews; and though other changes have taken place detracting from the beauty of the edifice, great care is taken of it as it now is, and the inside is not disfigured and disgraced by a *gallery*, that great and characteristic mark of Protestant taste, which, as nearly as may be, makes a church like a playhouse. Saint Botolph (on the supposition before mentioned) has the satisfaction to see, that the base of his celebrated church is surrounded by an iron fence, to keep from it all offensive and corroding matter, which is so disgusting to the sight round the magnificent piles at Norwich, Ely and other places; that the churchyard, and all appertaining to it, are kept in the neatest and most respectable state; that no money has been spared for these purposes; that here the eye tells the heart, that gratitude towards the fathers of the Bostonians is not extinguished in the breasts of their sons; and this the Saint will know that he owes to the circumstances, that the parish is a poor vicarage, and that the care of his church is in the hands of *the industrious people*, and not in those of a fat and luxurious dean and chapter, wallowing in wealth derived from the people's labour.

Horncastle, 12th April.

A fine, soft, showery morning saw us out of Boston, carrying with us the most pleasing reflections as to our reception and treatment there by numerous persons, none of whom we had ever seen before. The face of the country, for about half the way, the soil, the grass, the endless sheep, the thickly-scattered and magnificent churches, continue as on the other side of Boston; but, after that, we got out of the low and level land. At SIBSEY, a pretty village five miles from Boston, we saw, for the first time since we left Peterborough, land rising above the level of the horizon; and, not having seen such a thing for so long, it had struck my daughters, who overtook me on the road (I having walked on from Boston), that the sight had an effect like that produced by the first sight of land after a voyage across the Atlantic.

We now soon got into a country of hedges and dry land and gravel and clay and stones; the land not bad, however; pretty much like that of Sussex, lying between the forest part and the South Downs. A good proportion of woodland also; and just before we got to Horncastle, we passed the park of that Mr. Dymock who is called "the *Champion of England*," and to whom, it is said hereabouts, that we pay out of the taxes eight thousand pounds a year! This never can be, to be sure; but if we pay him only a hundred a year, I will lay down my glove against that of the "*Champion*," that we do not pay him even that for five years longer.

It is curious, that the moment you get out of the rich land, the churches become smaller, mean, and with scarcely any thing in the way of tower or steeple. This town is seated in the middle of a large valley, not, however, remarkable for any thing of peculiar value or beauty; a purely agricultural town; well built, and not mean in any part of it. It is a great rendezvous for horses and cattle, and sheep-dealers, and for those who sell these; and, accordingly, it suffers severely from the loss of the small paper-money.

Horncastle, 13th April, Morning.

I made a speech last evening to from 130 to 150, almost all farmers, and most men of apparent wealth to a certain extent. I have seldom been better pleased with my audience. It is not the clapping and huzzaing that I value so much as the silent attention, the earnest look at me from all eyes at once, and then when the point is concluded, the look and nod at each other, as if the parties were saying, "*Think of that!*" And of these I had a great deal at Horncastle. They say, that there are a hundred parish churches within six miles of this town. I dare say that there was one farmer from almost every one of these parishes. This is sowing the seeds of truth in a very sure manner: it is not scattering broad-cast; it is really drilling the country.

There is one deficiency, and that, with me, a great one, throughout this country of corn and grass and oxen and sheep, that I have come over during the last three weeks; namely, the want of singing birds. We are now just in that season when they sing most. Here, in all this country, I have seen and heard only about four sky-larks, and not one other singing bird of any description, and, of the small birds that do not sing, I have seen only one yellow-hammer, and it was perched on the rail of a pound between Boston and Sibsey. Oh! the thousands of linnets all singing together on one tree, in the sand-hills of Surrey! Oh! the carolling in the coppices and the dingles of Hampshire and Sussex and Kent! At this moment (5 o'clock in the morning) the groves at Barn-Elm are echoing with the warblings of thousands upon thousands of birds. The thrush begins a little before it is light; next the black-bird; next the larks begin to rise; all the rest begin the moment the sun gives the signal; and, from the hedges, the bushes, from the middle and the topmost twigs of the trees, comes the singing of endless variety; from the long dead grass comes the sound of the sweet and soft voice of the white-throat, or nattle-tom, while the loud and merry

song of the *lark* (the songster himself out of sight) seems to descend from the skies. MILTON, in his description of paradise, has not omitted "song of earliest birds." However, every thing taken together, here, in Lincolnshire, are more good things than man could have had the conscience to ask of God.

And now, if I had time and room to describe the state of *men's affairs*, in the country through which I have passed, I should show, that the people at Westminster would have known how to turn paradise itself into hell. I must, however, defer this until my next, when I shall have been at HULL and LINCOLN, and have had a view of the whole of this rich and fine country. In the mean while, however, I cannot help congratulating that *sensible* fellow, WILMOT HOBSON, and his co-operator, BURDETT, that EMIGRATION is going on at a swimming rate. Thousands are going, and that, too, *without mortgaging the poor-rates*. But, *sensible* fellows! it is not the *aged*, the *halt*, the *ailing*; it is not the *paupers* that are going; but men with from 200*l.* to 2,000*l.* in their pocket! This very year, from two to five millions of pounds sterling will actually be carried from England to the United States. The Scotch, who have *money to pay their passages*, go to New York; those who have none get carried to Canada, that they may thence get into the United States. I will inquire, one of these days, what *right* Burdett has to live in England more than those whom he proposes to send away.

WM. COBBETT.

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Petition has already
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To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the undersigned Labourers at Barn-Elm Farm, in the parish of Barnes, in the county of Surrey,

Most humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners have perceived, that there is a proposition before your honourable House, for mortgaging the poor-rates, and for imposing taxes, in order to raise money for the purpose of sending a part of the working people out of the country, upon the ground, that, owing to their *excessive numbers*, they cause a charge upon the land so great as to threaten to swallow up the whole of the rents.

That your petitioners have heard, and they believe, that, out of about eleven thousand parishes, in England and Wales, there are one thousand and four, the population of which is, on an average, under a hundred souls to a parish; and that they know that you have, in the evidence given before your committees, the statements of experienced farmers, that there are not too many work-people to cultivate the land properly, but that the taxes take from the farmer the means of giving the work-people wages sufficient for their proper maintenance, and that from this cause the land is not cultivated so well as it used to be, and does not yield so much as it used to yield, while the labourers are compelled to resort to parish relief.

That, deducting the amount of the country rates, militia charges, highway rates, church-rates, and the law expenses, the poor-rates, that is to say, the money actually paid in the way of *relief to the poor*, does not, especially if we deduct the salaries paid to hired overseers, amount to *six millions* of pounds, in the year; while the other taxes, imposed by the Parliament and collected by the Government, amount to about *sixty millions* a year; and that, therefore, your petitioners cannot but think it strange, that your honourable House should be alarmed at the prospect of seeing the rents absorbed by these *six*

millions, while you appear to be under no apprehension at all of those rents being absorbed by the *sixty millions*, especially as they cannot for the life of them imagine how it is that your honourable House can fail to perceive that it is the burden of the sixty millions; which is the real and evident cause of the necessity of raising the six millions; daylight not being more evident than the fact, that it is the enormous taxes which disable the farmer and trader and manufacturer, to pay sufficient wages to his work-people.

That your petitioners have been told, that of late years, one million and six hundred thousand pounds, or thereabouts, have been voted by your honourable House, out of the taxes, for the *relief of the poor clergy* of the church of England; that they have just seen millions upon millions voted by you for the support of half-pay people and their widows and children; that they have been told, that there are numberless women and children, as well as men, maintained as pensioners and sinecurists; that there are many of these men (who have no pretence to have rendered any service to the country), each of whom receives more, every year, than would be sufficient to maintain two or three hundred labourers and their families; and that, while all these are thus supported in part on the fruit of our labour, while all these, who do not work at all, have our dinners, in fact, handed over to them by the acts of your honourable House, we cannot very patiently hear of projects for sending us out of our native land, on the ground that we threaten to swallow up the whole of the rental.

That your petitioners have recently observed, that many great sums of the money, part of which we pay, have been voted to be given to persons who render no services to the country; some of which sums we will mention here; that the sum of 94,900*l.* has been voted for disbanded *foreign* officers, their *widows* and *children*; that your petitioners know, that ever since the peace, this charge has been, annually made; that it has been, on an average, 110,000*l.* a year,

and that, of course, this band of foreigners have actually taken away out of England, since the peace, *one million and seven hundred thousand pounds*, partly taken from the fruit of our labour; and if our dinners were actually taken from our tables and carried over to Hanover, the process could not be to our eyes more visible than it now is; and we are astonished, that those who fear that we, who make the land bring forth crops, and who make the clothing and the houses, shall swallow up the rental, appear to think nothing at all of the swallowings of these Hanoverian men, women, and children, who may continue thus to swallow for half a century to come.

That the advocates of the project for sending us out of our country to the rocks and snows of Nova Scotia, and the swamps and wilds of Canada, have insisted on the necessity of *checking marriages* amongst us, in order to cause a decrease in our numbers; that, however, while this is insisted on in your honourable House, we perceive a part of our own earnings voted away to encourage marriage amongst those who do no work, and who live at our expense; that 115,267*l.* has just been voted as the year's pensions for *widows of officers of the army*; and that your petitioners cannot but know that while this is the case, few officers will die without leaving widows, especially as the *children too* are pensioned until of a certain age; that herein is a high premium given for marriage, and for the increase of the numbers of those who do not work; that, for this purpose, more than *two millions of pounds sterling* have been voted since the peace, out of those taxes, more than their due share of which your petitioners have had to pay; that, to all appearance, their children and children will have to pay in a similar manner for the encouragement and support of similar idlers; and that your petitioners it does seem wonderful, that there should be persons to fear that we, the labourers, shall, on account of our numbers, swallow up the rental, while they actually vote away our food and raiment to increase the numbers of those who never have produced and

never will produce any thing useful to

But that, as appertaining to this matter of *check marriages* and the *breeding of children*, the vote, recently passed, of 20,986*l.* for the year, for the *Royal Military Asylum*, is worthy of particular attention; that this asylum is a place for bringing up the *children of soldiers*; that soldiers are thus encouraged and invited to marry, or, at least, to have children; that while our marrying and the children proceeding from us are regarded as evils, we are compelled to pay taxes for encouraging soldiers to marry, and for the support and education of their children; and that while we are compelled, out of the fruit of our hard work, to pay for the good lodging, clothing, and feeding of the children of soldiers, our own poor children are, in consequence of the taxes, clad in rags, half-starved, and insulted with the degrading name of *paupers*; that, since the peace, *half a million* of pounds sterling have been voted out of the taxes for this purpose; that, as far as your petitioners have learned, none of your honourable members have ever expressed their fear that this description of persons would assist to swallow up the rental; and that they do not now learn, that there is on foot any project for sending out of the country these costly children of soldiers.

That your petitioners know that more than one-half of the whole of their wages is taken from them by the taxes; that these taxes go chiefly into the hands of idlers; that your petitioners are the bees, and that the tax-receivers are the drones; and they know, further that while there is a project for sending out of the country, no one will stay away the drones; but the farmers hope to see the working of the income and not of the act of an English

That, in consequence of taxes, your petitioners can buy a pot of worse beer than they could make for one penny; that they pay ten shillings for a pair of shoes that they could have

for five shillings; that they pay seven-pence for a pound of soap or candles that they could have for three-pence; that they pay seven-pence for a pound of sugar that that they could have for three-pence; that they pay six shillings for a pound of tea that they could have for two shillings; that they pay double for their bread and meat, of what they would have to pay, if there were no idlers to be kept out of the taxes; that, therefore, it is the taxes that make their wages insufficient for their support, and that compel them to apply for aid to the poor-rates; that, knowing these things, they feel indignant at hearing themselves described as *paupers*, while so many thousands of idlers, for whose support they pay taxes, are called *noble Lords* and *Ladies*, *honourable Gentlemen*, *Masters*, and *Misses*; that they feel indignant at hearing themselves described as a nuisance to be got rid of, while the idlers who live upon their earnings are upheld, caressed and cherished, as if they were the sole support of the country.

That your petitioners know that, according to the Holy Scriptures, even the ox is not to be muzzled as he treadeth out the corn; that God has said that the labourer is worthy of his hire; that the poor shall not be oppressed; that they shall be fed out of the abundance of the land.

That, according to the laws of the Christian church in England, according to the canon law, according to the statute law, the poor of every parish were to be relieved out of the tithes; that they ought to be relieved now; that, at any rate, the laws of England say, that no one shall perish from want; that, if unable to work, or to obtain work, a sufficiency of food and raiment and other necessities of life shall be furnished to the indigent person by the parish; and that, therefore, your petitioners have, in case of need, as clear and good a right to parish relief as the landlord has to the rent of his land; and that, if your honourable House choose to continue to take the *sixty millions* a year in taxes; if you choose to cause the working people to be made

poor in this way; if you choose to reduce us in this manner to appeal to the parish rates to support our lives; if you choose to continue to compel us to give more than the half of our wages to the tax-gatherers; if this be your decision, we hope that you will not blame us for pressing on the rates and the rental.

That your petitioners are constantly liable to be called out to serve in the militia; that they are compelled to give in their names to the parish constable, in order that they may be called out whenever the Government may choose; that they are thus liable to lose their time in the prime of life; to quit their homes, their aged parents, their wives and helpless children; and to submit to military command, military law, military punishment, and, if need be, loss of limb or loss of life in fighting; that they are thus compelled to serve and to suffer on the ground that it is necessary either to the defence of the country against foreign foes, or to the security of property against internal commotion; but that we possess no property but in our labour, which no foe, foreign or domestic, can take from us; and that, if we be to be regarded as having no right to a maintenance out of the land in exchange for our labour, if we be to be looked upon as a nuisance to be got rid of, is it just, we would ask, that we should be torn from our homes, and compelled to waste the prime of our lives, subjected to military command and military punishment, for the purpose of defending that land?

That, about twelve years ago, an act was passed by your honourable House, changing the mode of voting in parish vestries, and another act, about eleven years ago, establishing select vestries; that, by these two acts, your petitioners were deprived of a great part of their rights; that, by the latter act, *hired overseers*, strangers to the parish, were introduced with salaries, to be paid out of the rates destined for our relief; that these overseers are generally paid much in proportion as they give little in relief; that, hence have come oppressions and insults on us without end; that in some cases, the labourers wanting relief have

been compelled to draw carts and wagons like beasts of burden; in others they have been compelled to carry large stones backwards and forwards in a field, merely to give them pain and to degrade them; in others they have been shut up in the parish-pounds, and, in short, they have been fed and treated far worse than the dogs of those who live in luxury on those taxes, a large part of which are wrung from the sweat of your petitioners; and that, at last, we have seen a bill passed by your honourable House, authorising these overseers to dispose of our dead bodies for the purpose of being cut up by the surgeons, thereby inflicting on poverty the ignominy due to the murderer.

That, while we know that we have a clear right to relief in case of need, we wish not to be compelled to apply for that relief; we desire not to hear the degrading name of pauper; we wish to keep our wages for our own use, and not to have them taken away to be given to idlers; we wish to be well fed and clad, and to carry our heads erect, as was the case with our happy forefathers; we are resolved, at any rate, not to be treated like beasts of burden, and not to be driven from our country; and, therefore, we pray that your honourable House will repeal the two acts above mentioned; that you will take from our shoulders, and from those of our employers, the grievous burden of taxes; and that you will be pleased to begin forthwith by relieving us from the taxes on malt, hops, leather, soap and candles.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Thomas Bridges, + his mark.
John Kemp.
John Dabine.
Richard Holden, + his mark.
John Laing, + his mark.
Edward Lichford, + his mark.
William Carter, + mark.

BLASPHEMING JEWS

AND

CATHOLIC DUKE.

LONG ago (before I wrote the Protestant Reformation), I had, to remark

the catholicity of the Duke of Norfolk. I have not time for more now; but I will just insert an excellent letter from the MORNING JOURNAL, as a sort of prelude to my more elaborate proceedings in this affair.

To the Editor of the Morning Journal

SIR,—In the report of proceedings in the House of Lords on Friday night last, I read the following: "The Duke of Norfolk: My lords, I hold in my hands a petition, which I am requested to present, from persons professing the Jewish persuasion in the West London district, praying the removal of civil disabilities on account of religious opinions under which they at present labour. As an English Catholic, but lately admitted to the benefit of a seat in this house, I should be most ungrateful if I did not support the prayer of this petition, which I beg to assure your lordships I do most cordially. (Cheers.)" Oh! the most noble and most Catholic Duke would be "most ungrateful," would he, if he, a Papist, had no fellow-feeling for a Jew? But it is possible that such an expression may be wrongly attributed to the Duke, and that he said "ungenerous" instead of "ungrateful." It seems, however, from the tenor of his speech, that he must have said the one or the other. Now, though Roman Catholic dukes may have sympathies with the Jewish race, that is no reason why the people of the church of England should. If it really was gratitude that prompted his Grace "most cordially" to support the petition of the anti-Christians; if he was conscious that he owed his seat in the house to any Jew-like influence; the pity for us that he obtained that seat, ought to be the last expressions of gratified himself vested the people of England is being grateful to him, and God help us (Jews only excepted) who anticipate a bettering of our state as the consequence of Catholic emancipation! How far is this Roman Catholic peer's

speech consistent with the condition of the Jews at Rome, under the very nose of the Pope and all his cardinals? There the Jews are shut up almost like so many dogs in a kennel, and treated with as little toleration as Christians are among the Turks. The Pope does not reproach them by using the mild phrase "religious opinions." It is villanous infidelity that the Jew is accused of by him, and the offender is treated accordingly. In what way, I would ask the Duke "as a Catholic," is the measure he would have our Government adopt consistent with what is done by the head priest of his own religion? Is the Papal government just, or is it extremely uncharitable and inhuman? Surely, it is fair to put this question to the Duke of Norfolk, who would seem to be returning us thanks for his own emancipation by becoming the champion in parliament of the most open enemies of Christianity. If we have not the right to denounce with the utmost severity that language will supply such an attempt as this, surely we may be allowed, even in this age of improvement, to make some remonstrance against our being forced (by the pious and of Catholics too) to look upon a Jew and a Christian as one and the same thing.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

P. C.

London, April 5, 1830.

ITALIAN GRAMMAR.

THE following is the Preface to Mr. JAMES P. COBBETT'S Italian Grammar, which will be published early next week.

PREFACE.

As it may be considered, that every one who writes a book should be prepared to give some reason beyond that of the common ambition *to be read*, for his seeking the attention which is the end of its being published, I will simply say, that I have found those books that I have met with, relating to the same subject as my own, either deficient in

their contents, or so injudicious as to the choice of matter, and so confused in its arrangement, as, in a great measure, to retard the pursuit which the makers of them intended to accelerate. Those which are deficient, are very much so; while those of the other class show more learning in the writer than they are calculated to impart to the reader; they are more voluminous than luminous; they are abundant in matter, but not clear in manner. Seeing this, therefore, and having failed, in many cases, to obtain the information which I expected to find in Italian Grammars, and naturally supposing that others must be subject to the same disappointment as myself, I have written this Grammar, in the hope that it may give those who are beginning to study Italian the assistance they stand in need of towards acquiring a tolerable acquaintance with the rudiments of that language. How far I have accomplished my object, it will be for my readers to judge. Of one thing, however, they may be assured, which is, that if the information required by them is not to be found in the source I offer, the source really containing that information has never yet been opened. I have not, I am aware, said *every thing* that it might be useful to say. But I have had a double object in view; to say all that was essentially necessary, and, at the same time, to put what I had to say within the smallest possible compass; in attempting to do which I have, I trust, made my work such as to fulfil the promise of its title.

The first Italian Grammar, at all worthy of being so called, that was used in England, was that of VENERONI, originally written in French, and upwards of a century ago. Of VENERONI's Grammar there have been, from time to time, many different translations into our language; and ZOTTI's French-Italian Grammar is nothing more than the last edition of VENERONI. Since the first appearance of VENERONI, the Italian Grammars that have been published, both in French and in English, are almost innumerable. It seems to have been a main endeavour with each subsequent grammarian, to expose and

condemn the particular errors of his nearest predecessor. Thus, among the writers in French, PERETTI attacks VENERONI, BIAGIOLI attacks PERETTI, and BARBERI, again, attacks BIAGIOLI. VENERONI, who has the merit of having led the way, is criticised by those who have followed him in a manner the most unceremonious: not one of them acknowledges what he takes from VENERONI; while they all make common cause of complaint that he has not given enough to borrow from. The Italian Grammars of TORIANO and ALTIERI are, I believe, the first that were published originally in our language. Latterly came the English "Lectures" of SIGNOR GALIGNANI, who, and whose Editor, Dr. MONTUCCI, have composed a work to teach us Italian ("*with ease and facility*") and "*without the help of any master*") which, though it shows research in its compilers, insures infinite perplexity to its readers. My experience of grammars in general is such, that I look for *negative* more than for *positive* merit in them. If asked *which* I consider the best Italian Grammar, my answer would be: "The *shortest* is the *best*; for the one that has the least to say about the matter will do the least towards making you abandon the study altogether." The little French works of POLIDORI and VERGANI are the best of their kind. These do not, to be sure, guide you far; but they are useful as far as they go, and do not lead you into darkness by unsatisfactory explanations.

I have written rather as a *learner* than as a *professor*. I do not pretend to have made *new discoveries*, to have found out what other grammarians did not know before. But, the thorough understanding of the matter, and the making it equally well understood by others, are two different things; and the latter of these is a thing in which I, as a learner, have found every grammar wanting. It is not of any particular work that I complain: I find one fault in them all: it is the want of *clearness*, the want of *reasons and explanations*. In this consists the only fault that I need point out in any one; but from this, important as it is, there is not one that is free. Where

There is such a multiplicity of points to be noticed, the *arrangement* of the several matters is a thing of the greatest importance; and to this I have paid particular attention. I have taken care to introduce no *grammatical term*, without, at the same time, explaining the meaning of it. I have, I believe, passed over hardly any of those difficulties to which a learner is sure to be subject. Where *principle* is concerned, I have studied to give the clearest possible explanation; and in those cases where the differences between the two languages consist in mere matters of practice, for which it would be difficult to account by any reasoning, I have forewarned the learner of what he may have to meet with: to know what our difficulties are, and where they lie, is partly to overcome them.

Although I am not, as will be perceived, a *compiler*, or collector of materials from books already written, I do not, at the same time, wish to be regarded as having received no assistance from those who have preceded me. There is no grammar, perhaps, to which I am not indebted for *something*. There are two works which I think it but justice particularly to name. The first is that of SIGNOR GALIGNANI: the lectures of this gentleman are abstruse; but they have, nevertheless, a vast deal of good matter in them. The other is the large French work of SIGNOR BARBERI, called "*Grammaire des Grammaires Italiennes*." In this grammar there is an use of *new names*, which, in my opinion, tends rather to confusion than otherwise. But I have learned a great deal from SIGNOR BARBERI; he is a very able grammarian, and his performance, which is very copious and ornate, does him the high

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over and corrects it; and, badly as it may be done, the pupil cannot help thinking that, when he has "*done his exercise*," he has learned all that part of the grammar to which it relates, though, as is commonly the case, he does not really know one word about the matter. Exercises may, therefore, if not properly used, not only be of no benefit, but rather tend to injury. There are some, I know, that think the whole subject is best taught by the means of *exercises*. This is a most pernicious notion; and the system founded on it is worthy of none but the teachers of parrots. If exercises are nothing more than putting the language into practice, then every word you read, and every word you write or say, is, in fact, an *exercise*. But if they mean, as a part of the grammar, something by which to show that you understand the *rules* and *principles* you have been reading about, these rules and principles should be first thoroughly comprehended, or, the materials for making the exercise may just as well not have been in your book. In the title-page of a Frenchman's grammar I once read the following motto, taken from Quintilian: *Iter breve est per exemplum, longum per præcepta*; By *example*, the way is short, by *precept* long. I found that the contents of the book were just what might be expected to come after such a motto, and that the author of it had taken the words of his authority in at least their largest sense. It was a book consisting, almost entirely, of *examples* and *exercises*. Such a work should not be called a *Grammar*. However, while I think that exercises do not properly form any part of a Grammar, I am far from thinking that they are of *no use*. I am of opinion, that if they be well selected, and made *strictly* to apply to the rules, they may be of great assistance. And I propose, therefore, in addition to the abundance of examples that I have already given, to publish a little book of *EXERCISES*, which, as they will refer to its different chapters or paragraphs, will form a proper appendix to this Grammar.

In conclusion, I will say a few words in the way of *advice* to the reader. I

will take it for granted, that he does not expect to gain a knowledge of a language without studying its *grammar*. The science of grammar is, it is true, not very easy to be clearly expounded; and the far greater part of those who call themselves grammarians have presented the matter to our understandings in a shape that is any thing but inviting. Grammars have been found so difficult to understand, and have been the means of disgusting so many with the pursuit, that learners have become quite captivated with the pretension of modern teachers who pretend to have found out a method of teaching languages, the principal recommendation of which is that *no grammar is to be used*! This invention is nothing but a mischievous deceit: it is a mere mockery of learning. The truth is, that if we do not have recourse to such books as require some of the labour of thought, and teach us to understand by the means of our reason, we must learn as mere babies do; and, if we learn any thing, our knowledge can be the result of long habit only, and it must be purchased at an enormous expense of time. Now, it is to render unnecessary this long habit, it is to save this enormous expense of time, that the *grammar* is intended. The right use of the *grammar*, of a book really deserving that title, is to teach us, in one day, that which would, without it, require years. It is, therefore, to the *grammar* that the student must give his attention. If he make himself perfectly master, or nearly so, of this, the rest of his path will be all smooth, and he will meet with nothing beyond it to check his progress for a moment; while, on the contrary, if this be neglected, not only will he be unable to use the words of his new language correctly, but he must be constantly liable to misunderstand the meaning of them as used by others. Next in importance to the well understanding of the rules and principles contained in the *grammar*, comes all that part of the study which may be called *exercise*; that is, the reading of Italian books, or the translating of the one language into the other. As a book for

beginners to read, or to translate Italian into English, there is one that I think it useful to mention; it is the *Comedies of Goldoni*, the style of which is at once easy and abounding in such expressions as are peculiar to the beautiful language in which they are written. In making translations, the Italian should be first copied on one side of the paper, the English to be written on the other. Not a single phrase or word ought to be passed by, without the learner being satisfied that he knows the real meaning of it, and that he has put that meaning into his translation. There is nothing, the grammar itself alone excepted, of so much benefit as this rigid translating. It obliges us to be scrupulous in searching for the true sense of the words, prevents us from being too much in a hurry to decide as to the meaning, and, when once clearly understood, plants it firmly in the memory. One single page of translation thus made, will do more than fifty pages of hasty reading; no one that has not tried it can have any idea of its usefulness; and I may venture to say, that all those who shall follow my advice in this respect, will acknowledge from experience, that I have not given it without good reason.

JAMES P. COBBETT.

ROUTE.

Louth, 14th April.

I SHALL be at Hull to-morrow, 15th; at Lincoln, 20th of April. I cannot now be quite certain as to the future.

CORBETT'S CORN, MANGEL-WURZEL & EED, AND LOCUST TREE.

THE time is fast approaching for sowing all three of the above. The corn should be out of ground as soon as we can reasonably expect that the frosts are all over. Any gentleman who may wish to plant this, may have the seed on applying at my shop, 183, Fleet-street. The prices are, for a bag con-

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LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 24TH, 1830.

[P. 17]



The soldier's children are put into two "Royal Asylums", the boys in that at CHILSEA, and the girls in that at SOUTHAMPTON; where they are well fed, clad, and brought up, out of money raised in taxes, part of which taxes every labouring man (however many children he may have) pays out of the fruit of his labour; and of course has less to give his own poor children to eat and to wear.

EASTERN TOUR.

Spital, near Lincoln, 19th April, 1830

HERE we are, at the end of a pretty decent trip since we left Boston. The next place, on our way to HULL, was HORNCastle, where I preached politics, in the playhouse, to a most respectable body of farmers, who had come in the wet to meet me. Mr JOHN PENISTON, who had invited me to stop there, behaved in a very obliging manner, and made all things very pleasant.

The country from Boston continued, as I said before, flat for about half the way to Horncastle, and we then began to see the high land. From Horncastle I set off two hours before the carriage, and going through a very pretty village called ASHBY, got to another at the foot of a hill, which, they say, forms part of the WOLDS, that is, a ridge of hills. This second village is called SCAMBLESNY. The vale in which it lies is very fine land. A hazel mould, rich and light too. I saw a man here ploughing for barley, after turnips, with one horse: the horse did not seem to work hard, and the man was singing: I need not say that he was young, and I dare say he had the good sense to keep his legs under another man's table, and to stretch his body on another man's bed.

This is a very fine corn country: chalk at bottom: stony near the surface, in

some places: here and there a deep pit in the hills: the shape of the ground somewhat like that of the broadest valleys in Wiltshire; but the fields are without fences, as they are there: fields from fifteen to forty acres: the hills not downs, as in Wiltshire; but cultivated all over. The houses white and thatched, as they are in all chalk countries. The valley at SCAMBLESNY has a little rivulet running down it, just as in all the chalk countries. The land continues nearly the same to LOUTH, which lies in a deep dell, with beautiful pastures on the surrounding hills, like those that I once admired at Shaftesbury, in Dorsetshire, and like that near St. Austrey, in Cornwall, which I described in 1808.

At LOUTH the wise corporation had refused to let us have the playhouse; but my friends had prepared a very good place; and I had an opportunity of addressing crowded audiences, two nights running. At no place have I been better pleased than at Louth. Mr. PARSONS, solicitor, a young gentleman whom I had the honour to know slightly before, and to know whom, whether I estimate by character or by talent, would be an honour to any man, was particularly attentive to us. Mr. NAULL, ironmonger, who had had the battle to fight for me for twenty years, expressed his exultation at my triumph, in a manner that showed that he justly participated it with me. I breakfasted, at Mr. NAULL's, with a gentleman 88 or 89 years of age, whose joy at shaking me by the hand was excessive. "Ah!" said he, "where are now those savages who, at HULL, threatened to kill me for raising my voice against this system?" This is a very fine town, and has a beautiful church, nearly equal to that of Boston.

We left Louth on the morning of Thursday, the 15th, and got to BARTON on the HUMBER by about noon, over a very fine country, large fields, fine pastures, flocks of those great sheep, of from 200 to 1000 in a flock; and here

at Barton, we arrived at the northern part of this noble county, having never seen one single acre of *waste land*, and not one acre that would be called *bad land*, in the south of England. The *Wolds*, or *highlands*, lie away to our right, from Horncastle to near Barton; and, on the other side of the *Wolds*, lie the *Marshes of Lincolnshire*, which extend along the coast, from Boston to the mouth of the *Humber*, on the bank of which we were at Barton, *HULL* being on the opposite side of the river, which is here about five miles wide, and which we had to cross in a steam-boat.

But let me not forget *GREAT GRIMSBY*, at which we changed horses, and breakfasted, in our way from Louth to Barton. "What the devil!" the reader will say, "should you want to recollect *that* place for? Why do you want not to forget *that* sink of corruption? What could you find there to be snatched from *everlasting oblivion*, except for the *purpose of being execrated*?" I did, however, find something there worthy of being made known, not only to every man in England but to every man in the world; and not to mention it here, would be to be guilty of the greatest injustice.

To my surprise, I found a good many people assembled at the inn-door, evidently expecting my arrival. While breakfast was preparing, I wished to speak to the bookseller of the place, if there were one, and to give him a list of my books and writings, that he might place it in his shop. When he came, I was surprised to find that he had it already, and that he, occasionally, sold my books. Upon my asking him how he got it, he said that it was brought down from London to him by a Mr. *PLASKITT*. He said, had all my writings, he said, he was very glad to see me; but that at a mile from the town, however, had gone off to and Mr. *Plaskitt* gave me a done breakfast, and a daughter; and from this gentleman, a man of as kind and benevolent appearance and manners as I ever beheld in

my life, - I had the following facts; namely, that one of his sons sailed for New York some years ago; that the ship was cast away on the shores of Long Island; that the captain, crew, and passengers, all perished; that the wrecked vessel was taken possession of by people on the coast; that his son had a watch in his trunk, or chest, a purse with fourteen shillings in it, and divers articles of wearing apparel; that the Americans, who searched the wreck, sent all these articles safely to England to him; "and," said he, "I keep the purse and the money at home, and *here is the watch in my pocket*!"

It would have been worth the expense of coming from London to Grimsby, if for nothing but to learn this fact, which I record, not only in justice to the free people of America, and particularly in justice to my late neighbours in Long Island, but in justice to the character of mankind. I publish it as something to counterbalance the conduct of the atrocious monsters who plunder the wrecks on the coast of Cornwall, and, as I am told, on the coasts here in the east of the island.

Away go, then, all the accusations upon the character of the Yankees. People may call them *sharp*, *cunning*, *overreaching*; and when they have exhausted the vocabulary of their abuse, the answer is found in this one fact, stated by Mr. *JOSEPH PLASKITT*, of Great Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, Old England. The person who sent the things to Mr. *Plaskitt*, was named *JONES*. It did not occur to me to ask his christian name, nor to inquire what was the particular place where he lived in Long Island. I request Mr. *Plaskitt* to contrive to let me know these particulars; as I should like to communicate them to friends that I have on the north side of that island. However, it would excite no surprise there, that one of their countrymen had acted this part; for every man of them, having the same opportunity, would do the same. Their forefathers carried to New England the nature and character of the people of Old England, before national debts, paper-money, septennial bills, standing armies, dead-

weights, and jollies, had beggared and corrupted the people.

At Hull I lectured (I laugh at the word) to about seven hundred persons, on the same evening that I arrived from Louth, which was on Thursday the 15th. We had what they call the summer theatre, which was crowded in every part except on the stage; and the next evening, the stage was crowded too. The third evening was merely accidental, no previous notice having been given of it. On the Saturday, I went in the middle of the day to Beverley; saw there the beautiful minster, and some of the fine horses which they show there at this season of the year; dined with about fifty farmers; made a speech to them and about a hundred more, perhaps; and got back to Hull time enough to go to the theatre there.

The country round Hull appears to exceed even that of Lincolnshire. The three mornings that I was at Hull I walked out in three different directions, and found the country every where fine. To the east lies the Holderness country. I used to wonder that Yorkshire, to which I, from some false impression in my youth, had always attached the idea of *sterility*, should send us of the south those beautiful cattle with short horns and straight and deep bodies. You have only to see the country, to cease to wonder at this. It lies on the north side of the mouth of the Humber; is as flat and fat as the land between Holbeach and Boston, without, as they tell me, the necessity of such numerous ditches. The appellation "Yorkshire bite," the acute sayings ascribed to Yorkshiremen; and their quick manner, I remember, in the army. When speaking of what country a man was, one used to say, in defence of the party, "York, but honest." Another saying was, that it was a bare common that a Yorkshireman would go over without taking a bite. Every one knows the story of the gentleman, who, upon finding that a host-cleaner, in the south, was a Yorkshireman, and expressing his surprise that he was not become master of the inn, received for answer, "Ah, sir, but master is York too!" And

that of the Yorkshire boy, who, seeing a gentleman eating some eggs, asked the cook to give him a little salt; and, upon being asked what he could want with salt, he said, "*perhaps that gentleman may give me an egg presently.*"

It is surprising what effect sayings like these produce upon the mind. From one end to the other of the kingdom, Yorkshiremen are looked upon as being keener than other people; more eager in pursuit of their own interests; more sharp and more selfish. For my part, I was cured with regard to the people long before I saw Yorkshire. In the army, where we see men of all counties, I always found Yorkshiremen distinguished for their frank manners and generous disposition. In the United States, my kind and generous friends of Pennsylvania were the children and descendants of Yorkshire parents; and, in truth, I long ago made up my mind, that this hardness and sharpness ascribed to Yorkshiremen, arose from the sort of envy excited by that quickness, that activity, that buoyancy of spirits, which bears them up through adverse circumstances, and their consequent success in all the situations of life. They, like the people of Lancashire, are just the very reverse of being *cunning* and *selfish*; be they farmers, or be they what they may, you get at the bottom of their hearts in a minute. Every thing they think soon gets to the tongue, and out it comes, heads and tails, as fast as they can pour it. Fine materials for Oliver to work on! If he had been sent to the west instead of the north, he would have found people there on whom he would have exercised his powers in vain. You are not to have every valuable quality in the same man and the same people: you are not to have prudent caution united with quickness and volubility.

But though, as to the character of the people, I, having seen so many hundreds of Yorkshiremen, was perfectly enlightened, and had quite got the better of all prejudices many years ago, I still, in spite of the matchless horses and matchless cattle, had a general impression that Yorkshire was a *stupid*

country, compared with the counties in the south and the west; and this notion was confirmed, in some measure, by my seeing the moory and rocky parts in the West Riding, last winter. It was necessary for me to come and see the country on the banks of the Humber. I have seen the vale of Honiton, in Devonshire, that of Taunton and of Glastonbury, in Somersetshire: I have seen the vales of Gloucester and Worcester, and the banks of the Severn and the Avon: I have seen the vale of Berkshire, that of Aylesbury, in Buckinghamshire: I have seen the beautiful vales of Wiltshire; and the banks of the Medway, from Tunbridge to Maidstone, called the Garden of Eden. I was born at one end of Arthur Young's "finest ten miles in England". I have ridden my horse across the Thames at its two sources, and I have been along every inch of its banks, from its sources, to Gravesend, whence I have sailed out of it into the channel; and, having seen and had ability to judge of the goodness of the land in all these places, I declare that I have never seen any to be compared with the land on the banks of the Humber, from the Holderness country included, and with the exception of the land from Wisbeach to Holbeach, and Holbeach to Boston. Really, the single parish of Holbeach, or a patch of the same size in the Holderness country, seems to be equal in value to the whole of the county of Surrey, if we leave out the little plot of hop-garden, at Farnham.

Nor is the town of Hull itself to be overlooked. It is a little city of London streets, shops, every thing like it; clean as the best parts of London, and the people as bustling and attentive. The town of Hull is surrounded with commodious docks for shipping. These docks are separated, in three or four places, by streets; so that, as you walk in, you walk by the side of the ships. The town side of the docks is pretty considerable, and the walks from it into the country beautiful. I went about a good deal, and I nowhere saw marks of beggary or filth, even in the outskirts: none of those nasty, shabby,

thief-looking sheds that you see in the approaches to London: none of those off-scourings of pernicious and insolent luxury. I hate commercial towns in general: there is generally something so loathsome in the look, and so stern and unfeeling in the manners of seafaring people, that I have always, from my very youth, disliked sea-ports; but really, the sight of this nice town, the manners of its people, the civil, and kind and cordial reception that I met with, and the clean streets, and especially the pretty gardens in every direction, as you walk into the country, has made Hull, though a sea-port, a place that I shall always look back to with delight.

BREXLEY, which was formerly a very considerable city, with three or four gates, one of which is yet standing, had a great college, built in the year 700, by the Archbishop of York. It had three famous hospitals and two friaries. There is one church, a very fine one, and the minster still left, of which a bookseller in the town was so good as to give me copper-plate representations. It is still a very pretty town; the market large; the land all round the country good; and it is particularly famous for horses; those for speed being shown off here on the market-days at this time of the year. The farmers and gentlemen assemble in a very wide street, on the outside of the western gate of the town; and at a certain time of the day, the grooms come from their different stables to show off their beautiful horses; blood horses, coach horses, hunters, and cart horses, sometimes, they tell me, forty or fifty in number. The day that I was there (being late in the season), there were only seven or eight, or ten, at the most. When I was asked at the inn to go and see "the horses," I had no curiosity, thinking it was such a parcel of horses as we see at a market in the south; but I found it a sight worth going to see; for, besides the beauty of the horses, there were the adroitness, the agility, and the boldness of the grooms, each running alongside of his horse, with the latter trotting at the rate of ten or twelve miles an hour, and then swinging him round, and showing him off to

the best advantage. In short, I was exceedingly gratified by the trip to Beverley: the day was fair and mild; we went by one road and came back by another, and I have very seldom passed a pleasanter day in my life.

I found, very much to my surprise, that at Hull, it was very nearly as far north as Leeds, and, at Beverley, a little farther north. Of all things in the world, I wanted to speak to Mr. FOSBERG, of the Leeds Patriot; but was not aware of the relative situation till it was too late to write to him. Boats go up the Humber and the Ouse to within a few miles of Leeds. The Holderness country is that piece of land which lies between Hull and the sea - it appears to be a perfect flat; and is said to be, and I dare say is, one of the very finest spots in the whole kingdom. I had a very kind invitation to go into it; but I could not stay longer on that side of the Humber, without neglecting some duty or other. In quitting Hull, I left behind me but one thing, the sight of which had not pleased me; namely, a fine gilded equestrian statue of the Dutch "deliv'rr," who gave to England the national debt, that fruitful mother of mischief and misery. Until this statue be replaced by that of ANDREW MARVELL, that real honour of this town, England will never be what it ought to be.

We came back to Barton, by the steam-boat, on Sunday, in the afternoon of the 18th, and in the evening reached this place, which is an inn, with three or four houses near it, at the distance of ten miles from Lincoln, to which we are going on Wednesday the 21st. Between this place and Barton, we passed through a delightfully pretty town, called BATAA. The land in this, which is called the high part of Lincolnshire, has generally stone, a solid bed of stone of great depth, at different distances from the surface. In some parts, this stone is of a yellowish colour, and in the form of very thick slabs; and in these parts the soil is not so good; but, generally speaking, the land is excellent; easily tilled; no surface water; the fields very large; not many trees; but what there are,

particularly the ash, very fine, and of free growth; and innumerable flocks of those big, long-woolled sheep, from one hundred to a thousand in a flock, each having from eight to ten pounds of wool upon his body. One of the finest sights in the world is one of these thirty or forty-acre fields, with four or five or six hundred ewes, each with her one or two lambs skipping about upon grass, the most beautiful that can be conceived, and on lands as level as a bowling-green. I do not recollect having seen a mole-hill or an ant-hill since I came into the country; and not one acre of waste land, though I have gone the whole length of the country one way, and am now got nearly half way back another way.

Having seen this country, and having had a glimpse at the Holderness country, which lies on the banks of the sea, and to the east and north-east of Hull, can I cease to wonder that those devils, the Danes, found their way hither so often. There were the fat sheep then, just as there are now, depend upon it; and these numbers of noble churches, and these magnificent minsters, were reared, because the wealth of the country remained in the country, and was not carried away to the south, to keep swarms of devouring tax-eaters, to cram the maws of wasteful idlers, and to be transferred to the grasp of luxurious and blaspheming Jews.

You always perceive that the churches are large and fine and lofty, in proportion to the richness of the soil and the extent of the parish. In many places, where there are now but a very few houses, and those comparatively miserable, there are churches that look like cathedrals. It is quite curious to observe the difference in the style of the churches of Suffolk and Norfolk, and those of Lincolnshire, and of the other two counties the churches are good, large, and with a good spire, and pretty lofty tower. And, in a few instances, particularly at Ipswich and Long Melton, you find magnificence in these buildings; but in Lincolnshire the magnificence of the churches is surprising.

These churches are the indubitable proof of great and solid wealth, and formerly of great population. From every thing that I have heard, the *Netherlands* is a country very much resembling Lincolnshire; and they say, that the church at Antwerp is like that at Boston; but my opinion is, that Lincolnshire alone contains more of these fine buildings than the whole of the continent of Europe.

Still, however, there is the almost total want of the *singing birds*. There had been a shower a little while before we arrived at this place; it was about six o'clock in the evening; and there is a thick wood, together with the orchards and gardens, very near to the inn. We heard a little twittering from one thrush; but, at that very moment, if we had been as near to just such a wood in Surrey, or Hampshire, or Sussex, or Kent, we should have heard ten thousand birds singing altogether; and the thrushes continuing their song till twenty minutes after sunset. When I was at Ipswich, the gardens and plantations round that beautiful town began in the morning to ring with the voices of the different birds. The nightingale is, I believe, *never heard* any where on the eastern side of Lincolnshire; though it is sometimes heard in the same latitude in the dells in Yorkshire. How ridiculous it is to suppose, that these frail birds, with their slender wings and proportionately heavy bodies, *cross the sea*, and come back again! I have not yet heard more than half a dozen skylarks; and I have, only last year, heard ten at a time make the air ring over one of my fields at Barn-Elm. This is a great drawback from the pleasure of viewing this country.

It is time for me now, withdrawing myself from these objects, visible to the eye, to speak of the state of *the people*, and of the manner in which their affairs are affected by the workings of the system directed to the labourers, who are miserable. The wages which they are employed on the land, though all the counties that I have come, twelve shillings a week for married men, and less for single ones; but a large part of them

are not even at this season employed on the land. The farmers, for want of means of profitable employment, suffer the men to fall upon the parish; and they are employed in digging and breaking stone for the roads; so that the roads are nice and smooth for the sheep and cattle to walk on in their way to the all-devouring jaws of the Jews and other tax-eaters in London and its vicinity. None of the best meat, except by mere accident, is consumed here. To-day (the 20th of April), we have seen hundreds upon hundreds of sheep, as fat as hogs, go by this inn door, their toes, like those of the foot-marks at the entrance of the lion's den, all pointing towards the Wen; and the landlord gave us for dinner a little *skinny, hard leg of old ewe mutton*! Where the man got it, I cannot imagine. Thus it is: every good thing is literally driven or carried away out of the country. In walking out yesterday, I saw three poor fellows digging stone for the roads, who told me that they never had any thing but bread to eat, and water to wash it down. One of them was a widower, with three children; and his pay was eighteen-pence a day, that is to say, about three pounds of bread a day each, for six days in the week; nothing for Sunday, and nothing for lodging, washing, clothing, candle-light, or fuel! Just such was the state of things in France at the eve of the revolution! Precisely such; and precisely the same were the causes. Whether the effect will be the same, I do not take upon myself positively to determine. Just on the other side of the hedge, while I was talking to these men, I saw about two hundred fat sheep in a rich pasture. I did not tell them what I might have told them; but I explained to them why the farmers were unable to give them a sufficiency of wages. They listened with great attention; and said that they did believe that the farmers were in great distress themselves.

With regard to the farmers, it is said here, that the far greater part, if sold up, would be found to be insolvent. The tradesmen in country towns are, and must be, in but little better state. The y

all tell you they do not sell half so many goods as they used to sell; and, of course, the manufacturers must suffer in the like degree. There is a diminution and deterioration, every one says, in the stocks upon the farms. *Sheep-washing* is a sort of business in this country; and I heard at Boston that the sheep-washers say, that there is a gradual falling off in point of the numbers of sheep washed.

The farmers are all gradually sinking in point of property. The very rich ones do not feel that ruin is absolutely approaching; but they are all alarmed; and, as to the poorer ones, they are fast falling into the rank of paupers. When I was at Ely, a gentleman who appeared to be a great farmer, told me in presence of fifty farmers, at the White Hart inn, that he had seen that morning, *three men* cracking stones on the road as paupers of the parish of Wilbarton; and that all these men had been *overseers of the poor of that same parish within the last seven years*. Wheat keeps up in price to about an average of seven shillings a bushel; which is owing to our two successive bad harvests, but fat beef and pork are at a very low price, and mutton not much better. The beef was selling at Lynn, for five shillings the stone of fourteen pounds, and the pork at four and sixpence. The wool (one of the great articles of produce in these countries) selling for less than half of its former price. And here let me stop to observe, that I was well informed before I left London, that merchants were *exporting our long wool to France*, where it paid *thirty per cent duty*. Well, say the land owners, but we have to thank *Huxtable* for this, at any rate; and that is true enough; for the law was most rigid against the export of wool; but what will the *manufacturers* say? Thus the collective goes on, *smashing one class and then another; and, resolved to adhere to the taxes, it knocks away, one after another, the props of the system itself*. By every measure that it adopts for the sake of obtaining security, or of affording relief to the people, it does some act of crying injustice. To save itself from the natu-

ral effects of its own measures, it knocked down the country bankers, in direct violation of the law in 1823. It is now about to lay its heavy hand on the *big brewers and the publicans*, in order to pacify the call for a reduction of taxes, and with the hope of preventing such reduction in reality. It is making a trifling attempt to save the West Indians from total ruin, and the West India colonies from revolt; but by that same attempt, it reflects injury on the British distillers, and on the growers of barley. Thus it cannot do justice without doing injustice; it cannot do good without doing evil; and thus it must continue to do, until it take off, in reality, *more than one half of the taxes*.

One of the great signs of the poverty of people in the middle rank of life, is the falling off of the audiences at the playhouses. There is a playhouse in almost every country town, where the players used to act occasionally; and in large towns almost always. In some places they have of late abandoned acting altogether. In others they have acted, very frequently, to not more than *ten or twelve persons*. At Norwich, the playhouse had been shut up for a long time. I heard of one manager who has become a porter to a warehouse, and his company dispersed. In most places, the insides of the buildings seem to be tumbling to pieces; and the curtains and scenes that they let down, seem to be abandoned to the damp and the cobwebs. My appearance on the boards seemed to give new life to the drama. I was, until the birth of my third son, a constant haunter of the playhouse, in which I took great delight; but when he came into the world, I said, "Now, Nancy, it is time for us to leave off 'going to the play.'" It is really melancholy to look at things now and to think of things then. I feel great sorrow on account of these poor players; for, though they are made tools of the Government and corporations and the parsons, it is not their fault, and they have uniformity, whenever I have come in contact with them, been very civil to me. I am not sorry that they are *left out of the list of vagrants* by the

not; but, in this case, as in so many others, the men have to be grateful to the women; for who believes that this merciful omission would have taken place, if so many of the peers had not contracted matrimonial alliances with players; if so many playeresses had not become peeresses. We may thank God for disposing the hearts of our law-makers to be guilty of the same sins and foibles as ourselves; for when a bishop had committed a nameless offence, and a lord had been sentenced to the pillory, the use of that ancient mode of punishing offences was abolished: when a lord (CASTLEREAGH), who was also a minister of state, had cut his own throat, the degrading punishment of burial in cross-roads was abolished; and now, when so many peers and great men have taken to wife playeresses, which the law termed *vagrants*, that term, as applied to the children of Melpomene and Thalia, is abolished! Laud we the Gods, that our rulers cannot, after all, direct themselves of flesh and blood! For the Lord have mercy upon us, if their great souls were once to soar above that tenement!

Lord Stanhope cautioned his brother peers, a little while ago, against the angry feeling which was rising up in the poor against the rich. His Lordship is a wise and humane man, and this is evident from all his conduct. Nor is this angry feeling confined to the counties in the south, where the rage of the people, from the very nature of the local circumstances, is more formidable, woods and coppices and dingles, and bye-lanes and sticks and stones ever at hand, being resources unknown in counties like this. When I was at St. Ives, in Hampshire, an open country, I saw several persons, and smoked a pipe by the fire, and then, for evening service, I went on a carpenter's bench, and then to a night's shop; my friend, who had never having gained any money, but in that grand mart for fat meat, coming from the Fens, and from the West. While we were sitting, a hand-bill was handed round the table, advertising farming stock for sale; and amongst the

implements of husbandry, "an excellent fire-engine, several steel traps, and "spring guns"! And that is the life, is it, of an English farmer? I walked on about six miles of the road from Holbeach to Boston. I have before observed upon the inexhaustible riches of this land. At the end of about five miles and three quarters, I came to a public-house, and thought I would get some breakfast; but the poor woman, with a tribe of children about her, had not a morsel of either meat or bread! At a house called an inn, a little further on, the landlord had no meat except a little bit of chine of bacon; and though there were a good many houses near the spot, the landlord told me that the people were become so poor, that the butchers had left off killing meat in the neighbourhood. Just the state of things that existed in France on the eve of the Revolution. On that very spot I looked round me, and counted more than two thousand fat sheep in the pastures! How long; how long, good God! is this state of things to last? How long will those people starve in the midst of plenty? How long will fire engines, steel traps, and spring guns be, in such a state of things, a protection to property? When I was at Bury, a gentleman told me, it was Mr. DAWSON of that place, that some time before a farmer had been sold up by his landlord; and that, in a few weeks afterwards, the farm-house was on fire, and that when the servants of the landlord arrived to put it out, they found the handle of the pump taken away, and that the homestead was totally destroyed. This was told me in the presence of several gentlemen, who all spoke of it as a fact of perfect notoriety.

Another respect in which our situation so exactly resembles that of France on the eve of the Revolution, is, the fleeing from the country in every direction. When I was in Norfolk, there were four hundred persons, generally young men, labourers, carpenters, wheelwrights, millwrights, smiths, and bricklayers; most of them with some money, and some farmers and others with good round sums. These people were going

to Quebec, in timber ships, and from Quebec, by land, into the United States. They had been told that they would not be suffered to land in the United States from on board of ships. The roguish villains had deceived them; but no matter, they will get into the United States, and going through Canada will do them good, for it will teach them to detest every thing belonging to it. From Boston, two great barge loads had just gone off by canal, to Liverpool, most of them farmers; all carrying some money, and some as much as two thousand pounds each. From the North and West Riding of Yorkshire, numerous wagons have gone carrying people to the canals, leading to Liverpool; and a gentleman, whom I saw at Peterboro', told me that he saw some of them; and that the men all appeared to be respectable farmers. At Hull, the scene would delight the eyes of the wise Burdett, for here the emigration is going on in the "OLD ROMAN PLAN." Ten large ships have gone this spring, laden with these fugitives, from the fangs of taxation; some bound direct to ports of the United States, others, like those at Yarmouth, for Quebec. Those that have most money, go direct to the United States. The single men, who are taken for a mere trifle in the Canada ships, go that way, having nothing but their carcasses to carry over the rocks and swamps, and through the myriads of plague-men and pensioners in that miserable region; there are about fifteen more ships going from this one port this spring. The ships are fitted up with berths as transports for the carrying of troops. I went on board one morning, and saw the people putting their things on board and stowing them away. Seeing a nice young woman, with a little baby in her arm, I told her that she was going to a country where she would be sure that her children would never want victuals; where she might make her own malt, soup, and candies, without being half put to death for it, and where the blaspheming Jews would not have a mortgage on the life's labour of her children. There is at Hull one farmer going who

is seventy years of age; but who takes out five and fifteen hundred pounds. Brave and sensible old man! and good and affectionate father! He is performing a truly parental and sacred duty; and he will die with the blessing of his sons on his head, for having rescued them from this scope of slavery, misery, cruelty, and crime. Come, then, WILMOT HORTON, with your sensible associates, RONDELL and PAULET THOMPSON; come into Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Yorkshire, come and bring PARSON MALTRUS along with you; regale your sight with this delightful "*steam of emigration*"; congratulate the "*greatest captain of the age*," and your brethren of the Collective; congratulate the "*noblest assembly of free men*," on these the happy effects of their measures. Oh! do, WILMOT! Oh! no, generous and sensible BURDETT, it is not the aged, the infirm, the halt, the blind, and the idiots, that go—it is the youth, the strength, the wealth, and the spirit, that will no longer brook hunger and thirst, in order that the maws of tax eaters and Jews may be crammed. You want the Irish to go, and so they will at our expense, and all the bad of them, to be kept at our expense on the rocks and swamps of Nova Scotia and Canada. You have no money to send them away with: the tax-eaters want it all; and, thanks to the "*improvements of the age*," the steam-boats will continue to bring them in shoals in pursuit of the orra of the food, that their task-masters have taken away from them.

After evening lecture, at Horncastle, a very decent farmer came to me and asked me about America, telling me that he was resolved to go, for that, if he staid much longer, he should not have a shilling to go with. I promised to send him a letter from Leith to a friend at New York, who might be useful to him there, and give him good advice. I forgot it at Leith, but I will do it before I go to bed. From the Thames, and from the several ports down the Channel, about two thousand have gone this spring. All the flower of the labourers of the east of Sussex and west of Kent will be called out and sent off

in a short time. From Glasgow the sensible Scotch are pouring out again. Those that are poor and cannot pay their passages, or can rake together only a trifle, are going to a rascally heap of sand and rock and swamp, called Prince Edward's Island, in the horrible Gulph of St. Lawrence; but when the American vessels come over with Indian corn and flour and pork and beef and poultry and eggs and butter and cabbages and green pease and asparagus for the soldier-officers and other tax-eaters, that we support upon that lump of worthlessness; for the lump itself bears nothing but potatoes; when these vessels come, which they are continually doing, winter and summer; towards the fall, with apples and pears and melons and cucumbers; and, in short, everlastingly coming and taking away the amount of taxes raised in England, when these vessels return, the sensible Scotch will go back in them for a dollar a head, till at last not a man of them will be left but the bed-ridden. Those villainous colonies are held for no earthly purpose but that of furnishing a pretence of giving money to the relations and dependents of the aristocracy, and they are the nicest channels in the world through which to send English taxes to enrich and strengthen the United States. Withdraw the English taxes, and, except in a small part in Canada, the whole of those horrible regions would be left to the bears and the savages in the course of a year.

This emigration is a famous blow given to the boroughmongers. The way to New York is now as well known and as easy, and as little expensive as from old York to London. First, the Sussex parishes sent their paupers; they invited over others that were not paupers; they invited over people of some property; then persons of greater property; now substantial farmers are going; and of considerable fortune will follow. — is the letters written across the Atlantic that do the business. Men of fortune will soon discover, that to secure to their families their fortunes, and to take these out of the grasp of the inexorable tax-gatherer, they must

get away. Every one that goes will take twenty after him; and thus it will go on. There can be no interruption but WAR; and war the THING dares not have. As to France or the Netherlands, or any part of that hell called Germany, Englishmen can never settle there. The United States form another England without its unbearable taxes, its insolent game-laws, its intolerable dead-weight, and its tread-mills.

ADVICE TO EMIGRANTS.

I do not mean the poor foolish and base creatures who go to Swan River and Botany Bay, though they are not quite so foolish and so base as those who go to Nova Scotia and Canada. I mean those who go to the United States. My little book called the "EMIGRANT'S GUIDE" contains full instructions for every body, from the gentleman down to the day-labourer; but I have had sent to me an *emigration prospectus* for an association to emigrate to a part of America, called MICHIGAN, and the associators are directed to apply to Mr. EDWARD ELLERY, No. 8, Featherstone Buildings, High Holborn. The associators are to have amongst them two hundred and sixteen shares, of one hundred pounds each; to pay *five pounds* at the time of subscribing, and twenty-five pounds more on each share, previous to embarkation. There is a plan given of what is to be done in this wilderness, and a very pretty story is told. Let me beseech those who intend to emigrate, to recollect the fate of poor BRUXECK and his colony. Let me beseech them to shun all these schemes, and all associations for going into woods, as they would shun the running of their heads into a fire; they will lose their money and will die in despair. Let no man indulge the visionary idea of forming a society of Englishmen. Let every man proceed upon his own bottom, look out for himself, ask amongst the people of the country, ask their advice, and follow their example in transmuting their business in the various walks of life. For God's sake, and for

your wives' and children's sake, if you have any, have nothing to do with associations, with plans, with shares, and with uncultivated woods. Go to countries already settled, and you are sure to do well, if you be sober and industrious.

Wm. COBBETT.

COBBETT'S CORN.

THE time is fast approaching when this crop ought to be in the ground; for in the beginning of May it should make its appearance. The frosts seem to be pretty nearly over. We have had the winter, and we have also had the black-thorn winter, which never fails to come about the time when the plum blossoms make their appearance. The two winters over, we need not fear now any more than triding and straggling white frosts; but even these, coming upon the succulent and tender first leaf of corn, will, if repeated two or three nights, turn it yellow, and cause it to remain stagnate for a fortnight at least, unless the weather exceedingly favourable come to its help and rescue it. I would, therefore, not sow till the end of this month. I would certainly have a sowing as late as the first of May. This last may be the earliest harvested. We have, at any rate, the beginning of a finer season than the last was; but, come what will, a *worse* we cannot have. And I am in great hopes that this summer, in spite of the disheartening effects of the last to many growers, will see some hundreds of acres covered with this excellent and abundant crop. The last season did one good thing for me; it proved that my corn would ripen in the very worst summer within the memory of man, for I, and innumerable others, had crops of it that ripened. "But it was the *worse* for the wet season," say the malignant, the envious, the unenterprising and the stupid wretches, who would have been overjoyed to find out that good had not happened to their country, merely because that good must have been attributed to me; to emulate whose care, perseverance,

and unceasing toil, would have cost them some absence from bed, some absence from the bottle, and some complication of the mind far beyond what they had to bestow; yes, it was the *worse* for the wet season; but was not the wheat crop the *worse* for the wet also? Was not the barley the *worse*? Are we not eating worse bread every day on account of the badness of last year's wheat crop; and is there any good malting barley, or much good seed in the kingdom, of last year's growth? These are notorious facts. But the last wet summer clenched the nail; it not only proved that my corn *will* ripen in England in the very worst of summers, but it proved that other corn than mine *will not* ripen in the same summer; for there were seedsmen about the country to dupe their customers by selling, as mine, any corn that they had in their shops; and there were not wanting grudging dogs to dupe themselves by buying and sowing any corn that they could get, rather than mine, in the fond and amiable hope of proving me to be a quack; for these, having found that my corn really did ripen, being compelled to admit the fact, then swung round upon the other tack, left all their former lies in the lurch, and swore (as gentle Anna Brodie did) that "Indian corn had ripened in England these twenty years"! I congratulate them on their complete failure. Mr. Hallett has been so kind as to afford me the completest proof possible of the relative excellence of my corn. He has sent me, fastened to a piece of pasteboard, two ears, one of "Cobbett's corn," the seed of which he bought at my shop; and the other of some other sort, the seed of which was given to him by "an eminent seedsmen." The first is a little plump ear of well ripened corn as I ever saw; the other is a long thin brown cob, not having the semblance of grain on it. These were both grown in the same garden, in Hampshire, within four feet of one another, and treated in the same manner. These may be seen in the window of my shop in Fleet Street.

In the island of Jersey, great pro-

grass has been made in bringing this crop into general cultivation, and it is curious, that, in that island, a remarkable instance of failure of a crop not of my sort of corn, is recorded in the "*Chronique de Jersey*," of the 3rd of this month. I insert the article below, with a translation.

BLE DE TURQUIE, OR COBBETT'S CORN

"Au-delà de 60 agriculteurs des différentes paroisses de cette île ont déjà eu du *Ble de Turquie* pour semence, de la sorte dite *Cobbett's Corn*. Nous en avons encore pour tous ceux qui désireraient s'en procurer pour semence. On sait que la terre doit être bien préparée comme pour de l'orge, et que ce *blé* demande de l'air et du soleil. Le tems de le planter doit être vers la fin du mois d'Avril, la manière de le faire est la même comme pour planter des pois de mar, la distance entre chaque grain doit être de sept pouces. Il doit y avoir une distance de trois pieds entre chaque rayon.

"Nous avons appris que M. le Capitaine Symonds, de la marine royale, Seigneur du Manoir de la Trinité, a cultivé du *Cobbett's Corn* l'année dernière, et que ce gentleman en avait fait du pain et des gâteaux qu'il produisit au dîner paroissial de la rente des fromens, paroisse de la Trinité. Il recommanda fortement la culture de ce *blé* aux Messieurs présents. Il paraît que M. Cobbett en a récolté 200 boisseaux par acre, ou environ 60 cahots par vergée!!! La farine mêlée avec celle de froment fait d'excellent pain de ménage.

"Il existe, comme nous l'avons dit dans un autre numéro, diverses qualités de *blé de Turquie*; mais nous ne connaissons aucune qui *mûrisse toujours à Jersey* excepté celle dite *Cobbett's Corn*. Des personnes qui en achètent au marché, et on y en vend, d'une autre sorte, seraient bien aussi de s'assurer d'un bel été, car sans cela leur semence et leurs peines seraient à-peu-près perdues. Nous en citerons l'exemple suivant. Le Révd. Frs. Perrot planta du *blé de Turquie*,

"de la grande sorte (celui dit *Cobbett's* est nain), qui avait mûri à Jersey il y a deux ans; le *blé* pousse une tige superbe, les épis se forment, mais le mauvais tems survint, et il pourrit presque entièrement sur la terre; tandis que celui planté par M. Perrot, et qu'il avait acheté de M. Cobbett, mûrit parfaitement. Messieurs les fermiers qui voudront s'en procurer, feront bien de s'adresser à l'imprimerie de la *Lukonique* au plus tôt, vu qu'après le 1er Mai il n'y en aura plus à vendre."

(Translation.)

TURKEY CORN, CALLED "COBBETT'S CORN."

Upwards of 60 agriculturists of the different parishes of this island, have already had Turkey corn for seed, of the sort called "*Cobbett's corn*." We have some still for those who would wish to have it for sowing. It is well known that the earth ought to be well prepared as for barley, and that this corn likes sun and air. The time of planting should be about the end of April; the manner of doing it is such as is practised for *May peas*, the distance between each grain is seven inches. The distance between the rows should be three feet.

We have learned that Captain Symonds, of the marine, and lord of the manor of *La Trinité*, cultivated some of "*Cobbett's corn*" last year; and that this gentleman made bread and cakes of it, which he produced at the parochial dinner after the sale of flour in the parish of *La Trinité*. He strongly recommended the culture of this corn to all the gentlemen present. It seems that Mr. Cobbett has harvested 200 bushels per acre; or, about 60 cahots the vergée!!! The flour mixed with wheaten flour makes excellent household bread.

There are, as we said in a preceding number, many sorts of *Turkey corn*; but we know of none that will *always* ripen in *Jersey*, except that called "*Cobbett's corn*." Those who will buy

in the market (and it is sold there, but of a different sort) would do well to insure themselves a fine summer, because, without that, their seed and their trouble will be thrown away. We will give an example: the Rev. Francis Perrot planted Turkey corn of the large sort (that called "Cobbett's" is dwarf), which had ripened in Jersey two years ago; this corn produced a fine stem, the ears were formed; but the bad weather set in, and it nearly all rotted on the ground; whilst that planted by Mr. Beirum, and which he had bought of Mr. Cobbett, ripened perfectly. Those farmers who wish to have any of the seed, had better apply to the office of the Chronicle quickly, as after the 1st of May, there will remain none on sale.

Any gentleman who may wish to plant this, may have the seed on applying at my shop, 183, Fleet street. The prices are, for a bag containing enough to plant an acre, 15s; for enough for half an acre, 7s. 6d; for enough for a quarter of an acre, 3s. 9d, and for a bush of five ears, the price is 1s. The seed now selling is the result of my last year's crop.—MAN-GEL WURZEL seed. This seed I saved on my farm at Barn-Elm last year. The plants were all of the red sort, which is considered the least degenerate. The seed was well saved, notwithstanding the season, and it is clean. The price is one shilling the pound, or twenty-five shillings the bushel, the bushel weighing about twenty-eight pounds. The LOCUST SEED is imported by me from America, as well as the HONEY LOCUST. Those who have read my instructions for managing these, in "The Woodlands," need nothing more. The price of both is six shillings a pound. Apply for all these at No. 183, Fleet-street, London.

ANOTHER SERMON.

On the 15th of May will be published, at my shop, No. 183, Fleet Street, London, and to be had of all booksellers in town and country, PRICE SIX-

PENCE, a Sermon, entitled, "GOOD FRIDAY, or, THE MURDER OF 'JESUS CHRIST' BY THE JEWS": addressed to Christians of all denominations.—My other Sermons, twelve in number, may be had in one volume, price 3s. 6d.

WM. COBBETT.

Lincoln, 21st April, 1830.

N. B. I shall be obliged to Editors in the country to insert this.

A GRAMMAR of the ITALIAN LANGUAGE, or, a plain and compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. By JAMES P. COBBETT. Price 6s. Boards.

A Set of the Register, complete, from the First Volume up to the present time, is to be sold at No. 183, Fleet-street.

THE WOODLANDS:

OR,

A TREATISE

On the preparing of ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods;

DESCRIBING

The usual growth and size and the uses of each sort of tree, the seed of each, the season and manner of collecting the seed, the manner of preserving and of sowing it, and also the manner of managing the young plants until fit to plant out;

THE TREES

Being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin names being prefixed to the directions relative to each tree respectively.

This is a very handsome octavo-book, of fine paper and print, price 14s. and it contains matter sufficient to make any man a complete tree-planter.

A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing instruction for propagating and cultivating the plant, and for harvesting, and preserving the crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the produce is applied, with minute directions as to each mode of application. Price 5s. 6d.

EMIGRANTS' GUIDE.

Just published, at my shop, No. 183, Fleet Street, a volume under this title, price 2s. 6d. in boards, and consisting of ten letters, addressed to *English Travellers*, of which letters, the following are the contents:—

Letter I.—On the Question, Whether it be advisable to emigrate from England at this time?

Letter II.—On the Descriptions of Persons to whom Emigration would be most beneficial

Letter III.—On the Parts of the United States to go to, preceded by Reasons for going to no other Country, and especially not to an English Colony.

Letter IV.—On the Preparations some time previous to Sailing.

Letter V.—Of the sort of Ship to go in, and of the Steps to be taken relative to the Passage, and the Sort of Passage; also of the Stores, and other things, to be taken out with the Emigrant.

Letter VI.—Of the Precautions to be observed while on board of Ship, whether in Cabin or Steerage.

Letter VII.—Of the first Steps to be taken on Landing.

Letter VIII.—Of the way to proceed to get a Farm, or a Shop, to settle in Business, or to set yourself down as an Independent Gentleman.

Letter IX.—On the means of Educating Children, and of obtaining literary Knowledge.

Letter X.—Of such other Matters, a knowledge relating to which must be useful to every one going from England to the United States.

It grieves me very much to know it to be my duty to publish this book; but I cannot refrain from doing it, when I see the alarms and hear the cries of thousands of virtuous families that it may save from utter ruin.

SERMONS—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects:—

1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Office of Tythes. These Sermons were published separately; while selling in Numbers, some of them exceeded others in point of sale; but, upon the whole, considering them as independent publications, there have been printed of them now, two hundred and eleven thousand. A new edition.

Price 3s. 6d.

THE ENGLISH GARDENER; or, A Treatise on the Situation, Soil, Enclosing, and Laying-out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-Beds and Green-Houses, and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard; and also, on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers; concluding with a Calendar, giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other Labours to be performed in the Gardens in each month of the year. Price 6s.

COTTAGE ECONOMY; containing Information relative to the Breeding of Beer, Keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, Ewes, Goats, Poultry, and Rabbits, and relative to other matters deemed useful in the conducting the Affairs of a Labourer's Family; to which are added, Instructions relative to the Selecting, the Cutting, and the Bleaching, of the Plants of English Grass and Grain, for the purpose of making Hats and Bounts; to which is now added, a very minute account (illustrated with a Plate) of the American manner of making Ice-Houses. Price 2s. 6d.

TULL'S HUSBANDRY.—The Horse-hoeing Husbandry; or, A Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation; wherein is taught a method of introducing a sort of Vineyard Culture into the Corn-fields, in order to increase their product, and diminish the common expense. By JEREMIAH TULL. With an Introduction, containing an Account of certain Experiments of recent date, by WILLIAM COBBETT. 8vo. 15s.

This is a very beautiful volume, upon fine paper, and containing 466 pages. Price 15s. bound in boards.

I knew a gentleman, who, from reading the former edition which I published of TULL, has had land to a greater extent than the whole of my farm in wheat every year, without manure for several years past, and has had as good a crop the last year as in the first year, difference of seasons only excepted; and, if I recollect rightly, his crop has never fallen short of thirty-two bushels to the acre. The same may be done by any body on the same sort of land, if the principles of this book be attended to, and its precepts strictly obeyed.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, The History and Mystery of the NATIONAL DEBT, the BANK of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper-Money. A new edition. Price 5s.

HONORABLE MAN'S FRIEND; or, Essays on the Rights and Duties of the Free. Price 1s.

Just published, No. IX. of

COBBETT'S ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN, and incidentally to YOUNG WOMEN. I have begun with the YOUTH, and shall go to the YOUNG MAN of the BACHELOR, talk the matter over with him as a LOVER, then consider him in the character of HUSBAND; then as FATHER; then as CITIZEN or SUBJECT.

YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA; treating of the Face of the Country, the Climate, the Soil, the Products, the Mode of Cultivating the Land, the Prices of Land, of Labour, of Food, of Raiment; of the Expenses of House-Keeping, and of the Usual Manner of Living; of the Manners and Customs of the People, and of the Institutions of the Country, Civil, Political, and Religious. *Price 5s.*

PROTESTANT "REFORMATION," in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries; in a series of letters, addressed to all sensible and just Englishmen. A new edition, in two volumes; the price of the first volume 4s. 6d., and for the second 3s. 6d.

ROMAN HISTORY.—Of this work, which is in French and English, and is intended not only as a history for young people to read, but as a book of exercises to accompany my French Grammar, I am only the translator; but I venture to say, that the French part is as pure and correct French, as is to be found in any work now extant. *Price 6s.; bound in boards. A second volume is in the press.*

I cannot trust myself to offer an opinion upon the following works, for reasons which will suggest themselves to every reader, particularly, if he be the father of sons for whom he justly entertains the greatest affection. I shall, therefore, simply observe, that they all have had a very considerable sale; and that I wish them to have a sale, far surpassing, if possible, any thing written by myself.

LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Journey from Calais to the South, as far as Limoges; then back to Paris; and then, after a residence there of three months, from Paris through the Eastern parts of France, and through part of the Netherlands; commencing in April, and ending in December, 1824. By JOHN M. COBBETT, Student of Lincoln's Inn. *Price 4s.*

MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition, *Price 2s. 6d.* This Work contains a Sketch of the Face of the Country, of its Rural Economy, of the Towns and Villages, of Manufactures, and Trade, and of such of the Manners and Customs as materially differ from those of England; Also, an Account of the Prices of Land, House, Fuel, Food, Raiment, Labour, and other Things, in different parts of the Country; the design being to exhibit a true picture of the present State of the People of France. To which is added, a General View of the Finances of the Kingdom.

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THE LANCET.

No. 347, published this day, contains:—

Mr. Lawrence's Thirty-ninth Lecture.—Affections of the Skin: Cancer, Subcutaneous Tumour, Warts, &c.

Mr. Lawrence's Fortieth Lecture.—Affections of the Skin: Chilblains—Nails—Nervi Materal.

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Dr. Elliotson's Clinical Lecture.—Epilepsy.
Dr. Duncan's Clinical Lectures.—Pneumonia—Delirium Tremens—Opium—Chorea—The Mucor—Ulceration of the Mouth—Erysipema and Hydrothorax.

A Glance at the Medical Officers of the Westminster Hospital.

Note to Students of ditto.

Mr. Horsley and Dr. Philips.
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Review of Burrows on Insanity.

Fracas between Mr. Liston and his Pupils.

Meeting of the College of Physicians.

Neglect at Guy's Hospital.

Neglect at St. Thomas's Hospital.

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Hernia—Operation—Death.

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Books, Correspondents, &c.

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The above Lectures, with the exception of those delivered by Mr. **ASHERNETH**, have been printed in this Work, with the express consent of the Lecturers themselves, a large majority of whom have corrected the proof sheets. Mr. **Abernethy** swore to the "minute fidelity" with which his Lectures were taken, before the Lord Chancellor.

N.B.—The Lectures now in course of publication, are those of Dr. **BLUNDELL** on the Gravid Uterus, and on the Diseases of Women and Children.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 69.—No. 18.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 1st, 1830.

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On the *penning* List, as printed by the order of the House of Commons, in June, 1808, there are, Mary Anne Herries, 300*l.* a year; Catherine Herries, 150*l.*; Isabella Maria Herries, 150*l.*; Julia Mary Herries, 150*l.*

EASTERN TOUR ENDED.

MIDLAND TOUR BEGUN.

Lincoln, 30th April, 1830

FROM the inn at Spittal, we came to this famous ancient Roman station, and afterwards grand scene of Saxon and Gothic splendour, on the 21st. It was the third or fourth day of the *Spring fair*, which is one of the greatest in the kingdom, and which lasts for a whole week. *Horses* begin the fair; then come *sheep*; and to-day, the *horned cattle*. It is supposed that there were about 50,000 sheep, and I think the whole of the space in the various roads and streets, covered by the cattle, must have amounted to *ten acres of ground*, or more. Some say that they were as numerous as the sheep. The number of *horses* I did not hear; but they say that there were 1,500 fewer in number than last year. The sheep sold 5*s.* a head, on an average, lower than last year, and the cattle in the same proportion. *High-priced horses* sold well; but the *horses* which are called *tradesmen's horses*, were very low. This is the natural march of the THING. those who live on the taxes have money to throw away; but those who *pay* them are ruined, and have, of course, no money to lay out on horses.

The country from Spittal to Lincoln continued to be much about the same as from Barton to Spittal. Large fields,

rather light loam at top, stone under, about half corn-land and the rest grass. Not so many sheep as in the richer lands, but a great many still. As you get on towards Lincoln, the ground gradually rises, and you go on the road made by the Romans. When you come to the city, you find the ancient castle and the magnificent cathedral on the brow of a sort of ridge which ends here; for you look all of a sudden down into a deep valley, where the greater part of the remaining city lies. It once had *fifty-two churches*; it has now only eight, and only about 9,000 inhabitants! The cathedral is, I believe, the *finest building in the whole world*. All the others that I have seen (and I have seen all in England except Chester, York, Carlisle, and Durham), are little things compared with this. To the task of describing a thousandth-part of its striking beauties I am inadequate. it surpasses greatly all that I had anticipated, and, oh! how loudly it gives the lie to those brazen Scotch historians who would have us believe that England was formerly a poor country! The whole revenue raised from Lincolnshire, even by this present system of taxation, would not rear such another pile in two hundred years. Some of the city *gates* are down; but there is one standing, the arch of which is said to be *two thousand years old*, and a most curious thing it is. The sight of the cathedral fills the mind alternately with wonder, admiration, melancholy, and rage: wonder at its grandeur and magnificence; admiration of the zeal and disinterestedness of those who here devoted to the honour of God those immense means which they might have applied to their own enjoyments; melancholy at its present neglected state; and indignation against those who now enjoy the revenues belonging to it, and who creep about it merely as a pretext for devouring a part of the fruit of the people's labour. There are no men in England who ought to wish for reform

so seriously as the working clergy of the church of England; we are all oppressed; but they are oppressed and insulted more than any men that ever lived in the world. The clergy in America; I mean in free America, not in our beggarly colonies, where clerical insolence and partiality prevail still more than here; I mean in the United States, where every man gives what he pleases, and no more: the clergy of the episcopal church are a hundred times better off than the working clergy are here. They are, also, much more respected, because their order has not to bear the blame of enormous exactions; which exactions here are swallowed up by the aristocracy and their dependents; but which swallowings are imputed to every one bearing the name of parson. Throughout the whole country, I have maintained the necessity and the justice of resuming the church property; but I have never failed to say, that I know of no more meritorious and ill-used men than the working clergy of the established church.

Leicester, 16th April, 1830.

At the famous ancient city of Lincoln I had crowded audiences, principally consisting of farmers, on the 21st and 22d, exceedingly well-behaved audiences; and great impression produced. One of the evenings, in pointing out to them the wisdom of explaining to their labourers the cause of their distress, in order to ward off the effects of the resentment which the labourers now feel every where against the farmers, I related to them what my labourers at Barn-Elm had been doing since I left home: and I repeated to them the complaints that my labourers made, stating to them, from memory, the following parts of that spirited petition:

"That your petitioners have recently observed, that many great sums of the money, part of which we pay, have been voted to be given to persons who render no services to the country, some of which sums we will mention here, that the sum of 94,000*l.* has been voted for disbanded foreign officers, their widows and children; that your petitioners know, that ever

"since the peace this charge has been annually made; that it has been on an average, 110,000*l.* a year, and that, of course, this band of foreigners have actually taken away out of England, since the peace, one million and seven hundred thousand pounds; partly taken from the fruit of our labour; and if our dinners were actually taken from our table and carried over to Hanover, the process could not be to our eyes more visible than it now is; and we are astonished, that those who fear that we, who make the land bring forth crops, and who make the clothing and the houses, shall swallow up the rental, appear to think nothing at all of the swallowings of these Hanoverian men, women, and children, who may continue thus to swallow for half a century to come,

"That the advocates of the project for sending us out of our country to the rocks and snows of Nova Scotia, and the swamps and wilds of Canada, have insisted on the necessity of checking marriages amongst us, in order to cause a decrease in our numbers; that, however, while this is insisted on in your honourable House, we perceive a part of our own earnings voted away to encourage marriage amongst those who do no work, and who live at our expense; that 145,267*l.* has just been voted as the year's pensions for widows of officers of the army; and that your petitioners cannot but know that while this is the case, few officers will die without leaving widows, especially as the children too are pensioned until of a certain age; that herein is a high premium given for marriage, and for the increase of the numbers of those who do not work; that, for this purpose, more than two millions of pounds sterling have been voted since the peace, out of those taxes, more than their due share of which your petitioners have had to pay; that, to all appearance, their children's children will have to pay in a similar manner for the encouragement and support of similar idlers; and that to your petitioners it does seem most wonderful, that there

"should be persons to fear that we, the labourers, shall, on account of our numbers, swallow up the rental, while they actually vote away our food and raiment to increase the numbers of those who never have produced, and who never will produce, any thing useful to man.

"But that as appertaining to this matter of *checking marriages* and the *breeding of children*, the vote, recently passed, of 20,986l. for the year, for the *Royal Military Asylum*, is worthy particular attention; that this asylum is a place for bringing up the *children of soldiers*; that soldiers are thus encouraged and invited to marry, or, at least, to have children; that while our marrying and the children proceeding from us are regarded as evils, we are compelled to pay taxes for encouraging soldiers to marry, and for the support and education of their children; and that while we are compelled, out of the fruit of our hard work, to pay for the good lodging, clothing, and feeding; of the children of soldiers, our own poor children are, in consequence of the taxes, clad in rags, half-starved, and insulted with the degraded name of *paupers*; that, since the peace, *half a million* of pounds sterling have been voted out of the taxes for this purpose; that, as far as your petitioners have learned, none of your honourable members have ever expressed their fear that this description of persons would assist to swallow up the rental; and that they do not now learn, that there is on foot any project for sending out of the country these costly children of soldiers.

"That your petitioners know that more than one-half of the whole of their *wealth* is taken from them by the taxes; that these taxes go chiefly into the hands of idlers; that your petitioners are the *poor*, and that the tax-receivers are the *drones*; and they know, further, that while there is a project for sending the bees out of the country, no one proposes to send away the drones; but that your petitioners hope to see the day when the check-

ing of the increase of the drones, and not of the bees, will be the object of an English Parliament.

"That, in consequence of taxes, your petitioners pay sixpence for a pot of worse beer than they could make for one penny; that they pay ten shillings for a pair of shoes that they could have for five shillings; that they pay seven-pence for a pound of soap or candles that they could have for three-pence; that they pay seven-pence for a pound of sugar that they could have for three-pence; that they pay six shillings for a pound of tea that they could have for two shillings; that they pay double for their bread and meat, of what they would have to pay, if there were no idlers to be kept out of the taxes; that, therefore, it is the taxes that make their wages insufficient for their support, and that compel them to apply for aid to the poor-rates; that, knowing these things, they feel indignant at hearing themselves described as *paupers*, while so many thousands of idlers, for whose support they pay taxes, are called *noble Lords and Ladies, honourable Gentlemen, Masters, and Misses*; that they feel indignant at hearing themselves described as a nuisance to be got rid of; while the idlers who live upon their earnings are upheld, caressed and cherished, as if they were the sole support of the country."

Having repeated to them these passages, I proceeded: "My workmen were induced thus to petition, in consequence of the information which I, their master, had communicated to them; and, Gentlemen, why should not your labourers petition in the same strain? Why should you suffer them to remain in a state of ignorance, relative to the cause of their misery? The eye sweeps over in this county more riches in one moment than are contained in the whole county in which I was born, and in which the petitioners live. Between *Holbeach* and *Boston*, even at a public-house, neither bread, nor meat was to be found; and while the landlord was telling me that the people were be-

"came so poor that the butchers killed
 "no meat in the neighbourhood, I
 "counted more than two thousand fat
 "sheep lying about in the pastures in
 "that richest spot in the whole world.
 "Starvation in the midst of plenty; the
 "land covered with food, and the work-
 "ing people without victuals: every
 "thing taken away by the tax-eaters of
 "various descriptions: and yet you
 "take no measures for redress; and
 "your miserable labourers seem to be
 "doomed to expire with hunger, with-
 "out an effort to obtain relief. What
 "cannot you point out to them the real
 "cause of their sufferings; cannot you
 "take a piece of paper and write out a
 "petition for them; cannot your la-
 "bourers petition as well as mine; are
 "God's blessings bestowed on you
 "without any spirit to preserve them;
 "is the fatness of the land, is the earth
 "teeming with food for the body and
 "raiment for the back, to be an apology
 "for the want of that courage for which
 "your fathers were so famous; is the
 "abundance which God has put into
 "your hands, to be the excuse for your
 "resigning yourselves to starvation?
 "My God! is there no spirit left in
 "England except in the miserable
 "sand-hills of Surrey?" These words
 "were not uttered without effect, I can
 "assure the reader. The assemblage was
 "of that stamp, in which thought goes
 "before expression; but the effect of this
 "example of my men in Surrey, will, I
 "am sure, be greater than any thing that
 "has been done in the petitioning way
 "for a long time past.

We left Lincoln on the 23d, about
 noon, and got to Newark, in Notting-
 hamshire, in the evening, where I gave
 a lecture at the theatre, to about three
 hundred persons. Newark is a very
 fine town, and the Castle Inn, where we
 stopped, extraordinarily good and plea-
 santly situated. Here I was met by a
 parcel of the printed petitions of the
 labourers at Barn Elm, and of the Ad-
 dress relative to the Seat in Parliament,
 some of both of which I left at Newark
 for distribution by Mr. Hagg, printer
 and bookseller, Mill-gate, in that town;
 and I shall continue to sow these as I

proceed on my way. "It should have
 been stated at the head of the printed
 petition, that it was presented to the
 House of Lords, by his Grace the Duke
 of Richmond, and by Mr. FALLMER
 to the House of Commons.

The country from Lincoln to Newark
 (sixteen miles), is by no means so fine
 as that which we have been in for so
 many weeks. The land is chiefly in
 many parts. A pleasant country; a
 variety of hill and valley; but not that
 richness which we had so long had under
 our eye: fields smaller; fewer sheep,
 and those not so large, and so manifestly
 loaded with flesh. The roads always
 good. Newark is a town very much
 like Nottingham, having a very fine and
 spacious market-place; the buildings
 every where good, but it is in the vil-
 lages that you find the depth of misery.

Having appointed positively to be at
 LEICESTER in the evening of Saturday,
 the 24th, we could not stop either at
 GRANTHAM or at MELTON MOWBRAY,
 not even long enough to view their fine
 old magnificent churches. In going
 from Newark to Grantham, we got
 again into Lincolnshire, in which last
 county Grantham is. From Newark
 nearly to Melton Mowbray, the country
 is about the same as between Lincoln
 and Newark; by no means bad land,
 but not so rich as that of Lincolnshire,
 in the middle and eastern parts, not
 approaching to the Holderness country,
 in point of riches; a large part arable
 land, well tilled; but not such large
 homesteads, such numerous great stacks
 of wheat, and such endless flocks of
 lazy sheep.

Before we got to Melton Mowbray,
 the beautiful pastures of this little ver-
 dant county of Leicester began to ap-
 pear. Meadows and green fields, with
 here and there a corn field, and smaller
 dimensions than those of Lincolnshire,
 but all very beautiful; with gentle hills
 and woods too; not beautiful woods,
 like those of Hampshire and of the
 wilds of Surrey, Sussex and Kent; but
 very pretty, all the country around being
 so rich. At Mowbray we began to get
 amongst the Leicestershire sheep, those
 fat creatures which we see the butchers'

boys battering about so unmercifully, in the streets and the outskirts of the Wen. The land is warmer here than in Lincolnshire; the grass more forward, and the wheat, between Mowbray and Leicester, six inches high, and generally looking exceedingly well. In Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, I found the wheat in general rather thin, and frequently ~~and~~ ^{and} nothing like so promising as in Suffolk and Norfolk.

We got to Leicester on the 24th, at about half-after five o'clock; and the time appointed for the lecture was six. Leicester is a very fine town; spacious streets, fine inns, fine shops, and containing, they say, thirty or forty thousand people. It is well stocked with jails, of which a new one, in addition to the rest, has just been built, *covering three acres of ground!* And, as if proud of it, the grand portal has little turrets in the castle style, with *embrasures* in miniature on the caps of the turrets. Nothing speaks the want of reflection in the people so much as the self-gratulation which they appear to feel in these edifices in their several towns. Instead of expressing blame at these indubitable proofs of the horrible increase of misery and of crime, they really boast of these improvements, as they call them. Our forefathers built abbeys and priories and churches, and they made such use of them that jails were nearly unnecessary. We, their sons, have knocked down the abbeys and priories, suffered half the parsonage-houses and churches to pretty nearly tumble down, and make such use of the remainder, that jails and tread-mills and dungeons have now become the most striking edifices in every county in the kingdom.

Yesterday morning (Sunday the 25th), I walked out to the village of KNIGHTON, ~~on the~~ ^{on the} Bosworth road, where I breakfasted, and then walked back. This morning I walked out to HALLSTON, nearly three miles on the Lutterworth road, and got my breakfast there. You have nothing to do but to walk through these villages, to see the cause of the increase of the jails. Standing on the hill at Knighton, you see the

three ancient and lofty and beautiful spires rising up at Leicester; you see the river ~~standing~~ ^{standing} down through a broad ~~shed~~ ^{shed} of the most beautiful meadows that man ever set his eyes on; you see the bright verdure covering all the land, even to the tops of the hills, with here and there a little wood, as if made by God to give variety to the beauty of the scene, for the river brings the coal in abundance, for fuel, and the earth gives the brick and the tile in abundance. But go down into the villages; invited by the spires, rising up amongst the trees in the dells, at scarcely ever more than a mile or two apart; invited by these spires, go down into these villages, view the large, and once the most beautiful, churches; see the parson's house, large, and in the midst of pleasure-gardens; and then look at the miserable sheds in which the labourers reside! Look at these hovels, made of mud and of straw; bits of glass, or of old off-cast windows, without frames or hinges, frequently, but merely stuck in the mud wall. Enter them, and look at the bits of chairs or stools, the wretched boards tacked together, to serve for a table; the floor of pebble, broken brick, or of the bare ground, look at the thing called a bed, and survey the rags on the backs of the wretched inhabitants; and then wonder if you can, that the jails and dungeons and tread-mills increase, and that a standing army and barracks are become the favourite establishments of England!

At the village of HALLSTON, I got into the purlieu, as they call it in Hampshire, of a person well known in the Wen; namely, the REVEREND BURNES-ROD, rector of that fat affair, *St. Andrew's, Halborn!* In walking through the village, and surveying its deplorable dwellings, so much worse than the cowsheds of the cottagers on the skirts of the forests in Hampshire, my attention was attracted by the surprising contrast between them and the house of their religious teacher. I met a labouring man. Country people *know every thing*. If you have ever made a *fais-pas*, of any sort or description, if you have *any thing* about you, to which you do not

of the public offices. Sir FRANCIS D'IVERNOIS I found an emigrant pensioner. And, NICHOLAS VANSITTART, ESQUIRE, who had written a pamphlet to prove that the war enriched the nation, I found, O God! a "Commissioner of Scotch Herrings"! Hey, dear! as the Lancashire men say: I thought it would have broken my heart!

Of all these men, REEVES and WILLIAM GIFFORD were the only ones of talent. The former a really learned lawyer, and, politics aside, as good a man as ever lived. A clever man; ahead as clear as spring water, considerate, mild, humane; made by nature to be an *English judge*. I did not break with him on account of politics. We said nothing about them for years. I always had the greatest regard for him: and there he now is in the grave, leaving, the newspapers say, *two hundred thousand pounds*, without hardly a soul knowing that there ever was such a man! The fate of WILLIAM GIFFORD was much about the same both lived and died bachelors, both left large sums of money, both spent their lives in upholding measures, which, in their hearts, they abhorred, and in eulogising men, whom, in their hearts, they despised, and, in spite of their literary labours, the only chance that they have of being remembered for even ten years to come, is this notice of them from a pen that both most anxiously wished to silence many years ago. Amongst the first things that REEVES ever said to me, was: "I tell you what, Cobbett, we have only two ways here; "we must either *kiss* their —, or *kick* them and you must make your choice at once." I resolved to kick. WILLIAM GIFFORD had more asperity in his temper, and was less resigned. He despised Pitt and Canning and the whole crew; but he *loved ease*, was *timid*; he was their slave all his life, and all his life had to endure a conflict between his pecuniary interest and his conscience.

As to the rest of my 'Squires and other dignified pamphleteers, they were a low, talentless, place and pension-hunting crew; and I was so disgusted with the discoveries that I had made, that I trembled at the thought of falling into

the ranks with them. Love of ease was not in me; the very idea of becoming rich had never entered into my mind; and my horror at the thought of selling my talents for money, and of polluting the country with the help of the means that God had given me wherewith to assist in supporting its character, filled me with horror not to be expressed.



For the county of SUFFOLK, money will be received by James Gudgeon, Esq., solicitor, Stowmarket.

For the county of NORFOLK, by Sir Thomas Beevor, Bart.

For the county of LINCOLN, by William Bedford, Esq. of Lincoln, and by others to be mentioned in the next Register, when I shall give more full and particular intelligence.

For the county of HEREFORD, by William Palmer, Esq. of Bollitree Castle, near Ross.

For the county of LANCASTER, by Richard Potter, Esq., of Manchester.

For the EAST RIDING of YORKSHIRE by Mr. Noble, bookseller, Hull.

For the WEST RIDING of YORKSHIRE, by John Forster, Esq., of Leeds.

I HAVE RECEIVED,

Towards the sum for *Middlesex*, under the initials of T. P., *ten pounds*. Also, *two pounds two shillings*, anonymous.

Towards the sum for *Herefordshire*, from M—— J——, B. D., *ten pounds*.

Towards the sum, for *Leicestershire*, from the Reverend William Graham, *five pounds*.



In my next, I shall give other names for the counties above-mentioned, and also for other counties; and shall have to state some details as to the mode of collection. I write this at Lincoln, on the 23d of April; and, of course, many letters, which are gone to London, will not reach me for some days.

THIS day, the 26th of April, 1830, I have received as great pleasure as ever was felt by father, from the beginning of the world to this present day. The present of a learned and most profound work, giving proof of "the clearest of minds, and of the greatest capacity of communicating the thoughts of that mind to others; giving proof of the most patient industry, and the most scrupulous care; this work coming, too, from a young man of twenty-six years of age; that young man never having sat upon the bench of a school in his life; a book of infinite labour, giving proof of a thorough knowledge of English, French, Italian, and of Latin also; and that work, *coming from my own son!*

I knew that my son JAMES was printing his Italian Grammar; I also knew that it would do him honour, having read about twenty pages of it before I left London; but, until I got the book, which arrived in a parcel at Newark, which was not opened until to-day, I was not at all aware that it was to be dedicated to me: he had never told me that it was, and I never heard of his intention to do it. Let those fathers (and I trust that nearly all English fathers are such) who value the character and fame of their children, above all other things in the world, judge of my feelings when I opened the book, and read at the head of it the following epistle addressed to myself:

" DEDICATION.

" TO WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQUIRE.

" MY DEAR FATHER,

" GIVE me leave to dedicate to you the following little Work, if not as a sufficient reason for all I have learned from you, by way of acknowledgment, at least, that it was you who inspired me to the undertaking; an acknowledgment which cannot be received by you with pleasure greater than that which I ought to make it, seeing that it was you who enabled me to render what I offer to your notice so far worthy of that notice as

" it is, that I am making you a gift which should be accompanied by thanks from the giver, and asking your patronage for something which, as it were, your own.

" If I had not read that book, throughout which I have the honour of being addressed by you, it is not only unlikely that I should ever have thought of entering on the task which you here see completed, but I might, very possibly, now be in the same situation as those 'many men' who, as mentioned in your ENGLISH GRAMMAR, 'have been at Latin School's for years, and who, at last, cannot write six sentences in English correctly.' To know that the three last of Grammars to be rivalled were written by you; to see you become so famous as the author of them; to find myself, by their means, already known by name in every quarter of the civilised world: if this be not enough to give me confidence of success in a path of literature in which you have gained so much fame, it may, surely, in some manner account for my having ventured on the step to which I am invoking your protection, a step which my natural ambition to imitate you has emboldened me to take. For methus to celebrate your praise will hardly be thought ostentatious; to refrain from so doing would, on the contrary, be only affectation, since I cannot help knowing that such praise is universally admitted to be your due: and though, for myself, I can claim no merit further than that of having endeavoured to follow your cheering example, it would be to oppose the dictates of my regard for you, and to refuse utterance to thoughts the most agreeable that can occur to me, if I were, upon this occasion, not to express some of that pride which must be felt by the son of one by whom such an example has been set.

" That you may long live to enjoy that great reputation which your talents and your never-ceasing application have obtained for you, and which will cause the children of future ages

"to learn to associate your name with every sentiment of veneration, is, I have the happiness to be assured, the hope entertained, and the prayer offered up, by thousands; while, to participate in that hope, and most fervently to join in that prayer, are the strongest of all the motives that animate the heart of,

"My dear Father,

"Your affectionate Son,

"JAMES PAUL COBBETT."

"Kensington, April 17, 1830."

The history of the education of this son would be one of the most useful things ever possessed by parents. Those who have read my ENGLISH GRAMMAR, will recollect that I addressed the series of letters, of which that Grammar consists, to him, who was then in exile with me in Long Island. He was fourteen years of age, and had never, in his life, been taught any thing by any body, and had never been desired by me, even to look into a book. He then made a copy of the Grammar as I wrote it. His copy, well spelled or ill spelled, went to the printer at New York, I correcting the proof sheets. My copy came to England; and thus, it came out in both countries at the same time. Let those who have read that Grammar, now look once more at the precepts which I there gave him, and those of them who will read this Grammar of his writing, will see evidence of the effects of those precepts.

At my request, he is now having printed a Journal of his tour in France and Italy, from October, 1828, to September, 1829. It is impossible for me to describe the pride with which I am filled by these performances, and especially when I regard them, as I may justly do, as indications of those higher attainments, those talents of a higher order, which are destined to be displayed by the industrious and persevering author. The ENGLISH GRAMMAR was the basis of all his learning, and of all that fame, which, I am sure, he is destined to acquire. He cast aside the thoughtless boy at once; and he has travelled on

since without suffering his course to be interrupted, either by pleasures or by hardships: the former have never enticed him from his pursuit; and the latter (of which, God knows, he has had enough) have never, for a moment, damped his spirit or shaken the steadiness of his mind. His study, for life, is that of the law, which I chose for him, on account of his great aptitude for labour, his patience in investigation, his quickness of perception, his acuteness in discrimination, and, to crown the whole, his perfect veracity and integrity; and, if he live to the usual age of man, I am sure that he will be a great lawyer; and one thing I am very sure of, and that is, that all the money in the world will never tempt him to do that which is wrong. I gave him, at the baptismal font, the name of the best man that I had ever known in the world; and I am sure that he will live and die worthy of that name.

COBBETT'S CORN.

LOCUST SEED, (two sorts,) AND MANGEL-WURZEL SEED.

As to the first. This is late enough for sowing it. Indeed, if it were up in a week's time, the great warmth of the earth now would force it along, so that a week or a fortnight's cold would not have the effect upon it that it would have upon starveling plants that have come up in the cold. God send us the summer that the few last days have seemed to promise us! and, so sure as we have it, so sure shall we have fine fields of corn all over this country. Back to Budge Row will crawl the nameless vagabonds that came pying about my farm and farm-buildings last year, that they might tell their falsehoods in the "*Farmer's Journal*"; back Anna Bradie, who found a piece of Swedish turnips at the back of my barn stifling for want of being "*thinned*," which turnips were Dutchmen cabbage-plants, waiting in the bed-bed, Anna, to be transplanted early into the place where they are now growing, whose

"punch" to go into ultimately, no matter: back these vermin will creep to their dark dungeons in London, just as the slugs are already taking refuge in the cool under side of every clod of earth.

I this week recollected a letter from a very intelligent correspondent in the island of Jersey, which I received last October, and which ought to have been inserted at the time that I received it. It speaks for itself, and therefore I need say nothing more about, excepting to remind my readers, that the field of Mr. BERTHAM and that of Captain SYMONDS are the same that are spoken of this month in the "*Chronique de Jersey*," in an article that was inserted in the last Register.

—
" Jersey, 20th October, 1829.

" TO MR. W. COBBETT.

" SIR,—In the course of last winter, " one of my friends went to your shop " in Fleet-street, at my request, and " bought a sufficient quantity of your " corn ("Cobbett's Corn") to plant a " verge (about one-third of an acre), " and also a copy of your Treatise on " the cultivation of that grain.

" Towards the close of the month of " May, M. ELIN BERTHAM, proprietor of " land in the parish of Grouville, fur- " nished with your corn and with your " book, began to sow his field. He had " first prepared it in the manner men- " tioned by you in your excellent Trea- " tise, and he has followed your instruc- " tions to the letter throughout the " summer. His harvest began about " the 1st of October, but there were " ears ripe long before that I have " persuaded him to keep all that he can " of his crop for seed, having some idea " of translating some parts of your Trea- " tise, and publishing them here. We " could, by this means, extend the cul- " tivation of "Cobbett's Corn" in the " islands of Jersey and Guernsey.

" I have sown some of this corn " green, roasted according to your re- " commendation, and I found it excel- " lent. I eat it even now, for I planted

" some myself in the month of July " last; and, if the weather had been but " a little more favourable, I am per- " suaded that even this would have " ripened. In fact, it is ripe, or nearly " so.

" Seeing, by your REGISTER of last " Saturday, that you wish to have some " specimens of corn from all those to " whom you have sold the seed, I send " you one ear, gathered in Mr. BERT- " HAM's field on the 1st of October. " The magpies have proved great ene- " mies to this crop. When nearly ripe, " they pecked at it very much; they " tore off the outside leaves, and then " they fell to work on the grain. The " ear which I send you is by no means " one of the finest. It happened to be " in my house, and an opportunity of- " fering of sending it you to-morrow " morning, I could not send into the " country for another.

" One thing is very certain: your " corn will ripen in Jersey in the very " worst of seasons. Some of the large " Indian corn will ripen here also in " favourable seasons, but it is not, by " any means, sure to ripen. A friend of " mine had one ear given to him of a " large sort, that had ripened in this " island. He planted all the grains " this spring, according to your direc- " tions, and following Tull's summer " culture. His corn in July and the " beginning of August, had a tall, rich, " luxuriant appearance. The silk came " out of immense ears, and your corn " looked pitiful, indeed, compared with " it. But a few short weeks brought a " wonderful change. Yours has per- " fectly ripened; his is now rotting on " the ground. You will excuse these " particulars: I have written them, be- " cause I know that you feel an interest " in every additional fact tending to " prove the superiority of your corn in " these countries to the ordinary maize; " and because it is but just that you " should be made acquainted that such " superiority is acknowledged in this " little island.

" Captain Symonds, of the Royal " Navy, Lord of the Manor of Trinity, " has planted some of your corn. I do

"not know how it has succeeded, but it
"is impossible it could fail.

"I remain,

"Sir,

"With great respect,

"Your humble Servant,

"P."

The ear that this gentleman sent me is now in my shop at Fleet-street. It is, to my taste, *perfect*. Not long, but very thick; having fourteen rows of grains, every grain as bright as gold. I owe a good deal to the backing that I have had from these gentlemen in Jersey. They began very early to send me good accounts of their crops, and they seemed to feel a common interest in extending the cultivation of this corn. This puts me in mind, by-the-by, that a gentleman of Kent wrote to me some time ago, asking me, if I had "heard any thing of any crops of 'Cobbett's 'Corn' in Ireland?" Not one. Though, from the private accounts that I have had concerning Ireland, I have no doubt but it would do well in many parts of it, and it would be a wonderful thing for that country. But—*country!* Ireland is no country; it is a scene of perpetual war, a field of everlasting battle. That is no *country*, where not even the fields are safe.

Any gentleman who may wish to plant this, may have the seed on applying at my shop, 183, Fleet-street. The prices are, for a bag containing enough to plant an acre, 1*5s*; for enough for half an acre, 7*s* 6*d*; for enough for a quarter of an acre, 3*s* 9*d*; and for a hunch of *five ears*, the price is 1*s*. The seed now selling is the result of my last year's crop—*MANGEL WURZEL* seed. This seed I saved on my farm at Barn-Elm last year. The plants were all of the *red* sort, which is considered the least degenerate. The seed was well saved, notwithstanding the season, and it is clean. The price is *one shilling* the pound, or *twenty-five shillings* the bushel, the bushel weighing about twenty-eight pounds. The *LOCUST SEED* is imported by me from America, as well as the *HONEY LOCUST*. Those who have read my instructions

for managing these, in "The Woodlands," need nothing more. The price of both is six shillings a pound. Apply for all these at No. 183, Fleet-street, London.

ANOTHER SERMON.

On the 15th, of May will be published, at my shop, No. 183, Fleet-street, London, and to be had of all booksellers in town and country, *PRICE SIX-PENCE*, a Sermon, entitled, "GOOD FRIDAY; or, THE MURDER OF 'JESUS CHRIST BY THE JEWS': addressed to *Christians* of all denominations.—My other Sermons, *twelve in number*, may be had in one volume, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

WM. COBBETT.

Lincoln, 21st April, 1830.

N. B. I shall be obliged to Editors in the country to insert this.

Just published, No X. of

COBBETT'S ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN, and incidentally to YOUNG WOMEN. I have begun with the YOUTH, and shall go to the YOUNG MAN or the BACHELOR, talk the matter over with him as a LOVER, then consider him in the character of HUSBAND; then as FATHER; then as CITIZEN or SUBJECT.

THE ENGLISH GRAMMAR; a New Edition. Of this Work, from first to last, Sixty Thousand Copies have been sold; and I verily believe that it has done more to produce real education, as far as correct writing and speaking go, than any book that ever was published. I have received from the year 1820, to the present time, continual thanks, by word of mouth and by letter, from young men, and even from old men, for this work, who have said, that, though many of them had been at the University, they never rightly understood Grammar till they studied this work. I have often given the Reviewers a loan for suffering this Work to pass them unreviewed; but I have recently discovered that the *newly-published Edinburgh Encyclopedia* says of it, that, "for all common purposes, it is the best Treatise we possess, and that it is *suited to popular use* all the popular, and many of the scientific, productions on the subject of *our language*." The price of this book is 3*s* 6*d* in boards.

Just Published.

MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S ITALIAN GRAMMAR, entitled "*A Grammar of the Italian Language; or, a Plain and Concise Introduction to the Study of Italian*." Price 1s.—Throughout this Grammar the Author has supposed himself to be addressing those who are altogether unacquainted with the subject; he has, therefore, taken the greatest pains, both as to the proper arrangement of the several matters treated of, and that clearness of explanation that they require. At the same time, the work will be found useful to those who are more than mere beginners. It professes to be an "*Introduction*" only, and comes within a moderate compass, but while the Author has set out by noticing points the most simple, he has, in the course of his task, studiously called the reader's attention to the greatest difficulties that occur in the study of Italian. Of the importance of these difficulties the Author may pretend to be a judge, since he has had to encounter them himself, and the want of assistance which he has experienced in books called Grammars, has induced him to think that the results of his own study, as contained in the present work, may be of service to other people.

MARTINESS LAW OF NATIONS. This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law, and really I have never met with a politician, gentle or simple, who knew half so much of the matter as myself. I have wanted this book for years to read, and monopolizing has never been a favourite with me, if I have ever possessed useful knowledge of any sort, I have never been able to rest till I have communicated it to as many as I could. This Book was translated and published at the request of the American Secretary of State, the Book-seller, though he paid me only a quarter of a dollar (thirteen-pence halfpenny) for every page, had a Subscription from the President, Vice President, and all the Members of the two Houses of Congress, and from all the Governors and Lawyers in the country. This Work was almost my *coup d'essai*, in the authoring way, but upon looking it over at this distance of time, I see nothing to alter in any part of it. It is a thick octavo volume, with a great number of Notes, and it is, in fact, a book, with regard to public law, what a Grammar is with regard to language. The price is 17s, and the manner of its execution is, I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

THE LAW OF TURNPIKES, or, an Analytical Arrangement of, and Illustrative Commentaries on, all the General Acts, relative to Turnpike Roads. By WILLIAM COBBETT, Junr, Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 3s. 6d. boards.

THE WOODLANDS:

OR,

A TREATISE

On the preparing of ground for planting; on the planting; on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwood,

DESCRIBING

The usual growth and size and the uses of each sort of tree, the seed of each, the season and manner of collecting the seed, the manner of preserving and of sowing it, and also the manner of managing the young plants until fit to plant out,

THE TREES

Being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin names being prehed to the directions relative to each tree respectively.

I know every thing about the rearing and managing of Trees myself, from the gathering of the Seed, to the cutting down and the applying of the Tree, and *add* that I know I have communicated in this Book. It is handsomely printed in 8vo, and the Price is 14s.

THE ENGLISH GARDENER, or A Treatise on the Situation, Soil, Inclosing, and Laying out, of Kitchen Gardens, on the making and managing of Hot-Beds and Green-Houses, and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard, and also, on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens, and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers, concluding with a Calendar, giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other Labours to be performed in the Gardens in each month of the year. There are several Plates, in this Work, to represent the Laying out of Gardens, the operation of Grafting, Budding, and Pruning. It is printed on fine Paper, contains 500 pages, and is sold at 6s in Boards.

COTTAGE ECONOMY, containing information relative to the Breeding of Beer, Keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, Hens, Goats, Poultry, and Rabbits, and relative to other matters deemed useful in the conducting the Affairs of a Labourer's Family, to which are added, Instructions relative to the Selection, the Cutting, and the Bleaching, of the Plants of English Grass and Grain, for the purpose of making Hats and Bonnets; to which is now added, a very minute account (illustrated with a Plate) of the American manner of making Ice-Houses. Price 2s. 6d.

A TREATISE on COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied, with minute Directions relative to each mode of application. These are all drawn from the actual experience of Mr Cobbett, on his Farm at Barn Elm, last year (1828). The Book is a neatly-printed Duodecimo. Price 5s. 6d.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT "REFORMATION," *showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries; in a series of letters, addressed to all sensible and just Englishmen.* This is the Title of the Work, which consists of Two Volumes, the first containing the Series of Letters above described, and the second containing a List of *Abbeys, Priories, Monasteries,* and other Religious and charitable Endowments, that were seized on and granted away by the Reformers to one another, and to their minions. The List is arranged according to the Counties, alphabetically, and each piece of property is fully stated, with its then, as well as its actual value; by whom founded and when; by whom granted away, and to whom.—Of this Work there are *two Editions*, one in Duodecimo, price 4s. 6d. for the first Volume, and 3s. 6d. for the second; and another in *Royal Octavo*, on handsome paper, with marginal Notes, and a full Index. This latter Edition was printed for Libraries, and there was consequently but a limited number of Copies struck off. The Price 1l. 11s. 6d. in Extra Boards.

A FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. The notoriously great sale of this Book is no bad criterion of its worth. The reason of its popularity is its *plainness*, its *simplicity*. I have made it as plain as I possibly could. I have encountered and overcome the difficulty of giving *clear definitions*. I have proceeded in such a way as to make the task of learning as little difficult as possible. The price of this book is 5s. in boards.

SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects.—1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and object of Taxes. These Sermons were called *trash* by the Edinburgh Reviewer. How different are men's tastes! A very learned gentleman, an Italian, has, I have just learned, translated the *First*, the *Eighth*, and the *Twelfth*, into Italian, and is just about to publish them in Italy. The whole are comprised in a Duodecimo Volume. Price 3s. 6d. in boards.

EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.

Just published, at my shop, No. 183, Fleet Street, a volume under this title, price 2s. 6d. in boards, and consisting of *ten letters*, addressed to *English Tax-payers*, of which letters, the following are the contents:—

Letter I.—On the Question, Whether it be advisable to emigrate from England at this time?

Letter II.—On the Descriptions of Persons to whom Emigration would be most beneficial.

Letter III.—On the Parts of the United States to go to, preceded by Reasons for going to no other Country, and especially not to an English Colony.

Letter IV.—On the Preparations some time previous to sailing.

Letter V.—Of the sort of Ship to go in, and of the Steps to be taken relative to the Passage, and the sort of Passage; also of the Stores, and other things, to be taken out with the Emigrant.

Letter VI.—Of the Precautions to be observed while on board of ship, whether in Cabin or Steerage.

Letter VII.—Of the first Steps to be taken on Landing.

Letter VIII.—Of the way to proceed to get a Farm, or a Shop, to settle in Business, or to set yourself down as an Independent Gentleman.

Letter IX.—On the means of Educating Children, and of obtaining literary Knowledge.

Letter X.—Of such other Matters, a knowledge relating to which must be useful to every one going from England to the United States.

It grieves me very much to know it to be my duty to publish this book; but I cannot refrain from doing it, when I see the alarms and hear the cries of thousands of virtuous families that it may save from utter ruin.

POOR MAN'S FRIEND; or, Essays on the Rights and Duties of the Poor. This is really the most *learned* Work that I ever wrote; that is to say, learned in the Law. I have entered fully into the matter; and I have brought together all the authorities, from those of Holy Writ down to the present day. I oppose it to the infamous doctrine of *Malthus*. A small Volume. Price 1s.

ROMAN HISTORY. Of this Work, which is in French and English, and is intended, not only as a *History* for Young People to read, but as a *Book of Exercises* to accompany my *French Grammar*, I am only the Translator; but I venture to assert that the French is as pure as any now extant. In Two Volumes. Price 13s. in Boards.

TULL'S HUSBANDRY.—The Horse-hoeing Husbandry; or, A Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation; wherein is taught a method of introducing a sort of Vineyard Culture into the Corn-fields, in order to increase their product, and diminish the common expenses. By **JETHRO TULL**. With an Introduction, containing an Account of certain Experiments of recent date, by **WILLIAM CORBETT**.

This is a very beautiful volume, upon fine paper, and containing 466 pages. Price 15s. 8vo., bound in boards.

I knew a gentleman, who, from reading the former edition which I published of **TULL**, has had land to a greater extent than the whole of my farm in wheat every year, without manure for several years past, and has had as good a crop the last year as in the first year, difference of seasons only excepted; and, if I recollect rightly, his crop has never fallen short of thirty-two bushels to the acre. The same may be done by any body on the same sort of land, if the principles of this book be attended to, and its precepts strictly obeyed.

YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA. This Work, and the English Grammar, were the produce of Long Island, and they are particularly dear to me on that account. I wrote this book after I had been there a year, during which I kept an exact journal of the weather. I wrote it with a view of giving true information to all those who wished to be informed respecting that interesting country. I have given an account of its Agriculture, of the face of the Country, of the State of Society, the Manners of the People, and the Laws and Customs. The paper is fine on which this Book is printed, the print good, and the price moderate, viz. 5s.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, The History and Mystery of the NATIONAL DEBT, the BANK of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper-Money. This is a new and neat Edition of my chief Political Work, the Work that was received with acclamations and imprecations by the Pretenders to Statesman-like knowledge only about sixteen years ago, which has been gradually increasing in reputation ever since, and which is now daily pilfered by those who formerly ignored it. Price 5s.

LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Journey from Calais to the South, as far as Limoges; then back to Paris; and then, after a residence there of three months, from Paris through the Eastern parts of France, and through part of the Netherlands; commencing in April, and ending in December, 1824. By **JOHN M. CORBETT**, Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 4s. Boards.

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This Work contains a Sketch of the Face of the Country, of its Rural Economy, of the Towns and Villages, of Manufactures, and Trade, and of such of the Manners and Customs as materially differ from those of England; ALSO, an Account of the Prices of Land, House, Fuel, Food, Raiment, Labour, and other Things, in different parts of the Country; the design being to exhibit a true picture of the present State of the People of France. To which is added, a General View of the Prospects of the Kingdom. A neat Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

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BELL'S LIFE IN LONDON is the best and cheapest Journal extant for Sporting varieties. It is a large folio twenty-column Weekly Journal, published in London every Saturday afternoon, in time for that day's post, and may be received at the distance of two hundred miles from London on Sunday. This Paper combines, with the news of the week, a rich repository of Fashion, Wit, Humour, and other interesting incidents of Real Life. The events in the Sporting Department are copiously detailed, and, for accuracy, stand unrivalled. The emblematical Illustrations, which head the articles on Drama, Poetry, the Turf, the Chase, the Ring, the Police, Cricketer, Pigeon-shooting, the Aquatic Register, and the Affairs of the Fanny, were all designed by Crankshaw, in his most humorous and happy manner. These cuts alone are worth more than the price of this Newspaper, which is only Seven pence. The sale of **BELL'S LIFE IN LONDON**, and **SPORTING CHRONICLE**, is the largest of any London Weekly Journal, except **THE OBSERVER**. Bookkeepers and Publicans are likely to benefit by additional business to their houses, from taking in **BELL'S LIFE IN LONDON** and **SPORTING CHRONICLE**, being a Journal of comicality and fun, calculated to "drive dull care away," and dissipate the *blus devils*. Office 169, Strand, London.

THE ENGLISHMAN, Price Seven-pence.

This highly respectable and independent Weekly Newspaper is published at No. 129, in

the Strand, every Sunday Morning, at Four o'clock, at the price of Seven-pence only. THE ENGLISHMAN has now been published twenty-six years, and, during that long period, has invariably pursued the same course in all its departments—that of the strictest impartiality. It may be truly said of THE ENGLISHMAN, that it is "open to all parties—influenced by none." As a Family Newspaper, THE ENGLISHMAN stands unrivalled; not a line, or an advertisement, of an immoral tendency, is allowed under any circumstances to stain its pages. THE ENGLISHMAN is a twenty-folio-column Journal, the same size and price as THE OBSERVER. The paper upon which it is printed is an excellent sort, and the type almost new; indeed for variety, quantity, and quality, it is the most perfect. In speaking of Sunday Newspapers it is proverbial to say, THE ENGLISHMAN is almost a library in itself; and to such readers as do not desire a party paper, a trial of THE ENGLISHMAN is strongly recommended as a useful Journal, in which such a combination of literary talent is engaged as cannot be excelled by any Weekly Newspaper whatever. THE ENGLISHMAN is sent from London by the mails on Sunday, and may be had in the country on the blank post days.

THE LANCET.

No. 348, published this day, contains:—

Mr. Lawrence's Forty-second Lecture:—Vascular System, continued—Use of the Needle and Ligature in arresting Hemorrhage—Wounds of Arteries—Diffused False Aneurism—Varieties, Causes, and Operation for Aneurism—Morbid Anatomy of Aneurism—Progress of Aneurism.

Mr. Lawrence's Forty-third Lecture:—Spontaneous Cure of Aneurism—Symptoms of Aneurism—Auscultation with the Stethoscope in the Diagnosis of Aneurism—Dyspnoea in Aneurism—Tables of Aneurism—Valsalva's Treatment of Aneurism.

Mr. Lawrence's Forty-fourth Lecture:—Treatment of Aneurism by pressure—Mr. Hunter's claims to the Discovery of the Old Operation—Free Anastomosis of Arteries—Time and mode of Operating for Aneurism—Hæmorrhage after the Operation—Operation on the Distal side of Aneurism—Mr. Wardrop's, Mr. Lambeth's, and other Operations—Varicose Aneurism.

Dr. Duncan's Clinical Lectures—Case of Aneurism of the Aorta, with extensive Absorption of the Spinal Canal—Disease of the Liver, Stomach, and Duodenum—Inflammation of the Heart and Pericardium—Singular affection of the Lungs, and Bright's Disease of the Kidney, all occurring in one Patient.

Case of Stricture of the Rectum. administration of Hemlock.

Case of Hemiplegia beneficially treated by Alcoholic Extract of Nux Vomica.

Fatal Case of Fever; Example of the Miliary Tubercles of Bayle—Unusual Appearance

and Abrasion of the Mucous Coat of the Stomach.

On the inadequate Remuneration of the Medical Officers in the Service of the East India Company. Letter 4.—Descriptive Form of Admission at the India House—Medical Practice in India—Regulations for the Retirement of Military and Medical Officers—Old and New Rates of Pay to Medical, Clerical, and Military Officers—Pay on Retirement—Prospects of the Medical Student on entering the East India Service.

Remarks on the New Anatomy Bill, and the Features that should distinguish it.

The artful "getters up" of Medical Charities. Probable Postponement and new Character of the Medical Dinner—List of revised Toasts. Mr. Brodie has not been in attendance upon his Majesty.

Review of Murray on the Influence of Heat and Humidity, and the Treatment of Consumption.

Review of Addison on the Disorders of Female, connected with Uterine Irritation.

Medical and Surgical Squabbles at the Westminster Hospital.

Surgical Clinic at the University of Bonn —

Case of Partial Amputation of the Fingers and Metacarpal Bones, with Plates of the Hand before and after Operation.

On the Prophylactic Powers of Euphorbia Villosa in Hydrophobia.

Case of Extensive Wound of the Face.

Chemical Composition of the Ergot of Rye.

Hopital de la Charité —

Case of Gangrene of the Abdominal Parietals after Labour.

Case of Melanotic Fungus in the Orbit—Extirpation.

Hotel Dieu:—

Case of Lithotomy by the Recto-Vesical Operation.

Close of the Session of the Westminster Medical Society.

Anniversary Dinner of the Medico-Botanical Society.

Treatment of Neuralgia with Hydrocyanic Acid. By Mr. F. Winslow.

Case of Imperforate Anus. By Mr. H. Meymott.

New Method of treating Ranula. By Mr. G. Smith.

Letter from Mr. Welford, on his Resignation as Steward to the Medical Dinner.

Dispute between Mr. Liston and the Edinburgh Students.

Adjudication of Mr. Waller's Obstetrical Prize.

Fees at Medical Schools and Colleges.

Threats from Blubart Hall.

Books and Correspondents.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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PENSIONS, by return published by order of the House of Commons, in June, 1808:—
 "WILLIAM HUSKISSON, began May 27, 1801, 1,200/ a year; to be suspended when he shall be in possession of any office, &c., of the annual value of 2,000/ a year, or upwards. ELIZA EMMA HUSKISSON, wife of William Huskisson, Esq., to commence from the day of the decease of her said husband, 615/ a year."

TO MR. HUSKISSON.

Wolverhampton, May 1, 1830

SIR,

I HAVE lying before me a pamphlet, published by the grizzled-headed old Scotchman, Murray, of Albemarle-street (who, in his stupid and base work, called the *Quarterly Review*, calls me, "the hoary democrat of Kensington"), entitled, the "Speech of the Right Hon. Wm. Huskisson, in the House of Commons, on Thursday, the 16th of March 1830." This speech is said, in the title-page, to have been made in a debate on a motion (made by my old correspondent, DAVENPORT), for referring to a committee of the whole House the divers petitions relative to the distress of the country, which motion you opposed.

Now, it can hardly be necessary to say, that the speech, as thus published, ought to be deemed *your own production*, a thing written by yourself, and published with your authority. As such I shall take it to be, and as such I shall comment upon it. You and I saw this taxing and paper-money system start in its present form; you have, from its beginning in 1793, had a hand in carrying it on; and I, ever since the year 1803, when I began to understand it, have been predicting the ruinous result:

you are now endeavouring to wriggle out of your share of the responsibility belonging to all who have partaken in the carrying of the system on; and a part of my labours is now devoted to the preventing of you, and all the other of your fellow-labourers, from making a successful wriggle for that purpose. No, no; you shall not get out of the scrape: you have been one of the makers and supporters of the system, you have constantly been profiting from it; you have never failed to support the measures intended to crush all opposition to it; and you shall not now back out of the affair, just when the hour of responsibility is, to all appearance, approaching.

In cases of this kind, I have generally, as in that of the silly pamphlet of your brother PARNELL, taken the pamphlet, and stated, to begin with, its substance under *distinct heads*. I have sometimes, from the total want of order and of clear meaning in the work itself, found this very difficult to do; but never did I find this difficulty so great as in the present instance. When I, after having read a speech or a pamphlet, am asked, "What does the author say?" I can, if he have spoken with clearness, answer by stating, in short and distinct propositions, *what he has said*. I defy any man to do this with regard to your speech, which, owing to your want of clearness of head, or to a confusion of mind, arising from the difficulty of your situation with regard to the subject, or to a desire to disguise facts and render your matter untangible, is the most heterogeneous jumble that my eyes ever beheld. The truth is, you see that the system must give way, in one part or another; you anticipate *some great burst*, you wish to be *prepared for it*: you have, in early life, seen a *grand revolution begin*; you were upon the spot, and amidst the actors; you know how desirable it is, in such a time, not to be reckoned one of those who have oppressed the starving and angry millions; you must see (for you are not a

fool), that all, or nearly all, the causes which were at work in France in 1787, are at work here now; and your pamphlet shows us that *you wish to shift all blame from yourself*, and to be ranked amongst those who call for a *lightening of the burdens of the common people*. And here you find your difficulty. You strive to make this, your *new* character, consistent with that in which you have so long acted; hence, those qualifications without end; hence, those absurdities and self-contradictions that we meet with in every page; hence, this political comedy of "*he would and he would not*," that is so difficult to comprehend, and, of course, so difficult to analyse.

However, leaving out, as I shall, for the present, your defence of your *free-trade* measures, your pamphlet says this: 1. That the *distress* arises, in part, from the return to cash-payments, but that that return was *just* and *necessary*, and that it ought to be rigidly adhered to: 2. That the distress arises, in part, from other causes, over which the Government has had *no control*: 3. That the *great evil* is, that the taxes take from *employers* and *working people* too much of their capital and their earnings: 4. That the taxes cannot be reduced, but in a very trifling degree: 5. That the remedy is, to take off the excise and custom duties, which press upon the industrious classes, and to put, in their stead, taxes upon the *incomes* of those who are *not engaged in productive pursuits*: 6. That this will afford effectual relief, and that it is the only way of preventing the impoverishment and decrepitude of the country: 7. That, however, after all, the *present generation must continue to suffer*!

I shall, as well as I can, collect, under each of these several heads, the parts of your pamphlet that relate to that head, I say, as well as I can; for the different topics are so jumbled together, that this work of picking out and assorting is very difficult of execution. However, there is no knowing what one can do, till one tries.

1. *That the distress arises, in part, from the return to cash-payments; but*

that that return was just and necessary, and that it ought to be rigidly adhered to.

The passages of your pamphlet, relating to this matter, are as follow:—
 "From the period of the Bullion Committee, of which I was a member, in 1810, I have so often had occasion to state my opinions on this, *the great*, though *not the only* source, of the difficulties of the country, that I willingly leave to others the task of following the honourable gentlemen upon this exhausted subject. I will only state, that in 1819, when the bill, now called Mr. Peel's Act, was brought in, I was unavoidably kept away from the house by illness; otherwise I should have given to *that measure my active and cordial support*.
 "I own that I consider it a necessary preliminary to the efficacy of every suggestion of relief, that we should, if possible, pronounce ourselves so decidedly on the *permanence of our present monetary system*, as finally to set at rest all hopes and fears on this too long agitated question. There is one branch, indeed, of this subject which does not, I admit, involve any necessary alteration in the standard of our currency: I mean, the circulation of one-pound notes, convertible into coin upon demand. Their suppression rests upon distinct grounds. *It is manifest that notes, of the same denomination with our principal gold coin, cannot be allowed*, without the effect being to *drive the latter out of circulation*. It is important to bear in mind, that the general amount and *real pressure of taxation* have been *positively increased in the proportion of the improved value of our currency*.
 "Should you, in an evil hour, venture to *debase your currency*, you will commit an act of fraud, at which the finger of scorn will point for ever *after*, as the hour of your shame and humiliation; and the period will not then be distant, in which you will deeply repent, but repent too late, the *irretrievable consequences of so ruinous a proceeding*."

Now, then, let us see how your con-

duct at different times squares with these opinions, and how even these opinions square with each other. You allow that the change in the currency is "the great" source of difficulty to the country; and yet, in 1811, you wanted to return to cash-payments, in the midst of war and of enormous loans and contracts and subsidies! You wanted to adopt a measure, which, according to your own doctrine, would have doubled "the real distress" even of the war-taxes! And your opinion, on this subject, is, even after this, to be deemed worth something, is it? And you are a statesman, are you?

Well; but you approved of *Peel's Bill*; and had you been present, would have given it your "active and cordial support." What, then, you, who now say that the weight of the taxes is too great, and that it is producing ruin in the country, approved, did you, of a measure, which "positively increased the amount and real pressure of the taxes"! You would, if you had been well, have given your active and cordial support to a measure that you now say has augmented the amount and the pressure of those taxes, which you say are working the ruin of the country! You cannot shuffle out of this: and you are a man, are you, to be pensioned all your life, and to have your wife pensioned after you be dead!

"It is manifest," is it? "that one-pound notes cannot be allowed without the effect being to drive the gold out of circulation." This is "manifest" is it? It was always manifest to me, indeed; but, when, I pray you, statesman, did it become manifest TO YOU? Come, now, muster up your cool brass, and prepare for the scorn of the public. You approved of *Peel's Bill*; that bill allowed one-pound notes, to pass after the time for the Bank to begin paying in gold; that bill allowed of the circulation of one-pound notes; and compelled the banks to pay in gold on demand at the same time; and as it was "manifest" that this would drive the gold out of circulation, how came you to approve of that bill, and to be sorry that illness prevented you from giving

that bill your active and cordial support? What! have you the impudence to tell us, that it is manifest that one-pound notes and gold cannot circulate together, and to boast, at the same time, that you approved of a bill, according to which they were intended to circulate together? No: you have not the impudence: it is the ignorance; the confusion of ideas, the bubbleheadedness, which has been the grand source of all these measures, and which we shall find conspicuous throughout the whole of your pamphlet.

Again, "it is manifest," is it? It is perfectly evident, that "if one-pound notes be allowed, they will drive out the gold": this is quite certain, is it? Well, then, pensioned political economist, how came you to vote for the bill of July 1822, which allowed one-pound notes (town and country) to be put forth until 1833, while, at the same time, all banks were left liable to demands of payment in gold? And how came you, even when the duration of this period was shortened in 1826, to vote for and talk for a bill, which, even after the panic, kept out the one-pound notes for three years from that time, still leaving the banks liable to demands of payment in gold? What shuffle have you here, now? What hole to attempt to creep out at? Will you, like a mole, try to scratch a hole, and get under ground; or will you, clapping your hand upon the lumpy pension on your thigh, and pointing to the standing army, give us a brazen stare and a laugh?

It will be "an evil hour," will it, if the currency be debased; it will be "an act of fraud, at which the finger of scorn will point for ever after." What have you to say, then, in defence of "those great and firm minds" (Pitts and Dundas's), who gave you and your wife your pensions, but who debased the currency most famously in 1797, while you were in public pay? What have you to say in defence of them who began the game of debasement, in spite of all the warnings that had been given them? And, as for the "act of fraud," the act of fraud is compelling the nation to pay you and your wife and other pensioners in money of double

the value of that which existed when the pensions were granted. This is "the act of fraud," at which something a little more efficient than "the finger of scorn" ought to be pointed. The "act of fraud" is, the changing of the value of money, and thereby, according to your own confession, adding to the "amount and the real pressure of the taxes." The "act of fraud" is, compelling the tax-payers to give to the tax-eaters double the sum that the latter ought to receive. The "act of fraud" is, leaving the nominal amount of pensions, pay, and Jew's-interest, unaltered, while the money, in which these are paid, has been doubled in value. This, pensioner Huskisson! is the real act of fraud; for tamely submitting to which the world is "pointing the finger of scorn" at this pensioner-ridden nation. I do not say, nor do I think, that the currency can be again debased without a blowing up of the concern; but the taxes may be reduced; and this, after all your talk, you do not propose. We shall, however, tell you another story about this before this day twelvemonths.

2. That the distress arises, in part, from other causes, over which the Government has had no control.

This is false. For, what are those causes, as stated by you? *Adverse seasons!* When did those ever before plunge England into distress? Besides, the distress was, in 1822, ascribed, by yourselves, to the *too-good seasons*. Next, the competition against us in the *foreign market*. If we suffer here, it is owing to the Corn-laws; and those are made by the parliament. The *contract between landlord and tenant* have been violated; and have not the acts of the Government caused the violation? The *increase of machinery* would have been a benefit, had it not been for the Corn-bill and the enormous taxes, both of which we owe to the Government. So that this proposition is false; but, if true, we should do well to have a *much cheaper Government*; for any set of day-labourers could do no worse than plunge us into the misery that we now have to endure.

3. That the GREAT EVIL is, that the taxes take from EMPLOYERS and WORKING PEOPLE too much for their capital and earnings.

Upon this subject you use a sort of language which you picked up, I suppose, at Paris, in your early days, and which the French call a *recherche fine*; that is to say, a set of expressions not to be easily comprehended by the vulgar. The passage in which you open this important matter, is in the following curious words:

"If I am asked the cause of the habitual existence of this so-great pressure, I can only state the impression of my own mind. It is simply this, that, in the distribution of the annual income of the country, by which I mean everything, having value in exchange, that is raised and produced by the labour of its inhabitants, and from which fund are derived the subsistence, the comforts, and the enjoyments of all, from the monarch to the peasant; I say that, in its distribution, the portion of it reserved for reproduction is now, and has been for some years, less than it ought to be, either for the well-being of the labouring classes, the immediate instrument of that re-production, or for the due maintenance and progressive growth of the capitals by which their labour is called into active exertion. I am aware that, in this statement, I have only said in other words, that the wages of labour have been too low, and the profits of fructifying or productive capital less than they ought to be: but there is an advantage, in a discussion like the present, in describing these evils, so as to trace them to their elementary causes."

In plain words, this means that which I have expressed; namely, that the taxes take from the employers and the working people too much of their capital and earnings; and this is very true; only, after my having said this every week for five-and-twenty years, while you, who were helping to lay on the taxes, and to devour them when collected, one wonders how the devil you could have found the brass to put upon paper

a complaint on the subject You do, indeed, tell us, as a sort of prelude to this complaint, that, "*it is well known to several of my right honourable friends, that this my opinion is of much longer standing than the present emergency.*" A fig for the knowledge of your right honourable friends! What is it to us what you told them? You never told the public this before. From the time that you came from Paris with Lord and Lady Srafford, and were made a clerk in the Alien Office; from that day to this, you have been living on the taxes; and for the last thirty-five years of your life, you have voted for every tax that has been imposed. Monstrous brass it required, therefore, to pretend that you have been remonstrating with your colleagues against the burdens which they were imposing on the people. For nine-and-twenty years, up to this very day, you have been receiving 1,200*l.* a year in pension, or 2,000*l.* a year, or upwards, in some other shape. For the greater part of the time you have been receiving five or six thousand pounds a year. In the whole, I believe you have received far above a hundred and fifty thousand pounds of the public money, in one way or another. I think you have now a pension of two thousand pounds, or more; and at the end of thirty-seven years of this swallowing of taxes, you have discovered that the taxes press too heavily upon the industrious classes; and this you do without giving us the smallest intimation, that you mean to let go your grasp even now, when you tell us that the country is threatened with a breaking up, unless the burden be lightened.

Your description of the state of the country is by no means bad; at any rate it is not for me to pronounce it bad, seeing that it is a description which you appear carefully to have collected from divers articles in the Register, and this every one of my readers will testify as soon as he has gone through the passage which I here insert.

"Let any man compare the metropolis now with what it was at that period; not only its positive growth,

"but still more the extension of splendour in buildings, in furniture, in plate, in the habits of luxury, and in display of every description. Having mentioned plate, Sir, I may remark, as a striking evidence of this change, the difference of the amount of the duty upon that one article, between the year 1801 and the last year. The rate of duty upon silver wrought plate in 1804 was 1*s.* 3*d.*, upon gold 16*s.* per ounce; it was afterwards raised to 1*s.* 6*d.* upon silver, and to 17*s.* upon gold. But what has been the increase in the net produce of the duty? It has risen from less than 5,000*l.* in 1804, to upwards of 105,000*l.* in 1828; a rise of more than twenty-fold, notwithstanding the greatly-diminished supply from the mines, and the consequent increasing value of the precious metals. It may be further remarked, that this augmented consumption shows how large a portion of gold and silver is annually diverted from the purposes of coin to those of ornament and luxury.

"Have the articles most necessary to the scanty comfort of the humble dwellings of the labouring classes been multiplied in the same proportion? I am afraid that, in too many cases, an inverse ratio would rather be the correct answer. Look at the earnings and condition of that population which raises the produce of the soil, or from early dawn till midnight throws the shuttle, for bare subsistence, and compare them with those of the artisans, who minister to all the various enjoyments and gratifications of wealth, in this great town. Contrast the hourly dealings for millions at that great mart of money, the Stock Exchange, with the stunted transactions and falling-off of our country markets. In London, the bankers, the moneyed men of all descriptions, complain of the glut of money. We hear of seven or eight millions deposited, for want of employment, in the Bank of England alone. Ingenuity is incessantly at work in devising new and tempting speculations, to call forth these locked-up capitals, of which too large a por-

"tion has already been thrown away upon rash and gambling speculations, or placed at hazard upon the precarious security of foreign loans. In the country, you hear of nothing but the bewailings of industry, and the want of money, confidence, and credit. The country banker, reluctant to make advances, and the prudent man, who is still solvent, cautious and tardy in applying for them, because productive speculation, however carefully conducted, holds out too little prospect of gain to compensate for the risk of loss, with which, more or less, it must always be attended. It is notorious to all, who know what is passing in the different counties of the kingdom, that country banks, in better times those salutary reservoirs for the alternate deposit and distribution of circulating wealth, through all the ramifications of active industry, now send that wealth up to town, to be lent for short periods upon stock, and other floating securities upon the Stock Exchange. This system is, perhaps, safe for themselves, but, at best, of very doubtful benefit to the public, affording, for aught I know, to a few individuals increased facilities for gigantic speculations; swelling still further the already overgrown fortunes of some, but bringing misery and ruin upon others; and diverting the thoughts and aspirations of all who come within its vortex, from the sober and steady courses of their forefathers, to pursuits as little conducive, I believe, to individual happiness and moral worth, as they certainly are to the growth of wealth in the country; pursuits which, were they multiplied even a hundredfold, could never add the value of one pepper-corn to our national resources, while all the classes, from whom alone wealth can really flow, are labouring under difficulties, and complaining of distress."

Nothing can be more true than this. It is precisely what I have been describing and complaining of for five-and-twenty years. If you had put in the word *Wen* instead of "*metropolis*," and the word *tax-eaters* instead of

"*higher orders*," and the word *Jews* instead of "*monied men*," every reader would have sworn that it was an extract from some old Register, written, perhaps, twenty years ago; or, at any rate, written since the passing of Peel's Bill in the year 1819. It is all true to the very letter; but none of it new. As the poet says,

"The words are neither rich nor rare;
The wonder is, how they came there."

Before I proceed to remark further upon this passage, I must take another still more manifestly stolen from the Register. "Full three-fourths of your revenue are levied under these two heads (*excise and customs*), and by far the greatest proportion of that amount upon articles necessary, either for the subsistence, the clothing, or the humble comforts of the labourer; or of use in the fabrication of those articles to which his industry is devoted. Let any man look through the list of the excise and customs, even now that the beer and leather taxes are removed, and he will find in how great a degree this observation still applies. Candles, hops, licenses, malt, printed goods, soap, British spirits, tea, sugar, tobacco, rum, hemp, timber: here is an enumeration amounting to near 30,000,000*l.*; but the incidental burden of which, in restraint, impediment, and vexatious interference, may well be estimated at 10,000,000*l.* more. These are the consequences of monopoly in some cases, as tea for instance, and of the charge of collection, regulation, drawbacks, and such like interference in others."

This is almost *Non folk Petition*; and the readers of the Register will all recollect how many scores of times I have insisted on it that the working people paid the greater part of the taxes. It is hardly half a year since I fully explained how the monopoly added to the taxes, particularly in the cases of malt, hops, soap, and candles. You are, Mr. Pensioner, the most barefaced plagiarist that I ever met with, except Lord Grenville, and Mr. Western, and my friend

Davenport. But you are contending here for *precisely the contrary* of that for which you have contended for so many years, which was, that those whose income consisted of wages, *really paid no taxes at all*. This was contended for by you, by your old crony CANNING, by LIVERPOOL, and by CASTLEREAGH, in the month of December, 1819. A million or more of the people had been demanding their right to be represented, upon the ground *that taxation and representation ought to go hand in hand*; and your impudent, your audacious answer, was, that the people in the lower walks of life *really paid no taxes*; which, by-the-by, was a doctrine of generous BURDETT too. I told you, at that time, that your eyes would get open, when once the taxes that you received were taken away from you. The taking away of your *salary* has half opened your eyes. You can see already, that the working people pay the larger part of the taxes; and, when your *pension*, or *pensions*, shall be taken away, which will, I trust, be the case before it be long, your sight will be as clear as that of a puppy ten days old.

So much for the *extent* of taxation, and for the *shoulders* on which the burden falls. Let us now hear you upon the next topic.

4. *That the taxes cannot be reduced but in a very trifling degree.*

As in most other parts of the pamphlet, you here pretty decently contradict yourself. The sort of savings which you first talk of are very numerous and extensive; but by-and-by you find, that there can be no savings made! Let us, however, hear you as to these savings. "There is a tendency to the *growth of expenditure*, which requires to be steadily watched, and kept within bounds. Of late years it appears to have been most *vivacious*, if I may use the expression, in that branch which is familiarly called the dead weight. After all the details and explanations upon this subject, which I have heard with satisfaction from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I remain of opinion, that the proposed regulations ought, in some instances,

"to be drawn somewhat tighter, and that retrenchment may be carried considerably further. The Government has once gone over the wide field of expenditure, but what they have cut down is not adequate to the wants and expectations of the country. Let them repeat the operation, and they will find that more than gleanings are left behind. In the collection and management of the revenue, it was admitted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, there is still room for reduction and reform. The diplomatic and consular establishment may be pared down without detriment to the public service. The door of admission to half-pay, retired allowances, and superannuations of every sort, must be further straitened and narrowed. A careful revision of the colonial establishments will afford a considerable saving. The expenses incurred on the coast of Africa ought, on every consideration, to be greatly diminished. The laxity of control over the appropriation of the revenue arising from crown lands, calls for revision. This branch of the revenue, as much as the customs or excise, constitutes a part of the consolidated fund, subject to the expenses of management. Under this head of management it may be proper to include the expense of the maintaining, repairing, and keeping up that part of the crown estate which is expressly reserved for the recreation or state of the monarch, such as parks, lodges, &c.; but as in the civil list, so in this instance, a specific annual sum ought to be allotted for that purpose; not to be exceeded without an application to, and an express vote of, the House of Commons. There are also the savings which may, I hope, be effected in the great heads of our expense, the military and naval establishments of the country. I have made no objections to the estimates for the army and navy this year. In fixing the numbers, the Government, acting upon their information and responsibility, have a right to expect some degree of confidence from the

"House; especially if, from circumstances of notoriety, it should appear that, in the pending concerns of the world, some matters remain to be adjusted, and that every thing is not in its right place. If, by the next year, the mists which surround us shall be dissipated, if the political horizon shall be, on every side, clear and bright, if Ireland shall continue, as I am confident it will, to improve in its internal tranquillity, and in good feelings towards this country, I should, in the ensuing session, expect no inconsiderable reduction in the amount of our public force."

It is impossible to read this, without, in the first place, laughing at your "vacuous dead weight"; and my readers will recollect that when the name was first given to it by that impudent and stupid fellow, CASTLEREAGH, who cut his own throat at North Cray, in Kent, I said that it was any thing but a *dead weight*; that it was, on the contrary, a most *lively* affair; for that it was producing, every day, *lots of young gentlemen and ladies for us to keep*. However, as coming from your pen, this enumeration of sources of saving does appear very much like the uproarious complaint of the butcher, the fat and unyielding butcher (spoken of by Swift) who made part of a mob assembled round the stage of a mountebank. "Foh!" exclaimed the fat and greasy fellow, "what devil has raked this filthy crowd together? Was there ever such a thrusting and squeezing before! Why, are the people mad? Do take your elbow away from my side, friend, and give me a little room. Why, you big-paunched rascal," exclaimed a skinny tailor, "who adds so much to the crowd as yourself! Take away your own ton of guts, and be d—d to you, and there will be room for half a dozen of the rest of us." And, my good Mr. Pensioner, if you will but take your and your wife's name out of the pension list, there will be room enough for a score of dead-weight fellows and their wives.

However, who would imagine that, after all this enumeration of savings, you

come to the conclusion that *nothing at all can be saved*; for this is the conclusion to which you come, in these very words. "When the whole of this charge, over which we can exercise any immediate control, is not more than eleven millions, the further reduction which remains practicable, to be consistent with the public safety, and the efficiency of the Government, cannot be very considerable. Indeed, I much doubt whether, if we are to retain a reasonable surplus of revenue, any further absolute reduction of taxation can be anticipated." You had frightened yourself with the enumeration of savings. You began to think of *your own pensions*; amongst such a hopping-off you began to be afraid that they would not escape; therefore you got back with all possible haste to the assertion, that *no savings could be made*; or, at most, only to a very trifling extent. Yes, yes, Mr. Pensioner HUSKISSON, you will be taught, before long, that pretty large savings can be made; that we have control over a great deal more than eleven millions; that we have control over the whole sixty millions, if you please; and I do believe that you will not have one farthing out of that sixty millions, in a very few years from this time. A reformed Parliament would not allow you more than eighteen-pence a day, to say nothing about that *refund-ing system* which you may probably live to see established.

5. That the remedy is, to take off the excise and custom duties, which press upon the industrious classes, and to put in their stead taxes upon the incomes of those who are not engaged in productive pursuits.
6. That this will afford effectual relief, and that it is the only way of preventing the impoverishment and decrepitude of the country.

These are very important propositions, if one could believe that they would be adopted. I shall, therefore, insert the passage, containing the reasons upon which you found these propositions; and I beg the greatest attention of my readers, not only to what I shall have to say upon the subject, but to what

you have said; because, in the kickings and flingings of the old THING, in its agony, it seems to me possible, that it may resort to this foolish scheme of yours. The THING is just in the same state that the French THING was, in years 1786 and 1787, and yours is a scheme just like those that the schemers in France brought forward, in order to rescue that old THING from the perils, with which it was surrounded. Another reason for my giving your statement at length is this; that you have all the shallow brains in the country with you, except those amongst the annuitants, particularly the Jews; and if they have any sense, they will approve of your scheme more decidedly than any body else. The passage to which I allude, and with which you introduce your scheme, is as follows:

"The more general considerations, to which I now claim the attention of the House, are these: first, that no other country in Europe has so large a proportion of its taxation bearing directly upon the incomes of labour and productive capital; secondly, that in no other country, of the same extent, I think I might say in none of five times the extent of this kingdom, is there so large a mass of income, belonging to those classes who do not directly employ it in bringing forth the produce of labour: thirdly, that no other country has so large a proportion of its taxation mortgaged; in proportion to the amount of that mortgage are we interested in any measure which, without injustice to the mortgagee, would tend to lessen the absolute burden of the mortgage: fourthly, that from no other country in the world does so large a proportion of the class not engaged in production (including many of the wealthy) spend their incomes in foreign parts. I know I may be told, that, by taxing that income, you run the risk of driving them to waste their capital altogether. My answer is, first, that ninety-nine out of a hundred of these absentees have no such command over the source of their income; secondly, that the danger is now

"of another and more alarming description, that of the productive capitals of this country being transferred to other countries, where they would be secure of a more profitable return. The relief of industry is the remedy against that danger. One of the objections made to any direct tax upon income, even limited, as I have described, to capital not directly employed in the pursuits of industry, is, that it may be very fit as a war measure, but that it is not suited to a state of peace. My answer is, that this proposition is too general: what may be very well adapted to a state of peace or war under given circumstances, may become inexpedient when the bearing of those circumstances is altogether changed. In war, the wages of labour and the profits of capital may be high. In peace, they may be greatly depressed. On the former supposition, taxes bearing upon industry will be more lightly felt; in the latter, their pressure will be very severe; and, if not alleviated, will daily become more so, by exhausting the very springs of that industry from which they are derived. Let gentlemen seriously weigh in their own minds, whether this be not the risk against which it is most urgent to provide. I have already shown, upon higher authority than my own (that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer), that the amount remitted by a change in our taxation, would be a very inadequate measure of the real saving, and contingent relief, to industry; whilst, on the other hand, the produce of the tax to be substituted would be commensurate with what it might subtract from the incomes of the classes, by which it would be paid. The landlord, the fundholder, the mortgagee, the annuitant of every description, would moreover be directly benefited, to the extent of his consumption of the articles upon which the present taxes might be reduced or abolished. Each would be indirectly benefited, by the stimulus and additional ease which would be given to the industrious

"classes. Take, for instance, the land-owner. Can any man doubt, that, in proportion to the relief afforded, would be the means and desire of the industrious classes to consume more of all the productions of the soil, which constitute their habitual comforts and luxuries: more meat, more malt, more cheese, more butter, and more of all the other articles which cannot be said to be of absolute and primary necessity? Can any man doubt, that the consumption of these articles is now checked, if not actually diminished, by the straitened circumstances of our labouring population? Should their condition become still harder, and, in order to maintain our competition in the foreign market, I fear that, *without the relief which I have suggested, it must* be it not obvious that the consumption of these articles, and, with the consumption, the price, must decline? Should this be the unfortunate career in which we are proceeding, we may have gleams of sunshine, but their transient brightness will not be sufficient to disperse the thickening gloom which will be gathering round us, and in which all interests and all classes will be finally enveloped. For the contentment of the poor man, for the comfort of the middling classes, for the enjoyment of the rich, for the security of all, it becomes the paramount duty of those, to whom the welfare and happiness of the country are committed, well to probe the sources of our present difficulties; and if they are satisfied that they are produced, in any considerable degree, by the causes to which I have adverted, not to be tardy or timid in applying the remedy."

Such are the reasons that serve as the foundation of your scheme. You say, by way of preliminary, "If we cannot be protected from ruin by any practical diminution in the position and amount of our burdens, we may guard ourselves against that ruin by some change in the principle and distribution of taxation." So that you think, that by taking the taxes off from the

articles consumed by the industrious classes, by taking these taxes from the malt, hops, sugar, candles, soap, and the like, and laying them upon the fundholders, the landholders, the mortgagees, and annuitants of all descriptions, the labouring classes, including the employers, would have more of wages and of profits left in their own hands, wherewith to purchase a greater quantity than they now do of the necessaries and conveniences of life, and that thus they would be rendered more happy, and, of course, more contented.

To be sure, this is shallowness perfectly monstrous: it is worthy of a creature incapable of putting two ideas together, and making a comparison between them. It is proceeding upon the supposition that there is to be no war; it is proceeding upon the supposition, that nobody feels any tax, that nobody is injured by any tax which does not go immediately out of his own hand into that of the tax-gatherer. It is proceeding upon the supposition, that, if a hundred per cent. were laid on the clear income of the paper-maker, the bookseller would have the paper just at the same price that he had it before; and that the readers of books would have them just as cheap as they had them before. It is proceeding upon the supposition, that the landlord would not make the tenant pay the income-tax; that, if he did, the farmer would not charge the additional rent in the price of his corn; that if he did, the miller would not charge the additional price of the wheat in the sale of the flour; and that, if all these were to take care of themselves, the baker would not charge, in the price of his loaf, the additional price that he had paid for the flour; and that thus the income tax would be paid by the landlord, and the poor man would get his loaf just as cheap as he got it before. Talk of *March hares*, indeed! Never was March hare half so mad as this.

This very proposition of yours shows what a state the whole concern is in: shows that there is no sense any where amongst you: shows, that you are like Balaam, and Necker, and Callot, and

and God knows how many more of them; every one with his scheme; every one with his shuffle; with his *cause d'escompte*, and *cause d'amortissement*; ever day bringing forth one devil's scheme or another; but no one ever proposing to sweep away the myriads of blood-suckers that hang upon the taxes; no one ever proposing to put an end to the squanderings of the court, to the enormous expenses of the army; no one ever proposing to take off the taxes and to put no other taxes on in their stead.

Suppose you had an income tax. As far as it took from the *fundholders*, and from others whose incomes came out of the taxes, it would be a *reduction of taxation*; it would be a *partial sponge applied to the Debt*; and if that is what you really mean, there is *sense* in your proposition: it is a reduction of the interest of the Debt, and a reduction of half-pay and of other charges on the taxes. But, why not call it so? and why not make the reduction; and why have the miserable folly to couple this proposition with such vehement declarations against all *breach of national faith*? That this is what you aim at is clear enough. Now, to take, or, rather, to *withhold*, any part of the interest of the Debt, under *any pretence whatsoever*, is a breach of every Act of Parliament that ever was made for the raising of a loan; but, if *all property*; if *all income*, be assessed in the same proportion that the interest of the Debt is, there does not appear to be any *injustice* in the thing, however contrary to positive law. But unless the assessment be *general*; unless it reach *every species* of income, though I should be very glad to see it done, let me hear no more, I pray you, of railing against the Norfolk Botion; and let the sensible DABBY COKE and his sensible neighbour SURFELD recall the protesting edicts which they issued from their barns and holes and corners, in the year 1823.

However, what income tax would you get to supply the place of the *thirty millions*, now collected by the excise and the customs? An income tax of ten per cent. would not bring you from the

funds more than three millions. An income tax on the land would not bring you more than another three millions at this time, including the rent-charges, mortgages, and annuities, on land. Would you stop here; or, would you go to the *professions*? Would you make the doctor and lawyer bring their books before your commissioners, and would you put their incomes on a par with those of real estates, as you did before; or, would you look upon theirs as *productive capital*? Would you assess the parson upon his tithes, and make him pay as much on his lifehold as the lord paid on his freehold? You are most cursedly puzzled! Oh, no! You must have a sweep at the whole; you must bring every farmer and every shopkeeper to book; or very little will you get. Lay thirty per cent. upon the funds, as Sir James Graham proposed, and take ten millions from the malt, the sugar, the candles, and the like; and that will have *sense* in it: it will be a flagrant breach of faith: it will make you laughed at by some: it will bring you into total discredit: it will upset the whole system; but it will have *sense* in it, and it will give great relief to the industrious classes.

You seem to have a curious idea about incomes spent in *foreign parts*. You say, that by taxing the incomes you shall not drive people to withdraw their capital from the country; for that ninety-nine out of a hundred of these absentees have no such command over the source of their income. To be sure, when once a law has been passed, imposing an income-tax, the fundholder, the pensioner, and all those who derive their income from the taxes, must pay the income tax; and the fundholder, if he sell his stock, must sell it loaded with the income tax. But it is not thus with the mortgagee, or other lender of money. It is thus with the landowner; for, if he sell his land, he sells it loaded with the income tax. The moment you lay the income tax on him to the amount of ten per cent., you take away a tenth part of his estate: if worth 10,000*l.* before, it becomes at once worth only 9,000*l.* But, mark me, it is not thus

with 10,000*l.* lent on mortgage. As long as it remains on mortgage, it must pay ten per cent. income tax; but the mortgagee may take it away when he pleases; and if he cannot get the income-tax paid by a borrower, he can remove the capital to some country where there is no income tax; and, to be sure, this is what would be done to a prodigious extent. And, what do you mean by *realised capital*? A large part of the farming and trading of the country, and of the manufacturing also, is carried on by the capital of persons who are not farmers or traders or manufacturers themselves. And how could you *distinguish* in these cases? And yet if you did not distinguish, you would tax the capital employed in production. You are puzzled! You are pazed!

In short, here is a jumble of ideas; a miserable shuffling and twisting about, which clearly indicates that there is no plain, no clear principle, no knowledge amongst you, calculated to rescue the nation from its difficulties; and that, in all human probability, England is destined to behold acted over again, on this side the channel, the miserable tricks and contrivances of BAILENNE, NECKER, and CALLOXNE.

But, after all your fine scheming; after all your confident hopes of the nation's riding out the storm; after all your disbelief that "a country like England can be reduced at once to a state of helpless weakness"; after all your "just reliance upon the sources of our wealth and power; your reliance upon the energy of our national character, and the industry of an ingenious and enterprising population"; after your "well-founded confidence" and sanguine hope in an "enlightened public opinion exercising its salutary influence upon the councils of ministers, and upon the deliberations of Parliament"; after all this inflated and disgusting palaver; at the last, after this most abominable nonsense; after forty-four octavo pages of *scheming for putting things to rights*, you come out with the following concluding and most *concluding* declaration, which ought to be written in letters of gold: "*Do what*

we will, say what we may, the immense sacrifices and unparalleled exertions of the last long war must tell, in abridging the comforts, and adding to the difficulties, of the present generation."

"Tell! Tell what? Why, that you must have tenfold brass to have the impudence to say, as you now do, that that war was brought to a "*glorious termination.*" Folly or impudence unparalleled you must have to call that termination *glorious*, which had been obtained by means which were to abridge the comforts and add to the difficulties of a whole generation! And do you, while you affect to place reliance on an "*enlightened public opinion,*" really think the people of England such beasts as to live on this whole generation in the state of degradation and misery in which they now are? And have you the impudence to think, that they have forgotten all the promises of "*indemnity for the past and security for the future.*"? And have you the stupidity to believe that they do not now see how it is that they have been ruined, and who it is that takes from them the fruit of their ingenuity, care, and labour? You tell us, that from the commencement of the late war you have been "*more or less in public life.*" We all know that you have always been receiving more or less of our money; and have you the insolence to imagine that you can wheedle us over by your "*sanguine hope of the effect of an enlightened public opinion,*" that you can make us forget the money that you have received, the provision for your wife, the part that you have acted in the gagging-bills, the dungeon-bills, the famous Six Acts, the new treason-bills, the poaching transportation-bills, and all the rest of that code, which has been enacted since you have been in Parliament? Oh, no! we are not to be wheedled out of our memory by a little blarney: the day for wheedling is past; and you will find that, after all your *lucky career*, you have still a *reckoning to settle.*

You see the danger of men carrying *productive capital out of the country.* You are then, not fool equal to the

pamphleteer, WILMOT HORTON, who cannot see that it is not the *paupers* that are going away. *Three millions sterling*, or about that sum, will this year be *carried to the United States by English emigrants*. What! do you imagine, that men, with money of *their own*; that men who possess "*realised capital*," will remain to taste of "*abridged comforts*, and *additional difficulties*," during the *present generation*? Oh, no! none but idiots and cowards and base slaves will, under such circumstances, remain to have the honour of paying, all their lives, for the last "*glorious war*," for your and Burke's pensions, the pensions to Mrs. Herries and her daughters, and the like without end. When at Leicester, the other day, I met with a gentleman, who had "*realised capital*." He had gone to Philadelphia upon the passing of the *dungeon-bill* of 1817. He had drawn a part of his capital thither from time to time, and is now come here to put the rest into a moveable shape, *and to take it away*. And his words to me were, that *the taxes* that he must pay in England would exceed what was necessary for the maintenance of his family in America.

And who but idiots, cowards, and slaves, will remain to suffer for "*the present generation*," unless bound by some tie which they cannot break? Thousands are going off, this year, with capital at their command; and men of large fortune will soon be in the habit of going: clap on your *income tax*, and away goes a great part of the "*realised capital*:" a man with a family, and with money in hand, must be infatuated to remain here to be plucked and beggared during "*the present generation*." Read my *EMIGRANT'S GUIDE*: it will cost you only 2s. 6d. There you will see the *cause* of men *with money* going to America; there you may read the *destiny* of your system; there you may see, that no man of *realised capital* and of sense will remain to hand over that capital to the *tools* of the *borough-mongers*; and there you will see (and in the emigration now going on) a real proof of "*an enlightened public opi-*

nion." Every man of sense now sees, that, without a *parliamentary reform*, there can be no real relief, and that *convulsion must finally come*. And why should a man who has enough to enable him and his family to live well in America, and save money too, *why* should such a man remain to suffer for a *generation*, or to run the risk that a *violent convulsion* might and must expose him to? Why should he remain to pay part of the debt, the pensions, the dead-weight, the standing army, and the rest of it, not forgetting poor-rates and parsons? No: he will go, to be sure, and leave the tax-eaters and the paupers *to settle their accounts in their own way*; leave you to get your pensions how you can, and leave the parsons to *force* any body they can to pay them "*Easter- Offerings*."

The hand of death is upon the system, and your pamphlet proves that you perceive it; for the whole is an anxious attempt to withdraw yourself from it. You have at last found that there may be *an end*, even to the success of one who has always had power at his back. You have at last found that a state of things may arise to render physical force of no use to those who have been accustomed to employ it. "*Dungeon-bills* and standing armies are dreadfully powerful things; but their power is not of that sort which enables people to pay taxes." Of the truth of this, making part of my address on my flight to America, you are at last convinced; and, I dare say, that in looking back over your past life, you now begin to think that it would have been as well if you had ended, as well as begun, your life in the pretty and tranquil farmhouse at Oxley, in which *I was yesterday*; when, sitting in the room in which, in all probability, your feet first felt the floor, I could not help saying to myself, "*How much happier would he have been, if the glare of false ambition had never lured him from this spot*; or, if, being so lured, he had resolved, from the first, never to be the underling of those whom, in his heart, he must have despised, and the sup-
porter of a system which his very

"nature taught him to abhor; how much happier to have been the unquestionably rightful owner of this delightful seat of health, and source of competence, than the claimant of pensions founded on very doubtful merits, granted from very doubtful motives, and of duration dependent on circumstances uncertain as the winds!"

WM. COBBETT.

EMIGRATION.

FROM all parts of the country people of property are going to the UNITED STATES. I have just heard of the departure of a most worthy man from SHERRIFD. I saw him there last winter, and he then said, that he had, by incessant labour and care, got together a competence; and that he was resolved that no more of it should go to pay nurses and tutors to take care of the "young gentlemen" in the Royal Military and Naval and Artillery Academies! "No," said he, "nor to keep and educate the children of the soldiers; while my own children will, if I become poor, be called paupers, and put into a workhouse. No, no!" said he, "by —! not many more shillings of my money shall be sent over to Hanover, and elsewhere, to be given to dead-weight people, their widows and children. I will leave those to let their money go in this who like it: I do not like it, and will stand it no longer." And away he goes with about six thousand pounds. Now, I will tell the reader what he can do with this sum, without carrying on any business at all.

He can purchase, on Long Island, and within 20 miles of New York, a good, substantial, genteel country house, four good rooms on a floor, with kitchen, and cellars, all ample; with out-houses of all sorts; with good large garden; with orchard in full bearing; with fifteen acres of land for pasture for cows, horses, or for hay, or other purposes; this he can purchase for one thousand pounds. The taxes on it are not worth naming.

The 5,000*l.* will bring him an interest of six per cent., on mortgage (always to be had), seven per cent. being the legal interest. Thus he has, besides his house and land, 300*l.* a year clear income, liable to no tax, or deduction; and liable to no law-suit; because the mortgage is accompanied with judgment confessed.

Here he is, then, with no tax on his horses, carriage, dogs, house, land, windows, malt, hops, beer, soap, candles, or on any thing produced in the country. He has, at less than half the English price, tea, sugar, and coffee, and all spices. He has wine, brandy, and rum, at less than a fifth part of the English price, and spirits of the country, (like ours) at less than a tenth part. He has bread, meat, butter, and cheese, at half the English price. He has all sorts of English goods cheaper than in England, because there is generally a draw-back on them, and because the American merchant and shop-keeper are not taxed as ours are. All things from China, from France, from Italy, for a third of the English price. In short, his 300*l.* will enable him to live in better style than 1,000*l.*, or even 1,500*l.* would enable him to live in England. The very taxes that he must pay here would amount to more than would be required to keep him there in better style than his whole income here would enable him to live in.

It is men like this who are now going. There will be thousands upon thousands who will thus flee from the dead-weight, the standing army, the place, pension, and sinecure list, the fine new palaces, the Debt, and the rates, especially those imposed in order to prosecute the people themselves for touching those wild animals, which God has given to us all. This is the sort of persons that go now: every one draws twenty after; and if Hucks-son's income tax be once proposed by the Government, any man of sense will gather up his means as quickly as possible, and will be off with them.

Blessed be the memory of those of our fathers, who had the courage to brave the seas, and to settle in a wil-

derness, in order to provide a place of refuge for us; and ever-honoured be the memory of those who shed their blood to prevent that place of refuge from being polluted by *taxation without representation*. The American debt is nearly paid off: the taxes on imports will, it is said, be kept up, and the surplus expended on roads, bridges, and canals; so that, in case of war, there may be means always ready. The navy goes on gradually increasing, without any internal tax. So that our THING must look pretty sharply about it! In short, it must bring down the taxes to the amount of 1791; or, the English nation sinks for ages.

On the subject of emigration, I have sent to me printed schemes of Associations for this purpose. I beseech every one to avoid such associations. All projects of the sort are visionary: they must all lead to ruin: the prudent way is for every one to proceed on his own individual means; not to go to *back woods* by any means; to settle amongst the people of the country; and to do as they do; resolving to keep sober, and they, in whatever state of life, are sure to do well.

My EMIGRANT'S GUIDE, price 2s. 6d. is a sure guide; but, since I wrote it, which was last year, I have obtained some additional information of an authentic and a very interesting nature. I recollected prices of land, &c. pretty well; but some change might have taken place; and, as I was so frequently applied to for particulars, I wrote to Mr. JOHN TREDWELL, my neighbour in Long Island, *eighteen questions*, relative to farms that I myself had a personal knowledge of, and relative to country seats, taverns, &c. that I had a like knowledge of. I received his answer, a few weeks ago, when I was at CAMBRIDGE. In a new edition of the EMIGRANT'S GUIDE, which will be published in a few days, these questions, with the answers of Mr. TREDWELL, will be published, by the way of postscript, together with my explanations. No man can want any thing further than this little book with this edition.

I repeat that which I have so fre-

quently said; that it grieves me very much to know that it is my duty thus to promote emigration, but when I see so many worthy fathers and mothers, whose children must be miserable if they remain here under this system of taxation; and when I can see not the smallest chance of their escaping that ruin, it is my duty, and a sacred duty, to give to the country the information that I possess. The process that is now going on must bring to poverty all persons in the middle rank of life, who receive none of the taxes: the tax-eaters attack them from above, and the rate-eaters from beneath: their children must be poor and miserable: and their only means of safety is, flight, and flight in time, and before their last shilling is nearly gone.

THE SEAT IN PARLIAMENT.

An event, which is likely (if I am to believe the bulletins) soon to take place, and which must, if it do take place, produce a general election, may afford great facility to the accomplishment of this object. Therefore, those gentlemen who may wish to see the object accomplished, will permit me to suggest, that as little time as possible should be lost in the raising of the money. Time flies, and, as things now are, it flies towards worse and worse. My readers well know that my opinion is, that this system must be taken to pieces, or that it will be knocked to pieces. No man, who looks back at the causes which led to the French Revolution, the long wars, the brilliant victories, the standing armies, the dead-weights, the debts, the increased palaces and luxury, the enormous taxes, the miserable middle and lower classes, of the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV., and who remembers the dreadful result: no such man, if he have any thing at stake, can be otherwise than anxious, at this moment, to see a timely and peaceable change. It is my opinion, that my being in Parliament would tend to produce such change: if others think the same, they have the means pointed out

of placing me there. I have an anxious, a most anxious desire to encounter the task; but as I have before stated, not at all for my own private advantage. By any injurious events I shall be as little affected as any man in the country. I have no favour to ask of any body; and I am sure, that no right-minded man will think that I have. My future is secure; and let the fate of the country be what it may, the whole world will acquit me of all share in the causes of its ruin: the historian of these days will say, that, if the counsels of Cobbett had been listened to, the ruin would have been avoided. By preventing the ruin no particular gain could possibly accrue to me. I could not be satisfied with myself, till I had made the offer: having made it, I have discharged my duty; and, come what may, I have nothing to answer for. And the amount of the money; what is it! For all Gloucestershire for instance, it is 250*l*. Why, the little town of FAIRFORD, in that county; that little country town, town and parish containing only 1,444 souls, men, women, and babies, gave about FORTY POUNDS towards the expenses of the Preston election; a town, too, where I, before the election, knew not one single person! Why, at this rate, Gloucestershire alone would subscribe nearly double the whole of the sum that I have proposed. However, arguments are useless. I have no doubt, that the thing will be done; but it ought to be done quickly; for, events are at hand.

For the county of SUFFOLK, money will be received by James Gudgeon, Esq., solicitor, Stowmarket.

For the county of NORFOLK, by Sir Thomas Beever, Bart.

For the county of LINCOLN, by William Bedford, Esq. of Lincoln, and by others to be mentioned in the next Register, when I shall give more full and particular intelligence.

For the county of HEREFORD, by William Palmer, Esq. of Bollitree Castle, near Ross.

For the county of LANCASTER, by Richard Potter, Esq., of Manchester.

For the EAST RIDING of YORKSHIRE, by Mr. Noble, bookseller, Hull.

For the WEST RIDING of YORKSHIRE, by John Forster, Esq., of Leeds.

For the county of LEICESTER, Mr. Warburton, of Leicester.

For the county of WARWICK, Mr. William Martin, of Birmingham.

For the county of STAFFORD, Mr. William Clark, of Wolverhampton.

For the county of SURREY, Mr. Chas. Trimmer, Churchill, Hazelmere.

I HAVE RECEIVED, *since my last*.

Towards the sum for Leicestershire, 5*l*. from "A Leicestershire Friend."

I should add here, that I do not want to receive the money, until the collection be completed. The first thing, and indeed the only thing of great weight is, the qualification; for, without that I do not stir an inch. As to the seat, that is not, and shall not be, a matter of hazard. Never will I again expend my own time and breath and the money of public-spirited men in the manner that I have done before. In short, whenever the qualification is secured, I repeat, that the seat is ready; but I will not have it, unless I have the qualification first. I do not want to have the money put into my hands until the whole sum be collected; or, until enough be collected to accomplish the purpose; for, less than the whole sum might possibly do; the sent might not cause so large an expense as that which has been contemplated. I shall hear, from time to time, how the collections proceed; shall take the opinions of the gentlemen who have taken the lead in the several counties, and shall act according to what shall appear to be their general wishes on the subject." Once more, while I express my confidence that the sum will be raised, while I entertain not the smallest doubt of that, I again beg leave to suggest, the sooner it is done the better. Several letters, relating to the subject, shall be answered in a few days.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 69.—No. 20.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 15TH, 1830.

[Price 7d.]



From the sinecure-list, printed by order of the House of Commons, in 1808, that being the last account that I have seen: "CLERK OF THE HANAPER; SISTERS of the Earl of Northington, 2,070*l.* a year." "CUSTOS BREVIUM in the Court of Common Pleas; Hon. LOUISA Browning, Sir M. Eden, "LADY B. Mostyn, and Jos. Hanken, 929*l.* a year." "Clerk of the Court of Chancery in Scotland; CHILDREN of Earl Rosslyn, "925*l.* a year."

TO

MR. HAYWOOD,

Now, or late, of *Sheffield*.

Wolverhampton, 11th May, 1830.

DEAR SIR,

IF this be too late to overtake you in England, it will catch you at New York, and will bear to you my best wishes for the long continuance of your *health*: I need wish you nothing more; for you will now ~~keep~~ and quietly enjoy the fruits of your skill, industry and care; you will now be able to sleep without fear of being roused by the ~~tax~~-gatherer; you will never again see the sign of your degradation stamped on the corner of a newspaper. Look at the motto! When any one, if one so ignorant is to be found in America, ask you why you fled from your native land, show him the motto, tell him of the *dead-weight*, show him the place and pension and sinecure list; tell him that GOVERNORS, who said that there would be more five pounders in consequence of the abolition of the ones, has a *greater salary* than the President of the United States! Tell him *that*; and tell him, that by going to America, you get out of paying part of this salary. Tell him *that*.

Do go up into Long Island, and see the *black walnut-tree*, under which I sat when I was writing the "letter to TIERNEY," that memorable warning given to the fools, in 1818. Do, pray go and see it, and repeat the laugh that I had at them, while I was under that tree. They tell me (and, indeed; I know the fact), that there is a new house built on the spot where that one stood, which was burnt down, while in my occupation. On the *north-side* of that house, not directly behind it, but a few feet to the *west*, and at about forty feet to the north of a line drawn in continuation of the back wall of the house, stands that famous tree, about fifty or sixty feet high, and with lower branches bending over, with their extreme leaves almost reaching the ground. It will be *nice and warm* by the time that you will get there; and I am sure that the owner of the house will give you a chair and a cup of milk: so do, pray go, and ask the people about there, whether they do not remember "one William *Carbutt*." They will tell you that I twisted their long, grave, and sensible faces into a laugh oftener than any man ever did before or since.

But while you are under the tree, do not forget to reflect a little *on your own conduct*! Ask yourself whether it be *wise* in you to go away, and give up for ever, mind, *for ever*! all your share of the "envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the world": whether it be wise in you to abandon your portion of the honour of paying *Burke's pension* still, though Burke has been dead thirty years; whether it be wise to forego the honour and delight of helping to pay the sinecures of the Grenvilles, the Wellesleys, the Bathursts, the Fitzroys, and the rest of the most noble and right honourable men, women and children, in number endless, and with *names* as pretty as pretty can be. To be sure, you will have land and house and bread and meat and malt and beer and spirits and horses and dogs *untaxed*; but then,

X

will you, I want to know, have the honour to help to pay for strawberries at a guinea an ounce, for grapes at a guinea a pound, for cherries at five guineas a pound, and for green pease at a guinea a half-pint, all to be eaten by the nicest and prettiest creatures in the world? No; of this honour you will be shorn for ever! You may, indeed, and you certainly will, gobble down buttered beef-steaks for breakfast, and you will see the labourers do the same: gobble away, sensual creature, while we enjoy the "*antallactul*" feast; while we, with bodies purified by the absence of all gross aliment, and with minds sublimated to almost a celestial state, enjoy the ecstatic delight of reflecting, that in consequence of our labours, our cares, our self-denial, our abstinence and half-starvation, thousands of beautiful earthly angels are rolling about in carriages, surpassing the fabled chariots of the sun: and that palaces are raised up, the carve-work to the gate-way of one of which is to cost *thirty-four thousand pounds*, a sum equal to the wages, for a year of 1,700 labourers, and equal to what is to keep them and their families, consisting of 8,500 persons, at five to a family! Gobble down unenvied your buttered beef-steaks, while we feed our mind with reflections like these:

"Forward, on wings of *ether*, springs the mind
"That leaves the load of yesterday behind."

But we, happily, stand in no need of this at once medical and poetical precept for empying the belly. We never *take in the load*; our minds are always on "*wings of ether*": and it is from this sublime state that you have fled, in order to get into the regions of carnal gratification!

I know well what you will be at: you will be writing over, "here we can grow our own hops, paint our own floor-cloth, open new windows, make our own malt, and, above all, make our own soap and candles, without being above half-killed for it." Well, and what then? If our faces and hands be grimy, if our table-cloths and dishes be unwashed, it is, as the Apostle says,

not that which goeth into, but that which cometh out of, the mouth, that *defileth* the man; aye, and while a large part of us are confined to potatoes, eaten from a dirty platter, we are allowed to indulge to its fill, our "*antallactul*" appetite, having the ample table spread before us *gratis*, loaded with Bibles and Testaments, with psalters and primers as minor dishes, with an infinite variety of garnish and sweetmeats, in the shape of *tracts*, so enticing, so enchanting, producing such chaunting and such harmony of sighs and groans, as totally to drown the vulgar and gross grumbling of the belly.

And *candles*; now, what is there in the liberty to turn your own suet into candles, without being *half-killed*, for it? What is this to *boast* of? If we are compelled to creep into our nests in the dark, we have, the Parliament be lauded, all the means of obtaining an abundance of *inward light*. We may break our shins and noses, to be sure; but our souls are well guarded, while you, whose Government leave you to cram and stuff and guzzle and go to bed with lights about you, take no thought for that "*antallactul*" light, which alone is of any real value.

However, in spite of all these arguments, the *belly* seems to be fast getting the better of the "*antallact*"; for, emigrants are getting away, in all directions: from London, from the ports of Sussex, from Portsmouth, from Plymouth, from Falmouth, from Yarmouth, from Hull, from Glasgow, and, above all, from *Liverpool*. Through *this town* of Wolverhampton, the coaches go continually loaded with people of *property*, going to embark at Liverpool. This is a swinging blow at the borough-mongers! It is not the paupers that go; *they*, and the halt, the blind, the deaf, the insane, the aged, the widows, the helpless, the idle, the sluggards, the thieves, and the *tax-eaters* of all descriptions, *remain*; so that, if this could go on for three or four years, we should find ourselves a goodly company at last.

The question, then, is, *can* it go on for some years longer? I hope in God that it *will* not; but it certainly *can*; and,

one reason why it *can*, is, that there is America *always open* to receive those who are resolved, like you, to endure the THING no longer. There are the Netherlands, France, Germany, Switzerland, to receive enterprising manufacturers; and many are going thither; but there is America to receive these, and to receive the *farmers* too; and that is the great mass. Then, there is America for men, for families, of independent fortune, not connected with tax-eaters. So that the *indignant spirit* will *evaporate* in this way; and it will, in the meanwhile, be kept *quiet*, by the *resource* that America always presents. You, for instance, were comparatively quiet, because you always saw a *remedy* before you. When you could endure no longer, you applied the remedy; and thus the boroughmongers are *rid of you and your annoyance!* The country is, to be sure, *rid* of your capital and your industry and skill; but there are a great deal of these left: the mass is too great to be dissipated *all at once*; and though it will soon begin to waste away, the country *may*, if peace should continue, be brought down into a very low state, *if the poor be kept from approaching real starvation*. That must be done, or the THING will be shaken most furiously!

Besides this resource for dissipating the indignant spirit; besides this source of the means of *quieting*; there is the entanglement occasioned by the immense mass of taxes; there are about six millions a year paid for the collection and management of the sixty millions of taxes: pretty nearly a million of the *rates*; indeed, much more than a million goes into the hands of the managers of the *rates*: then, the dead-weight swallows *six* millions or more: the army and the navy about fifteen millions more. The church is another immense mass of property. It is impossible that the persons who are employed in the excise, the customs, the church, the army, the navy, the banking works, the dock-yards, the barracks, the public offices of all sorts; it is impossible that these, who are, in fact, the *understrappers* of the aristocracy, should not have rela-

tions and connexions amongst the people at large. I am speaking of the *working* part of the clergy, and of the other establishments. Still, their work is easy: there is always a provision of some sort made for them when they can work no longer. So that, a large part of the people who do not appear to have any connexion at all with the THING, are, in fact, thus indirectly connected with it. A farmer, a tradesman, a manufacturer, a man retired upon a little fortune: many of these have sons, or sons-in-law, or the relations of their married children; or they have brothers, or nephews, or some relation or other, connected with some one who gets a good living out of this thing. This is a great *quieter*, in the first place; and, if the connexion be close, it is, when the thoughts of emigration occur, a powerful pull-back. Many and many a family, who would now be in America safe from the graspings of the thing, will remain here to sink down into poverty from this cause. Suppose a man to entertain your or my sentiments about the matter; suppose him to have ten thousand pounds; suppose him to be perfectly convinced that he could live better in America than he does here, and save two-thirds of his income; suppose him to have three or four children, who must, if he remain here, be comparatively beggars; but suppose him to have a son in the *army* on half-pay, and suppose him to have a daughter married to a clerk in a public office; he and his family are tied here by these two ligatures, and the thing takes away his fortune; or, at least, it takes away his means of providing suitably for his other children.

Now, this prevails to an amazing extent. You very often meet with men of sense and of sound principles; you hear them lament the wretched state of the people; you hear them deplore the miseries occasioned by the taxes; but, when you bring them to the point, you find, at last, that they shudder at the thought of any change that will remove those taxes. You find them great in words, but to tremble at the thought of deeds. I have met with numerous in-

stances of the kind ; and I always found, upon making strict inquiry, that the party always had some relation or other dependent on the thing. I was acquainted with one gentleman, to whom I was talking one day about the Norfolk Petition : I had known him for some time ; a man of excellent principles and excellent understanding ; and a staunch parliamentary reformer ; but, to my utter astonishment, he did not approve of that part of the Norfolk Petition which related to the property commonly called *church-property* ; for the nation to resume which would, he said, be unjust. I argued the matter with him in a manner that he was unable to answer ; but he still remained unshaken in his objection. By the merest accident in the world, and at two hundred miles from his place of dwelling, I found that his wife had a brother who had *two livings in the church* ! This gentleman, who has a family that imperiously calls upon him to flee from the thing, has since got a son poked into a public office ; and he will remain here to pay to the THING that which would make fortunes for six children, who will now have no fortunes at all worth speaking of, and, perhaps, no fortunes at all. He is getting *four* per cent. for his money instead of the *six* which he would get in the State of New York, on better security ; he is paying for rent, and for all the necessities of life, double what he would pay there ; he is no great way from the bottom, instead of being nearly at the top of society ; affection for his children makes him walk exposed to be covered by the splash of the carriages of those who draw away his fortune ; and yet here he bides, bound by the miserable ties before-mentioned. Nay, you yourself, if you had had a brother or a brother-in-law, and especially a son, or a daughter's husband, in the army, in the taxing concern, or living out of the taxes in any way whatsoever ; would have remained here, and have been quiet into the bargain.

The mass of property tied to the country in this way is very great. It is not *clear profit* to the THING ; because the THING has to give part of

it back, in the shape of salary or pay, to those who cause property to remain in the country ; but still it remains, and it clears the thing something. Those only who have no ties of this sort will remove, unless they be persons of extraordinary good sense, and are endued with spirit and firmness more than falls to the common lot of mankind. However, there are still a great many, to be sure, whose property is not held here by any such ties. There are the *women*, however ; and they will be a heavy drag in most cases ; and, therefore, though great masses of property will remove, and more and more every year, the country will sink down very low (providing that care be taken to feed the poor tolerably well), before any change of importance will be adopted. If the Government were to go back to the small-paper money, the thing would go off like a barrel of gunpowder ; but, if it keeps steadily adhering to the present system, my real opinion is, that it may maintain itself until all rents have nearly ceased ; and until the occupiers of the land shall be little other than mere bailiffs of the state. For, the poorer the middle class become, the less disposition they will have to bestir themselves. The smaller landowners will be, as they long have been, constantly endeavouring to get some little share in the taxes, directly or indirectly. Nothing, therefore, can make a change, of any efficient nature, until the middle class shall be, as they were at last in France, forced down into a complete community of feeling with the working class ; and this will not be until almost the whole of them are nearly beggars. When this state of things shall arrive, and a war, or some other accidental circumstance, shall produce imminent danger to the state, those who are now all-powerful will endeavour to prevent the danger by giving way ; but the thing that I fear is, that they will give way when it is too late ; when that which the people will receive will be ascribed to their fears and not to their justice ; and then the consequences need not be pointed out by me. You will, I am sure, never cease to love that

which is good belonging to your country; but still you will have to congratulate yourself on your prudent escape.

HUSKISSON has lately made a speech, and published it in a pamphlet, the childishness of which you will find pretty well exposed in the last Register. He proposes an income-tax, to reach *absentees* and other persons who are not engaged in what he calls productive industry. You have taught him how easy it is to take income out of his reach. The mortgagees would soon give him a similar lesson; and, in short, his income-tax would answer no other earthly purpose than that of taking a certain sum from the interest of the debt. If he were to take off the half of that interest, the amount would be about fifteen millions a year, still leaving forty-five millions; that is, three times as much as this nation can bear if the taxes be paid in gold.

HUSKISSON is, after all, a poor bubble-headed thing, like PARNELL, and the rest of these dabblers. A gentleman told me at Birmingham yesterday, that he had sent to London for PARNELL'S pamphlet, and that he could make *neither top nor tail of it*. He need not have told me that; for I had seen PARNELL'S writings. What these schemers are always at, is, endeavouring to reduce the expenses by a shuffling of the paper; like the sinking-fund project, which was to effect a reduction of the Debt by taking money out of one pocket and putting it into the other, while the taxes continued to augment all the time and the Debt to increase. It is on your side of the water where they understand how to pay off national debts. The American Government have made use of this sixteen years of peace to pay off their debt; they have been increasing their navy all the while; and now, with a fine navy, ready built and equipped, and a full treasury, they are prepared for war; or, rather, they have placed themselves in a situation which forbids any nation to do that which would give them just cause of war. If they had had a dead-weight; if they had had to keep three generals for every regiment, and two admirals for every

ship of the line; if they had had parsons to give half-pay to as military and naval officers; if they had had a dead-weight in Germany as well as in America; in short, if their peace had been as expensive as their war, the United States would have been a country to flee from instead of being a place of refuge.

That it may be a country in which you will lead a long and happy life is the ardent prayer of*

Your much obliged,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

THE SEAT IN PARLIAMENT.*

I copy the following from *The Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, of the 24th of April. I ought to be, and I am, very proud of commendation, bestowed by talent so great as that which is here displayed.

We last week published, at considerable length, the address of Mr. COBBETT to the public, on the subject of raising, by subscription, a sum of money for the purpose of securing his services as a member of the House of Commons. Our readers have seen, in that address, that Mr. COBBETT wishes that ten thousand pounds should be raised; and that, of this sum, six thousand pounds should be applied to the purchase of a freehold qualification, and the remainder to the object of securing him a seat in Parliament. After the people of miserable, beggared Ireland have been seen to place thirty thousand pounds in the hands of the Catholic Association; after the people of that poverty-stricken country have undertaken to subscribe fifty thousand pounds for the purpose of purchasing an estate for Mr. O'CONNELL, to reward the dubious services he has rendered them, by sacrificing the liberties of all to purchase exemption for a part from certain civil disabilities, it would be to suppose the people of England degenerated into the meanest

slaves that ever trembled under the lash of a tyrant, to imagine that they could feel one moment's hesitation in raising the inconsiderable sum of ten thousand pounds, for any purpose of real national utility. But if we are far from doing this injustice to England at large, far indeed are we from harbouring the thought that the people of Lancashire, distinguished, as they have been, for their enlightened knowledge of the real condition of their country, and the true sources of their own sufferings; for that fine discernment which taught them to appreciate the value of the institutions of their wise forefathers, through all the corruptions by which these institutions were perverted and abused; distinguished, as they have eminently been, for the matchless temper and unshaken firmness of their adherence to that constitution, in the outraged name of which they were insulted and oppressed: far indeed are we from imagining, that such a people will be backward in contributing to any measure that may tend to promote that cause for which they have not feared to encounter imprisonment, wounds, and death. Is, then, the object of seating Mr. COBBETT in Parliament, and securing his undivided attention to the duties of a member; is this an object which claims the attention and support of the English public? is it an object worth purchasing at the price of ten thousand pounds? Where is the man attached to the cause of reform; where is the man acquainted with its history, who will venture to answer, No? When Mr. COBBETT, in 1816, fled from the warrant of the secretary of state; fled from the dungeons that were opened to receive him, because, and only because, he had roused the people from lethargy; because he had poured into their minds the light of his own, and pointed their awakened energies to the recovery of their rights; because he had led away the minds of the manufacturing classes from the miserable conflicts about wages, into which they have since too much relapsed, and taught them that they had one common interest, one only means of safety, in the reform of the Government and the

diminution of the expenditure of the country: when thus, and for this cause, he fled from the infliction of that death, to which CASTLEBAGH stalked over the ruins of our subverted liberties; even then, when the name of radical was to the ears of our insolent oppressors and their deluded supporters, a reproach as expressive of infamy as the name of felon or murderer; even then *The Times* newspaper did Mr. COBBETT the justice to call him the *Corypheus*, that is to say, *the leader of the band of the reformers*. On a more recent occasion, while he was on his tour in the North, a ministerial paper in Liverpool called him the *Apostle of Reform*. Never was term of honour more worthily applied; and shall we, shall the reformers of England, from indifference to the cause, or from low envy, deny to the veteran champion of that cause the honour which his very enemies do not withhold from him? He was the *Corypheus*, the *leader of the band of reformers*, when to be a reformer was to encounter the full wrath of power, at once unprincipled and exasperated. "In season and out of season," in prison and in exile, he has been the preacher, the martyr of that cause; and when it has at last attained, in public opinion, the triumph which must eventually wait on truth, shall we deny him the title of its apostle, or shall we allow the latest, the last of his disciples, to usurp the place which he has vindicated for himself, by six-and-twenty years of acting and suffering, by his superior wisdom, his unequalled industry, his untiring zeal?

There are those who doubt, or affect to doubt, of his capability of effecting any thing in the House of Commons. Need we remind such sceptics of the labours of his prison, of "Paper against Gold," which, from the depths of his dungeon, sent into the vortex of triumphant corruption a shaft which still rankles, and will rankle there, till her destruction and the deliverance of England shall be accomplished? Need we remind them of the still more powerful effects of the two-penny *Register*? Up to the middle of the year 1816, the *Register* was published in the form of a

shilling pamphlet; and though its credit was very high, it was read by comparatively few, and not at all by the people. In that year, as in the present, the people were suffering under the tremendous operation of reducing the circulating medium, with undiminished burdens. The process, however, was more sudden and violent; the ruin of property was greater; and, instead of all having reduced wages, vast numbers were thrown wholly out of employment. The people, ignorant of the true cause of their distress, wreaked their vengeance on the objects nearest them: they broke machinery; they attacked the shops of bakers and butchers; and the country was horrified alternately by lawless violence and dreadful executions. It was then that Mr. COBBETT came forth to still the storm; it was then that in the thirty-first volume of his *Register* he published the first of that series of cheap numbers, which poured a flood of light on public opinion; which operated upon the waves of popular commotion as poured-out oil upon those of the ocean; which gave a uniformity and consistency to the public mind; which taught the people, abstaining from petty violence, to bend their attention towards, to rest their hopes upon, the accomplishment of permanent and universal good; and exhibited a spectacle, than which one more sublime and affecting is hardly to be found in the history of nations; a great and powerful kingdom urged by the folly of its rulers to the very brink of ruin, and saved from convulsion by the high and calm hopes infused into the humblest of her suffering people, by the communicated wisdom of a man till then but little known to them, and in rank almost as humble as themselves!

Twenty-seven numbers of that work had not issued from the press when the borough-owners were obliged to declare, by the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act*, by the bill for entrusting the Ministers with the power of arbitrary imprisonment, that their usurped power and civil liberty could no longer exist together; they were thus obliged to tear away all disguise, to expose their ty-

ranny in its true colours to the civilised world; and to inflict upon it wounds from which it will never recover. This Mr. COBBETT effected in despite of the opposition of the great portion of the press; in despite of the powers of the magistrates throughout the country, and the violent suppression of his paper by many of them; this he effected under a law of libel which pronounced truth to be a crime. This he effected before time had given that sanction and authority to his opinions, which it has since given. And why should he do less now, when every circumstance would be in his favour; with the privilege of Parliament to shelter truth from the talons of the Attorney-General; with the whole press, however reluctant, compelled into his service, and standing face to face with those who have hitherto assailed us all, unpunished and unproved?

There are those who will pretend that Mr. COBBETT is likely to desert the people in Parliament; that he will make a seat the means of lifting himself into power, and forget his duty. Why is he not now rolling in wealth? Why is he not now in power? What was there that should make CANNING or HUSKISSON outstrip him in the race which they began together! What was there to prevent him from sharing those titles which have been showered so liberally on men like BEXLEY and BLOMFIELD [he might have added CHARLES LONG, now FARNINGHAM]? What but his love of independence? What but his contempt of the "gains of oppression"!

Let us follow him into his exile from a country which it was his fault to love too well, and what a picture do we behold! We see him stripped of his fortune, banished from his home, separated from his family, pursued even by the pretended friends of the people, with every calumny and injury that envy, that hatred, that cowardice could heap upon him; but not for one moment can these accumulated wrongs interrupt the current of his affections for his country. He flies, not to the protection of European despotism, not even to join the

sons of freedom in America in one thought hostile to the interests of England; he addresses himself to the bare earth, to the general mother; and rewards the country which afforded him a refuge, by teaching her sons how to draw new treasures from her fruitful bosom, to improve the culture of their native products, to enrich their gardens with the vine, their fields with the turnip and the hawthorn. He watches meanwhile over the interests of the country that had driven him from her side; he teaches the people to respect the law, and despise its insolent violators; he cheers them with the animating hope of freedom yet to be restored; and how does he at last return? To diffuse comfort through the cottage of the labourer by the fruit of his gathered experience; to restore the beautiful and useful trade in plait and straw; to give new value and beauty to our forest timber, new riches to our gardens; with equal industry, benevolence, and sagacity, scattering, wherever he moves, new benefits on mankind. Admirable man! His conduct in an age in which patriotism has ceased to be acknowledged as a virtue, sends us back to the records of glorious antiquity for standards whereby to measure the greatness of his mind; sends us in vain to seek for examples of a patriotism more pure, more disinterested, more devoted. Such is the man whom the reformers of England are called upon to adopt as their representative: and why should we doubt that he will be what he has been? If gold could purchase him, he had been purchased long ago; and as to ambition, Mr. COBBETT is already in possession of a fame which will last while there shall be a record of the history of England; a fame which can only be enhanced by the opportunity of conducting his country to that safety to which he has so long and so faithfully pointed the way. His own reputation is identified with the interests of his country, and he must desert the one in order to betray the other.

For the county of **SUFFOLK**, money will be received by James Gudgeon, Esq., solicitor, Stowmarket.

For the county of **NORFOLK**, by Sir Thomas Beevor, Bart.

For the county of **LINCOLN**, by William Bedford, Esq. of Lincoln.

For the county of **HEREFORD**, by William Palmer, Esq. of Bollitree Castle near Ross.

For the county of **LANCASTER**, by Richard Potter, Esq., of Manchester; and Mr. Thomas Smith, Liverpool.

For the **EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE**, by Mr. Noble, bookseller, Hull.

For the **WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE**, by John Forster, Esq., of Leeds.

For the county of **LEICESTER**, Mr. Warburton, of Leicester.

For the county of **WARWICK**, Mr. William Martin, of New-street, Birmingham.

For the county of **STAFFORD**, Mr. William Clark, of Wolverhampton, (*who subscribes twenty pounds himself.*)

For the county of **SURREY**, Mr. Chas. Trimmer, Churchill, Hazelmere.

MIDLAND TOUR.

Shrewsbury, 13th May, 1830.

I ARRIVED here from Wolverhampton this morning, having been at Dudley and Birmingham some days ago. I have no time to write any thing further, than to say, that I shall be at Worcester on the 15th; and shall go from thence into *Herefordshire*, thence to *Monmouth*, and thence into *Gloucestershire*. To name the *precise days* is out of my power.

POSTSCRIPT

TO THE

EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.

Wolverhampton, 5th May, 1830.

AFTER I had published the **EMIGRANT'S GUIDE**, in the month of August last, I was frequently applied to, in person, by men of property, for information

with regard to *prices* and *rent* of houses, farms, &c. in *Long Island*; and I was very often asked to give an *exact description* of pieces of property that I myself had a *personal knowledge* of. It was difficult to do this; it took up a great deal of my time; and, besides, though I knew the several farms and places very well, and could describe them accurately and minutely, I could not state the value of them, except by *guess*; because I had never asked what was the value; and, if I had, I had made no memorandum on the subject.

Therefore, I wrote, in October last, a letter to Mr. JOHN TREDWELL, of Salisbury Place, in Long Island, requesting him to give me answers to *thirteen questions*, which I numbered from 1 to 13, keeping a copy of them, and also the *numbers*, and requesting him to put his answers against the numbers; I knowing him to be a man of perfect knowledge of the subject, and a man on whose judgment and word I could safely place reliance. The questions were as follows, as contained in his letter to me, dated the 13th of January last, and which letter found me at Cambridge, on the 28th of March:—

No.

1. What is the yearly rent of a house in New York, not for *business* of any sort, but for *residence*, for a middle-sized genteel family, in a clean and healthy street?
2. What is the legal interest of money lent on mortgage of land?
3. Are such mortgages easy to be got?
4. What is the *price*, bought out and out, of a country-house and farm like yours, at 20, 30, 40, or 50 miles from New York, and in Long Island?
5. What is the price of a country-house, as large as yours, with out-buildings, a garden, orchard, and a bit of ground for cows and horses to run in, supposing the whole to be fifteen acres; and suppose the property to be *within 20 miles* of New York, and on Long Island?
6. What are the number of acres of A's farm; and what is that farm worth?

7. How many acres is B's farm; and what is that farm worth?
8. What is the yearly rent of a good-sized, genteel house, orchard and garden, and bit of ground, at *Flatbush, Flushing, or Jamaica*?
9. What is the yearly rent of such a place at *Jericho*?
10. What is the number of acres of C's farm, and what is that farm worth, house and all? Not what he would ask for it; but what *such a place* is worth, at that distance from New York?
11. What is the worth of D's tavern, with the land belonging to it?
12. What is *your place* worth, and how many acres have you?
13. What are the pleasant places to live at, near New York; and what is the distance of each from New York?

ANSWERS:

1. From 300 to 400 dollars.
2. Seven per cent. per annum.
3. At 6 per cent. per annum.
4. From 12,000 to 15,000 dollars.
5. About 5,000 dollars.
6. 200 acres: 4,000 dollars: not well fenced.
7. 200 acres: in good fence, well cultivated: 8,000 dollars.
8. From 150 to 200 dollars a year.
9. From 100 to 150 dollars a year.
10. From 15,000 to 20,000 dollars: about 350 acres.
11. 4,000 dollars.
12. 13,000 dollars; 290 acres of land.
13. Flatbush, 4 miles; Jamaica, 12; Flushing, 11; and Hempstead, 22.

Now, it is necessary for me to give some explanations relative to each question and answer: but, first of all, it is necessary to observe, that the dollar is, at this time, at New York, equal to about *four shillings* of our money, as far as I can judge from the state of the *exchange* between the two countries. The acre of the United States is always the *statute acre* of England; that is, 160 square rods, or perches, each rod being $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, and the same in breadth. Long Island is about 130

miles long, and on an average about 8 miles wide. It is separated from the main land by a channel, which, at the city of New York, it requires twenty minutes to cross; and, during daylight, there is the most convenient means of crossing, for carriages, horses, and every thing, without ever waiting more than about five or ten minutes.

No. 1. Will need no explanation, other than that the yearly rent of such a house, in this finest (I think) of all the towns and cities in the world, is, in our money, from 60*l.* to 80*l.* a year, with, perhaps, not a twentieth part of the English rates, and no taxes such as we pay.

Nos. 2 and 3. The questions and answers speak fully for themselves.

No. 4. Will be explained under No. 12; for there are the particulars of the quantity of land.

No. 5. I beg the reader to look well at the question. The country-house is a good *gentleman's house*, with ample appurtenances. In short, read the question, and see what you can have, *freehold*, out and out, for a thousand pounds, with no accursed *stamp* on the conveyance, and no hellish tax on the house, the land, or the windows. The *orchard* finds cyder for the year. But this will be more fully explained under No 12, which relates to *Mr. Tredwell's own place*, all the particulars of which I know so well.

No. 6. I put A's farm-house here, and not the name of the owner; because that would obviously be wrong. However, I know the farm well. The house is a good one, the land good in its nature, a good portion of woodland. A place, in short, where any industrious man might rear up and provide well for a large family; and the cost is, you see, 800*l.* our money, out and out. 200*l.* more would stock it well.

No. 7. I know this farm also. It has better and more ample buildings than No. 6. The fences will last many years without repair. The

land is, in quality, like No. 6; but in much better cultivation. The woodland is in sufficient proportion. A nicer farm no man need wish for. The value is 1,600*l.* our money; and 300*l.* more would stock it most amply.

No. 8. This suppose a house with *garden and orchard and run for a cow*; but not on the scale of No. 5. Quite sufficient, however, for easy and genteel life; and the cost is, you see, at most, 40*l.* a year, our money, with no taxes, or rates, worth speaking of. The taxes and rates alone on such a place, including tax on gig and dog and servant, will, in England, amount to 50*l.* a year.

No. 9. This takes you about 25 miles from New York to a very pretty and pleasant inland village; but, on account of the distance from the city, the place is 30*l.* a year, instead of 40*l.*

No. 10. This C's farm is the finest that I ever saw in my life. It has a large proportion of valuable woodland; I should think 18 acres of *orchard*; and these the very finest that I ever saw even in that country. The quantity of apples, pears and peaches, beyond all conception of those who have never been in America. I once saw one of the orchards (about 10 acres), the trees loaded with the finest apples, and the ground below bearing a fine crop of Indian corn. The house cannot have less than 12 or 14 rooms in it; and the out-buildings and yards all upon a large scale, and in perfect repair. Suppose it be 20,000 dollars, that is, 4,000*l.* of our money; and the land is *tithe-free*, and the whole so nearly being tax-free, as for taxes and rates to be hardly worth naming. This place is at about 20 miles distance from New York.

No. 11. Is a *Tavern*, about 15 miles from New York, on the turnpike-road. A large house with all conveniences for a tavern. A garden; and I think from 15 to 20 acres of

land attached to it, part of the land being *woods*, which, observe, supplies all the *fuel*. 800*l.* buys this tavern out and out, land and all; and thus a man gets it for a sum that will not yield him, in interest, on mortgage, more than 32*l.* a year, in England.

No. 12. An explanation here will settle the whole matter; and here is the *owner*, speaking in his *own name*, and I know all about every part of the land and the premises. The house has four rooms on a floor, spacious kitchen and cellars beneath; it has a little farm-house and dairy attached; has a very neat garden, with a greenhouse in it; has a piazza on two sides of it; and is, in all respects, as neat, as substantial and convenient a house as I ever saw. Barn, stables, cow-houses, pig-pens, corn-cribs, yards, everything of the best description. An orchard of, I should think, seven acres, which is, observe, a pasture as well as an orchard. The land, which contains a due proportion of woods, is fenced in the best and most lasting manner, and is in the best state of cultivation; and, as you see, there are 290 acres of it, all lying in one spot, with the house nearly in the middle of it. Now, as to the *quality* of the land. In this part of Long Island, they put *soper's ashes* on the land, as we do *chalk* on the clays of Hampshire; and these, which cost about 3*l.* an acre of our money, last the land for 20 years. I think that Mr. TREDWELL's land was all *ashed*. But I can speak of that which I occupied, and which had never been *ashed*. Those who have read my *Year's Residence in America*, have read of the fine crops of *Swedish turnips* that I grew there; and my land was only at about 200 yards from that of Mr. Tredwell. Those were the largest and the finest that I ever saw. Cabbages and kidney-beans and pease, very fine, I had in the same land. Land of easy tillage; and, on Mr. Tredwell's farm,

I have seen as fine crops of corn, grain, and clover, as any man need wish to see. And this estate is worth 2,000*l.* our money. *Freehold, tithe-free, nearly tax and rate-free*. A good proportion of woods; as pleasant a spot, according to my fancy, as can be found in the world. The interest of this sum, on mortgage, in England, will not now bring more than 104*l.* a year. You cannot occupy such a place in England without paying 150*l.* a year in rates and taxes, and without tithe to the amount of 50*l.* a year at least. Very little can any family want beyond the produce of this estate: flour, beef, mutton, pork, veal, poultry, butter, milk, eggs, cheese, cyder, malt, apples, pears, peaches, apricots, dried fruits of all sorts, feathers, wool, fuel, food for horses, wood for implements and buildings. What more, but the clothing, and some wine and groceries, all except the clothing at less than half the English price; and the materials for clothing as cheap as in England, and, generally, cheaper, even if English; and if from China or India or France, at half the English price, or less.

I cannot conclude without quoting a most interesting part of Mr. TREDWELL's Letter: "As you had the breaking in of RICHARD HAINES, you will no doubt, be pleased to hear, that he has strictly followed your advice, 'to stick his legs under another man's table, and to stretch his body in another man's bed,' and that, though he has a second wife and a young John Bull, he has saved more than two thousand dollars, in the nearly ten years that he has been with me." This is more than 400*l.* of our money. Now, this was a young man, twenty years of age, who escaped from pauper-pay in Berkshire, in 1818; he got to New York in January, 1819; I hired him by the month till October, 1819; when I came away, or soon afterwards, he went to Mr. TREDWELL; he was a mere farm-labourer; he could neither write nor read; but he was a sober and

excellent young man; and there he now is with the means of purchasing a farm of 100 acres, and all the buildings on it, at 100 miles from New York, and one of half the size at 20 miles from New York.

Now, the reader will perceive, that I have here spoken only of Long Island, and near New York. Farther off, farms and houses are cheaper; but all these matters are fully stated and explained in the former part of the *Emigrant's Guide*, which contains information on every matter connected with emigration. But I cannot lay down my pen without once more earnestly exhorting Englishmen not to have any thing to do with *Emigration Associations*; not to go to back-woods; but to settle in the well inhabited parts; to see what the people do; to follow their customs; to live as they live; to mix with them; and not to attempt to form any separate society or community.

Let every emigrant remember the sad fate of poor Birkbeck and his associates: they had the visionary scheme of forming an *English settlement*. They were to have a *society of their own*. They were to make a garden, a land of promise, in a wilderness. They were soon in confusion and ruin. The Americans know best how to *clear lands*: let them do it, and let Englishmen carry their money and skill to places already well inhabited, and congenial with their habits. I have always said, and I now repeat, that I grieve to think it my duty to put forth any thing having a tendency to cause men to quit England; but when I see so many families that must be ruined and brought to beggary if they remain here, it is my duty to give the information that I now give.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.

Barn-Elm Farm, 13th May, 1830.

Mr. COBBETT has growing several acres of Swedish Turnips for seed. As this is a seed which does not suffer from keeping, any gentleman who would lay in a stock, or any seedsman, if he will call or send to see the crop growing,

will find a person ready to show it him. The turnips remained in the ground all the winter, and the bloom shows how very pure the sort is. No drawing or selecting has ever taken place, from first to last. The stalks are now at their full growth, and are about six feet high; and the field is at this time in full bloom. This is perhaps the finest piece of seed of the kind growing in England.

ANOTHER SERMON.

THIS day, 15th of May, is published, at my shop, No. 183, Fleet-Street, London, and to be had of all booksellers in town and country, PRICE SIX-PENCE, a Sermon, entitled, "GOOD FRIDAY; or, THE MURDER OF JESUS CHRIST BY THE JEWS": addressed to *Christians* of all denominations.—My other Sermons, *twelve in number*, may be had in one volume, price 3s. 6d.

Just Published.

MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S ITALIAN GRAMMAR, entitled "*A Grammar of the Italian Language; or, a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian*." Price 6s.—Throughout this Grammar the Author has supposed himself to be addressing those who are altogether unacquainted with the subject; he has, therefore, taken the greatest pains, both as to the proper arrangement of the several matters treated of, and that clearness of explanation that they require. At the same time, the work will be found useful to those who are more than mere beginners. It professes to be an "*Introduction*" only, and comes within a moderate compass; but while the Author has set out by noticing points the most simple, he has, in the course of his task, studiously called the reader's attention to the greatest difficulties that occur in the study of Italian. Of the importance of these difficulties the Author may pretend to be a judge, since he has had to encounter them himself; and the want of assistance which he has experienced in books called Grammars, has induced him to think that the results of his own study, as contained in the present work, may be of service to other people.

NEW EDITION.

EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.

Just published, at my shop, No. 183, Fleet Street, a New Edition of a volume under this title, with a **POSTSCRIPT**, price 2s. 6d. in boards, and consisting of *ten letters*, addressed to *English Tax-payers*, of which letters, the following are the contents:—

Letter I.—On the Question, Whether it be advisable to emigrate from England at this time?

Letter II.—On the Descriptions of Persons to whom Emigration would be most beneficial.

Letter III.—On the Parts of the United States to go to, preceded by Reasons for going to no other Country, and especially not to an English Colony.

Letter IV.—On the Preparations some time previous to Sailing.

Letter V.—Of the sort of Ship to go in, and of the Steps to be taken relative to the Passage, and the sort of Passage; also of the Stores, and other things, to be taken out with the Emigrant.

Letter VI.—Of the Precautions to be observed while on board of Ship, whether in Cabin or Steerage.

Letter VII.—Of the first Steps to be taken on Landing.

Letter VIII.—Of the way to proceed to get a Farm, or a Shop, to settle in Business, or to set yourself down as an Independent Gentleman.

Letter IX.—On the means of Educating Children, and of obtaining literary Knowledge.

Letter X.—Of such other Matters, a knowledge relating to which must be useful to every one going from England to the United States.

Postscript.—An account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett.

It grieves me very much to know it to be my duty to publish this book; but I cannot refrain from doing it, when I see the alarms and hear the cries of thousands of virtuous families that it may save from utter ruin.

Just published, No. X. of

COBBETT'S ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN, and incidentally to **YOUNG WOMEN**. I have begun with the **YOUTH**, and shall go to the **YOUNG MAN** or the **BACHELOR**, talk the matter over with him as a **LOVER**, then consider him in the character of **HUSBAND**; then as **FATHER**; then as **CITIZEN** or **SUBJECT**.

THE WOODLANDS:

OR,

A TREATISE

On the preparing of ground for planting; on the planting; on the cultivating; on the pruning; and on the cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods;

DESCRIBING

The usual growth and size, and the uses of each sort of tree, the seed of each, the season and manner of collecting the seed, the manner of preserving and of sowing it, and also the manner of managing the young plants until fit to plant out;

THE TREES

Being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin names being prefixed to the directions relative to each tree respectively.

I know every thing about the rearing and managing of Trees myself, from the gathering of the Seed, to the cutting-down and the applying of the Tree; and *all* that I know I have communicated in this Book. It is handsomely printed in 8vo., and the Price is 14s.

MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS. This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law; and really I have never met with a politician, gentle or simple, who knew half so much of the matter as myself. I have wanted this book for my sons to read; and monopolizing has never been a favourite with me; if I have ever possessed useful knowledge of any sort, I have never been able to rest till I have communicated it to as many as I could. This Book was translated and published at the request of the American Secretary of State; the Bookseller, though he paid me only a quarter of a dollar (thirteen-pence halfpenny) for every page, had a Subscription from the President, Vice-President, and all the Members of the Two Houses of Congress, and from all the Governors and Lawyers in the country. This Work was almost my *coup d'essai*, in the authoring way; but upon looking it over at this distance of time, I see nothing to alter in any part of it. It is a thick octavo volume, with a great number of Notes; and it is, in fact, a book, with regard to public law, what a Grammar is with regard to language. The price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is, I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

THE LAW OF TURNPIKES; or, an Analytical Arrangement of, and Illustrative Commentaries on, all the General Acts, relative to Turnpike Roads. By **WILLIAM COBBETT**, Jun., Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 3s. 6d. boards.

THE ENGLISH GARDENER; or, A Treatise on the Situation; Soil, Enclosing, and Laying-out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-Beds and Green-Houses, and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard; and also, on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers; concluding with a Calendar, giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other Labours to be performed in the Gardens in each month of the year. There are several Plates in this Work, to represent the laying-out of Gardens, the operation of Grafting, Budding, and Pruning. It is printed on Fine Paper, contains 500 pages, and is sold at 6s. in Boards.

THE ENGLISH GRAMMAR; a New Edition. Of this Work, from first to last, Sixty Thousand Copies have been sold; and I verily believe that it has done more to produce real education, as far as correct writing and speaking go, than any book that ever was published. I have received from the year 1820, to the present time, continual thanks, by word of mouth and by letter, from young men, and even from old men, for this work, who have said, that, though many of them had been at the University, they never rightly understood Grammar till they studied this work. I have often given the Reviewers a lash for suffering this Work to pass them unreviewed; but I have recently discovered that, the newly-published **EDINBURGH ENCYCLOPEDIA** says of it, that, "for all common purposes, it is the best Treatise we possess, and that it is entitled to supersede all the popular, and many of the scientific, productions on the subject of our language." The price of this book is 3s. in boards.

POOR-MAN'S FRIEND; or, Essays on the Rights and Duties of the Poor. This is really the most *learned* Work that I ever wrote; that is to say, learned in the *Lib.* I have entered fully into the matter; and I have brought together all the authorities, from those of Holy Writ down to the present day. I oppose it to the infamous doctrine of **MALTHUS**. A small Volume. Price 1s.

A TREATISE ON CORBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied, with minute Directions relative to each mode of application. These are all drawn from the actual experience of Mr. Corbett, on his Farm at Barn Elm, last year (1828). The Book is a neatly-printed Duodecimo. Price 5s. 6d.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT "REFORMATION," showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries; in a series of letters, addressed to all sensible and just Englishmen. This is the Title of the Work, which consists of Two Volumes, the first containing the Series of Letters above described, and the second containing a List of *Abbeys, Priories, Nunneries*, and other Religious and charitable Endowments, that were seized on and granted away by the Reformers to one another, and to their minions. The List is arranged according to the Counties, alphabetically, and each piece of property is fully stated, with its then, as well as its actual value; by whom founded and when; by whom granted away, and to whom.—Of this Work there are two Editions, one in Duodecimo, price 4s. 6d. for the first Volume, and 3s. 6d. for the second; and another in *Royal Octavo*, on handsome paper, with marginal Notes, and a full Index. This latter Edition was printed for Libraries, and there was consequently but a limited number of Copies struck off: the Price 1l. 11s. 6d. in Extra Boards.

ROMAN HISTORY. Of this Work, which is in French and English, and is intended, not only as a History for Young People to read, but as a *Book of Exercises* to accompany my *French Grammar*, I am only the Translator: but I venture to assert that the French is as pure as any now extant. In Two Volumes. Price 13s. in Boards.

A FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. The notoriously great sale of this Book is no bad criterion of its worth. The reason of its popularity is its *plainness*, its *simplicity*. I have made it as plain as I possibly could: I have encountered and overcome the difficulty of giving *clear definitions*: I have proceeded in such a way as to make the task of learning as little difficult as possible. The price of this book is 5s. in boards.

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TULL'S HUSBANDRY.—The Horse-hoeing Husbandry; or, A Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation; wherein is taught a method of introducing a sort of Vineyard Culture into the Corn-fields, in order to increase their product, and diminish the common expenses. By JETHRO TULL. With an Introduction, containing an Account of certain Experiments of recent date, by WILLIAM COBBETT.

This is a very beautiful volume, upon fine paper, and containing 466 pages. Price 15s. 8vo., bound in boards.

I knew a gentleman, who, from reading the former edition which I published of TULL, has had land to a greater extent than the whole of my farm in wheat every year, without manure for several years past, and has had as good a crop the last year as in the first year, difference of seasons only excepted; and, if I recollect rightly, his crop has never fallen short of thirty-two bushels to the acre. The same may be done by any body on the same sort of land, if the principles of this book be attended to, and its precepts strictly obeyed.

YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA. This Work, and the English Grammar, were the produce of Long Island, and they are particularly dear to me on that account. I wrote this book after I had been there a year, during which I kept an exact journal of the weather. I wrote it with a view of giving true information to all those who wished to be informed respecting that interesting country. I have given an account of its Agriculture, of the face of the Country, of the State of Society, the Manners of the People, and the Laws and Customs. The paper is fine on which this Book is printed, the print good, and the price moderate, viz. 5s.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, The HISTORY and MYSTERY of the NATIONAL DEBT, the BANK of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper-Money. This is a new and neat Edition of my chief Political Work, the Work that was received with scoffings and imprecations by the Pretenders to Statesman-like knowledge only about sixteen years ago, which has been gradually increasing in reputation ever since, and which is now daily pillaged by those who formerly sneered at it. Price 5s.

COTTAGE ECONOMY; containing information relative to the Breeding of Beer, Keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, Ewes, Goats, Poultry, and Rabbits, and relative to other matters deemed useful in the conducting the Affairs of a Labourer's Family; to which are added, Instructions relative to the Selecting, the Cutting, and the Bleaching, of the Plants of English Grass and Grain, for the purpose of making Hats and Bonnets; to which is now added, a very minute account (illustrated with a Plate) of the American manner of making Ice-Houses. Price 2s. 6d.

LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Journey from Calais to the South, as far as Limoges; then back to Paris; and then, after a residence there of three months, from Paris through the Eastern parts of France, and through part of the Netherlands; commencing in April, and ending in December, 1821. By JOHN M. COBBETT, Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 4s. Boards.

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This Work contains a Sketch of the Face of the Country, of its Rural Economy, of the Towns and Villages, of Manufactures, and Trade, and of such of the Manners and Customs as materially differ from those of England; Also, an Account of the Prices of Land, House, Fuel, Food, Raiment, Labour, and other Things, in different parts of the Country; the design being to exhibit a true picture of the present State of the People of France. To which is added, a General View of the Finances of the Kingdom. A neat Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

To be had at 183, Fleet Street.

In the Press.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES.—This Work, which has been so long in hand, is now in the Press. It will contain the Name, Situation, &c., of every Parish, and even of every Hamlet; it will contain a description, and an Account of the Country; also of each County; and will, I trust, convey more useful information on this subject, than has ever been conveyed in all other books put together. It is not a book made to flatter fools, nor to hide the doings of public robbers: it is to convey a mass of important truths; its object is to make the English reader well acquainted with all that he need know about his own country. The precise bulk and price of the Book I cannot yet state; but I imagine that it will be a Thick Duodecimo Volume (six or seven hundred pages), and that the Price will be from Eleven to Thirteen Shillings.

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LOCUST TREES, between eighteen inches and four feet high, two years old, Fifteen Thousand for Sale for £15. They are dug up and laid in the earth, and will be delivered free of expense at Marlborough.—Any person wanting them, will please to address a letter, free of postage, to Mr. Tanner, at Mrs. Smith's, near the Institution, Park Street, Bristol.

THE LANCET.

No. 350, published this day, contains:—

MR. LAWRENCE'S Forty-sixth Lecture; on the Osseous System; Wounds of Bones; Exfoliation of Bones; Fracture of Bones; Practical Rules of Treatment; Causes direct and predisposing, or remote.
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Communication from Mr. Scott, one of the Stewards of the Dinner.
Spence in an Out-patient's Room.
Petition to the House of Commons, from the Edinburgh College of Surgeons, against the new Tax upon Surgical Diplomas.
Review of Averill's Treatise on Operative Surgery.
Reviews of Castle's Introduction to Systematical, Physiological, and Medical Botany.
Biography of Samuel Thomas Von Soemmering, with some account of his Works.
Dr. Kriemer on the Separation of Morbidly United Fingers. Case 1. Division with the Knife. Case 2. Separation by Metallic Ligature. Case 3. Division with the Knife and Splints—Delpech's and Von Ker's Methods.

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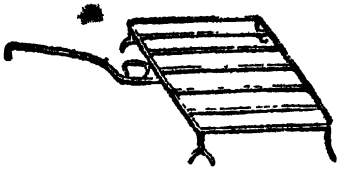
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER

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LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 22ND, 1830.

[Price 7d.]



According to the return printed by order of the House of Commons, in 1808, the MEMBERS of that House received amongst them in salaries, pensions, and sinecures, the sum of 178,000*l.* a year; and, if they had the same for eight years before, and have had it ever since, they alone have received, in the thirty years, 5,340,000*l.* of the public money.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

On the Grand Question, now coming on, relative to the getting rid of the Over-Population.

Worcester, 17th May, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

LET us have *another laugh* at the fools and knaves, those who write pamphlets and paragraphs about over-population, and those who are their dupes. Of the "*race that write*" on such matters, more than nine out of every ten live, or want to live, on the taxes; and those who want to do it, are the keener of the two, just as a young man is more amorous before than after marriage. He loves his wife, of course; but not with so much zeal as he did before she became such. Now, as there are always four times as many expectants of salaries, pensions, sinecures, slices of public property of one sort or another, as there are actual possessors; and, as these are even more zealous than the possessors, the whole number is prodigious; and the way that every one, if he can write at all, gives proof of his merit, is, by writing in defence of the system of taxation; because the hopes of the whole rest upon its

continuance. Those who expect will abuse those who possess: the former will call the latter corrupt, and what not: they will complain of misapplication of the taxes: nay, they will, when they forget themselves a little, join in complaints against the weight of the taxes: they will even reproach the possessors with profligate expenditure: but you will never find them do an act, or say a word, having a tendency (as far as they can judge) to destroy the system of taxation; but, on the contrary, you will find the general tenor of their efforts to be to support it with all their might; and above all things, to cause it to be believed, that it is not the taxes that cause the sufferings that are now experienced. This is the prime object that all these writers have in view; because if it came to be the general belief, that this was the cause of the suffering, it is impossible that the people should not compel the Government to remove the cause; that is to say, to take off the taxes; and that is to say, to cut off the incomes of the place and pension and sinecure possessors, and cut off the hopes of the expectants.

Hence, all the zealous efforts of those who write, or make speeches, to persuade the people, that the taxes do them very little harm. Yet something does them great harm. This cannot be denied; poor-rates, paupers, jails, hulks, mad-houses, prostitution, crime, suicides; all these increase at a great rate; and, if the people were left to judge from the evidence of their senses, they would speedily trace the suffering to the right cause; and that would cause the possessions and the hopes of the tax-eaters to be cut off. Therefore they labour, as if for their lives, to make the people believe, that the misery arises from some cause other than that of the taxes.

For several years the cause was, a sudden transition from war to peace; but this could not last for ever. Next came, the revulsion of trade; but far-

mers were ruined as well as traders, so that this cause, which was of Wilberforce's discovery, would serve no longer. Then, in 1817, it was a *scarcity of food*, though they had a Corn-bill to make food dear. This cause served for four years; and then came a *surplus of food*. Now are come (see King's Speech) *bad harvests*, though the Corn-bill still exists. And now, also, we have *improvements in machinery* as another cause, though for years they have been *bragging* of the great wealth and power that this machinery gave to the nation! Nay, we have, besides, as a cause of distress, the *rivalship of other nations in manufactures*, though it is notorious that the *land-people* are suffering even more than the manufacturers are.

Driven thus from every post, at which they have attempted to make a stand, they take shelter in the capacious citadel of *over-population*, fortified up to the teeth in impudent assertions and *false reports*, to which no contradiction can be given in authentic detail; because the proofs consist of facts that are beyond the reach of any individual. And thus, after they had for years produced their asserted *increase of population*, as an indubitable proof of the *happiness* of the people and the *goodness* of the Government, they, finding the people in misery, ascribed the *depression* to that *very increase of population*; and suggested, and still suggest, as a remedy, a *getting rid of the people*.

Amongst the efforts in this way, I have now to point out to your particular attention, an effort recently made by a man of the name of BARTON, who, it seems, has published a pamphlet on the subject. He lives, it seems, in SUSSEX. Dr. BLACK has, in the "*Morning Chronicle*," of the 8th instant, made an extract from this pamphlet, and has prefixed to it some remarks of his own. I will insert both; and will expose the folly or the knavery of them, leaving you to determine which is the suitable term to apply. I request you to read both of them with *great attention*; because, if you do not, it will be impossible for you fully to comprehend the exposure that I am about to make of them. They are a

couple of *prima efforts*; and you shall see how I will blow them to atoms, or, rather, make them fall *thump* upon the heads of their authors. I will insert them distinctly; first, the DOCTOR'S preface; and then the extract from BARTON.

DOCTOR'S PREFACE.

"Every thing from the pen of Mr. BARTON is entitled to attention. We have just received a pamphlet, published by him, under the title of 'A Statement of the Consequences likely to ensue from our growing Excess of Population, if not remedied by Colonization,' in which we think he rather, like Mr. HUSKISSON and some others, over estimates the deterioration of the condition of the labouring classes. Mr. BARTON lives in Sussex, and it is difficult for any man to escape local influence in his speculations. There is partial deterioration unquestionably, but in *many districts the labouring classes are not worse off now than at any former period*. A Northumbrian or a Scotchman knows that the condition of farm-labourers in the North of England and South of Scotland, where they are paid in agricultural produce, has the best evidence for an improvement in their condition, for the food they receive is positively greater in quantity, as well as better in quality, now than was the case forty years ago; and as *manufactures are cheaper*, there is no set-off against the food. A native, again, of the *South of England*, infers a general deterioration of the agricultural labourers, because their condition has unquestionably deteriorated in that part of the country. Mr. BARTON states that there are particular periods in the history of this country, when the population has rapidly increased; and that these periods have been followed by decline in the real wages of labour and disease and crime. Referring to Acts of Parliament and other documents, he infers that the *period of Elizabeth*, in particular, resembled the present, and indicates

"that if we do not look about us, we may expect the same disasters which then followed over-population."

EXTRACT FROM BARTON.

"It may be inferred (he says), with at least great probability, from these and other similar records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that an increase of population was then taking place, such as prevails at the present day. And it is certain that during the greater part of the last century, such an increase of population did not take place. If, therefore, we desire to ascertain what effects may be expected to follow from the present state of things, by reasoning from past experience, we must look back from 150 to 250 years: and in so doing we shall be quite surprised to discover how very remarkable a parallel exists between the circumstances of the time of Elizabeth and those of the present day. In the first place, the rapid increase of population was followed, as in our times, by a great decline in the real wages of labour, i. e. in the price of labour measured in corn or other commodities. Comparing the rate of wages with the price of wheat on an average of the five preceding years, we shall find that in 1495 a labourer could purchase with his week's wages one hundred and ninety-nine pints of wheat; in the year 1593, towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, only eighty-two pints; in 1610, only forty-six pints. So that in the reign of James I. a labourer could obtain only one-fourth part of the necessities and conveniences which he obtained in the reign of Henry VII. Just such a decline in the real wages of labour, though not to so great an extent, has taken place in our own times; and at both periods it is undoubtedly to be attributed to the same cause, viz., to an increase in the number of labourers faster than the increase of funds destined for their employment. The fact becomes still more striking, when it is known that at the same intermediate period of our

"history, in which, as I have said before, the rate of population became nearly stationary, wages measured in corn experienced a very considerable advance. This is proved both by a comparison of prices at different dates, and by the universal complaints of political writers about the middle of the last century, of the dearthness of labour, and the difficulty of obtaining workmen."

Now, to begin upon the Doctor's first, "every thing," he tells us, "from the pen of Mr. Barton is entitled to attention." I, therefore, conclude, as a matter of course, that this Barton is a SCOTCHMAN.

"Scotchman meet Scotchman and cheat in the dark."
GOLDSMITH.

But, at any rate, I will, though I never heard of the man before, bet ten to one, that he is a Scotchman, a parson, or a tax-eater, or two, or all three of them; and I should be very much obliged to any Sussex man, or any body else, to tell me the *who* and the *what* and the *where* about this famous Barton, whom I never heard of before. What an impudent and shallow fellow it is I shall show by-and-by.

The Doctor, for himself says, that, "in many districts the labouring classes are not worse off now than at any former period"; and then he tells us, that, in Scotland and the North of England, "where they are paid in agricultural produce, they get more and better food than they got forty years ago." What! "paid in produce"! A barter-system! This is something new, at any rate, Doctor. And how, then, are they to get those "*manufactures*," which, you say, they get so cheap? These are mere assertions: they are supported by neither fact nor argument; while, on the contrary, we have the most convincing proof of the misery of the Scotch, in the well-known facts, that, not long ago, thousands of them petitioned to be transported, and that thousands have just now begged, as a boon, to be carried away to that

miserable heap of sand and rock and swamp, called "*Prince Edward's Island*," which will bear nothing but potatoes, and to which the human food for the soldiers and other tax-eaters is, even down to the cabbages, brought from the *United States*. Then again, from the *North of England*, what crowds are pressing to *Hull* and to *Liverpool*, in order to get away to *America*! What can ail these people? What can make them run away from such abundance of the Doctor's "*agricultural produce*"? In short, it is not true. But the Doctor, who is, as he ought to be, a true Scotchman, sees that the fame of the *feelosofers* is blasted for ever, if this *Scotch system of taxing and funding FAIL*; and fail it must; to atoms it goes, if the people see that it is the cause of their ruin and misery. It will not be *saved* by any thing that can be done. The ignorance of the people, their slavishness, their being duped, will not save it *in the end*; but its life may be *prolonged* by deceptions practised on the people, who may, in consequence of the deceptions, endure their sufferings *for a longer time*. And, therefore, the Doctor, partly blinded by his anxious wishes, assists in favouring the deception.

The Doctor talks of the "*South of England*." Where does his South begin? I have seen the miserable labourers as far as the *middle of Yorkshire*; I have seen men performing the *work of horses* in *Nottinghamshire*, and all the way *southward* of it. If the Doctor cuts *England* across to the *North* of the point where I have witnessed the most deplorable misery, he will exclude but a very insignificant part of it. He allows that, in the *South*, they are suffering; and the *South* is, then, nearly the *whole*. But *Sussex*, that *troublesome Sussex*, is the Doctor's great plague! The Doctor knows as much about *England* as he knows about the moon; or he would have known, that the people in *Sussex*, while their coppices and forests remain, and while they can wield a *cudgel* or a *bill-hook*, will never live on *oat-cakes*, *pea-bannocks*, and *burgoo*. They are not in the degraded state of the Scotch,

and they never will be; nor will they be transported to the sands and rocks and swamps of *Nova Scotia* and *Canada*. They have a *right* to live in *England*, and have a *right* to a share of the produce; and have it *they will*. They will never *again* suffer so much as they have suffered. Last winter they touched the *lowest point*. Horse, foot, and artillery, will never make them touch that point *again*. The Doctor will never see *them* eat *barley-bannocks*, he may be well assured.

But their *employers* will come down: they are sinking fast: they will become tamer and tamer, until, at last, all will be alike; and then, woe be unto those who can digest nothing but taxes! Events will then teach the Doctor, that there is no over-population, *except of tax-eaters*; and he will see how quickly they will be got rid of; he will see, that the impudent ruffians who are now proposing to ship the working people off, will be compelled to work themselves, or to starve; aye, in spite of all that he, and all the straight-backed, lazy, feelosofical rascals from *Scotland*, can do, these ruffians will be, at last, compelled to work, or to starve. The insolent oppressors of the French people talked in a style equally audacious; and they had their *just reward*.

Now for this BARTON. This fellow says, that the state of the country in the reign of *Old Bess* bore a great resemblance to its state at present, and that the cause was the same; that is, "an increase of labourers beyond the increase of funds DESTINED to pay them." What does he mean by "*funds destined to pay them*"? By *whom* destined? Why, the *produce of their labour* is destined by *God* and by *justice* to pay them for their work; and here will always be *enough*; for the greater their numbers, the greater the quantity of the produce. But, *by man*, by tax-leviers, less may be destined than is necessary; and then, indeed, they must suffer in proportion to their numbers.

But the resemblance between the state of things in the reign of bloody *Old Bess* and that of the present time. Very true, perhaps; for in her reign

the country was, we are told, *covered over with paupers*; and we know that the POOR-LAW was passed to *preserve the Government against the rage of a starving people*. Yes, but as to the CAUSE! That is the thing; and here we shall find BARTON a miserable fool, or an impudent liar; and, perhaps, both at once.

The cause, or causes, in the reign of OLD BESS was as follows. About the year 1550, the "*Reformation*" was consummated by Edward VI. and his Parliament; and though MARY came in 1553, and overset it *as to forms of religion*, she was succeeded by BESS in 1558: Mary had not time to make any great alteration in the state of the people; so that the *effects* of the "*REFORMATION*" were going on full swing from the time that Edward brought in his Protestant *married parson*. These effects arrived at their height in the reign of Old Bess, and then the *poor-law* was passed, as before mentioned,

"Liars ought to have good *memo-ries*," and, above all things, they never ought to deal in *names and dates*. Now, then, BARTON says, that the labourer earned, or obtained in a week, *four times as much of the necessaries of life*, in the reign of Henry VII. as in that of James I.; and that this was *because the population had increased in the reign of James I.* Or, he says, there is "*GREAT PROBABILITY*," at least, that the poverty of the labourers in the latter reign arose from *this cause*. So you think, then, BARTON, that the population began to *increase with the Reformation*? And, for believing this, you find grounds in *Acts of Parliament, and other records*? What a fool you are, BARTON; or what a liar! Take the following facts, and go and hide your head under Doctor Black's gaberdine.

1. Just towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII. (I have not the statutes at hand), an act was passed to *unite parishes* on account of a *decay of people*.
2. In the second year of Edward VI. an act complained of a *decay of peo-*

ple; and of *their excessive poverty at the same time*; and, in the same year, an act was passed to *punish beggins* with little short of death.

Now, then, BARTON, swear these acts out of the Statute Book, or say, that you were a fool in ascribing the misery of the people to *an increase of them*. For here are the people *decaying*, and growing miserable at the same time. But now for Old Bess's reign, and the *real causes* of the miseries which finally produced the poor-law.

These causes are all pretty fairly set forth in HUME'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND, reign of Edward VI., chap. xxv., and were as follows: 1. The income of the monasteries, which used to be spent on the spot, were now carried away by the cormorant aristocracy, who had got the estates. 2. The monasteries and the parochial clergy had always relieved the poor, and that relief was now withheld by the greedy creatures who had got possession of the property. 3. The monks had been the best and easiest of landlords, and they were now succeeded by those who extorted rack-rents. 4. The grasping landlords laid scores of farms into one, and expelled the tenantry. 5. Even the cottagers, *deprived of the commons*, on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to misery; "and a *decay of people*, as well as a "*diminution of former plenty*, was remarkable in the kingdom": then, 6. Came the *arbitrary change in the value of money*, in "consequence of which an "universal stagnation in commerce "took place, and loud complaints were "heard in every part of England."

Thus the thing went on till the *poor-law* came, in the 43d of Old Bess. Where, then, is fool, or liar, BARTON, with his *over-population*? Here was "*decay of people*" instead of *over-population*. Here was misery arising from *non-resident landlords*; from *want of good wages and due relief to the poor*; from cruel *rack-renting*; from throwing many *small farms into a great one*; from *driving the poor from the commons by enclosures*; and from *arbitrary changes in the value of money*. These were the

causes that produced the misery in the reign of Old Bess. She tried many tricks before she came to the *poor-law*. She was at her tricks for forty-three years; and, at last, she was compelled to come to a *compulsory assessment*.

Let the reader look into HUMS, and he will at once see, what a fool, or what a liar, Dr. BLACK's friend, Barton, is. But the lies, the impudence, the audacious impudence, of the over-population-mongers, surpass all things of the kind ever before heard of. WILMOT HORTON, in a pamphlet, lately published, says, that in the latter part of the reign of Old Bess, or early in that of James I., *the whole of the population of England and Wales was only 900,000!* Now, do mark this. For this BARTON says, that it was *precisely at that time* that the people were suffering on account of *over-population!* A broomstick! A broomstick! No answer by pen or tongue for such impudent liars, or insolent fools.

Wise and solid and efficient and wonder-working BIG O, has, too, been acting his part in this farce of lies and impudence. He has gone gradually on swelling up the population of Ireland, of that "first gem of the sea," till he has got it *above* even the pretended population of England and Wales in 1801; *aye, a million above it!* GUTHERIE, in 1790, stated it, on the *boastings of the Irish Parliament*, at *three millions*: Doctor DUIGENAN, in 1799, *proved* it not to exceed three millions. BIG O got it up, year after year, till, in 1828, he got it to *seven millions*; and it will be recollected how people joked about Dan's "*seven millions*." The other day, in one of his Dublin harangues, he said, "Shall *nine millions* of people, the *finest and most generous* in the world, *crouch down* before a handful of *Saxons?*" or something in that way; but, every one must recollect the *nine millions!*

Well, then, what but a broomstick, or a basin of dirty water, can be a proper answer to brazen, hothering liars like these? BIG O will never be at heart's ease, till he gets the population of "green Erin" above that of the country

of the "*Saxons*." He will make her breed at a famous rate, to *be ready* against we publish our next "*great national lie*."

Now, my readers, casting off the brazen liars, let us look for a moment at what we now behold. *Too many mouths*, and the farmers ruined from the *want of price for their produce*; *too many backs*, and the manufacturers ruined from the *want of price for articles of dress*. Glutted markets and warehouses, and hungry and naked millions. These vagabond, these corrupt, these base writers and speakers see the true cause: they must see it: they must see that the millions are oppressed by the tax-eating thousands: they do see it; but they either live on the taxes, or want to do it; they know that this system would speedily end, *if the people saw the true cause*; and, therefore, they labour, they lie, and they do any thing in their power, to cause it to be believed, that the taxes are *not the cause*. Their lies, however, begin to be useless; and that they may finally bring punishment on their own heads, is the constant prayer of your faithful servant,

WM. COBBETT.

MIDLAND TOUR.

Worcester, 18th May, 1830.

IN tracing myself from Leicester to this place, I begin at LUTTERWORTH, in Leicestershire, one of the prettiest country towns that I ever saw; that is to say, prettiest *situated*. At this place they have, in the church (they say), the identical PULPIT from which WICKLIFFE preached! This was not his birth-place; but he was, it seems, priest of this parish.

I set off from Lutterworth early on the 29th of April, stopped to breakfast at Birmingham, got to Wolverhampton by two o'clock (a distance altogether of about 50 miles), and *lectured at six in the evening*. I repeated, or rather continued, the *lecturing*, on the 30th, and

on the 3d of May. On the 6th of May went to DUDLEY, and lectured there: on the 10th of May, at Birmingham; on the 12th and 13th, at Shrewsbury; and on the 14th, came here.

Thus have I come through countries of corn and meat and iron and coal; and, from the banks of the HUMBER to those of the SEVERN, I find all the people, who do not share in the taxes, in a state of distress, greater or less. *Mortgagers* all frightened out of their wits; *fathers* trembling for the fate of their children; and *working people* in the most miserable state, and, as they ought to be, in the *worst of temper*. These will, I am afraid, be the *state-doctors*, at last! The farmers are cowed down: the poorer they get, the more cowardly they are. Every one of them sees the cause of his suffering, and sees general ruin at hand; but every one hopes, that by some trick, some act of meanness, some contrivance, *he shall escape*. So that there is no hope of any change for the better but from the *working people*. The farmers will sink to a very low state; and thus the THING (barring *accidents*) may go on, until neither farmer nor tradesman will see a joint of meat on his table once in a quarter of a year. It appears likely to be precisely as it was in France: it is now just what France was at the close of the reign of Louis XV. It has been the fashion to ascribe the *French Revolution* to the writings of VOLTAIRE, ROUSSEAU, DIDEROT, and others. These writings had *nothing at all* to do with the matter: no, *nothing at all*. The *Revolution* was produced by *taxes*, which at last became unbearable; by debts of the State; but, in fact, by the despair of the people, produced by the weight of the taxes.

It is curious to observe how ready the supporters of tyranny and taxation are to ascribe rebellions and revolutions to disaffected leaders; and particular to writers; and, as these supporters of tyranny and taxation have had the press at their command; have had generally the absolute command of it, they have caused this belief to go down from generation to generation. It will not

do for them to ascribe revolutions and rebellions to the true cause; because then the rebellions and revolutions would be justified; and it is their object to cause them to be condemned. Infinite delusion has prevailed in this country, in consequence of the efforts of which I am now speaking. Voltaire was just as much a cause of the French Revolution as I have been the cause of imposing these sixty millions of taxes. The French Revolution was produced by the grindings of taxation; and this I will take an opportunity very soon of proving, to the conviction of every man in the kingdom who chooses to read.

In the iron country, of which Wolverhampton seems to be a sort of central point, and where thousands, and perhaps two or three hundred thousand people, are assembled together, the *truck* or *tommy* system generally prevails; and this is a very remarkable feature in the state of this country. I have made inquiries with regard to the origin, or etymology, of this word *tommy*, and could find no one to furnish me with the information. It is certainly, like so many other good things, to be ascribed to *the army*; for, when I was a recruit at Chatham barracks, in the year 1793, we had brown bread served out to us twice in the week. And, for what reason God knows, we used to call it *tommy*. And the sergeants, when they called us out to get our bread, used to tell us to come and get our *tommy*. Even the officers used to call it *tommy*. Any one that could get white bread, called it bread; but the brown stuff that we got in lieu of part of our pay, was called *tommy*; and so we used to call it when we got abroad. When the soldiers came to have bread served out to them in the several towns in England, the name of *tommy* went down by tradition; and, doubtless, it was taken up and adapted to the truck system in Staffordshire and elsewhere.

Now, there is nothing wrong, nothing essentially wrong, in this system of barter. Barter is in practice in some of the happiest communities in the world. In the new settled parts of the United States of America, to which money has

scarcely found its way, to which articles of wearing apparel are brought from a great distance, where the great and almost sole occupations are, the rearing of food, the building of houses, and the making of clothes, barter is the rule and money payment the exception. And this is attended with no injury and with very little inconvenience. The bargains are made, and the accounts kept *in money*; but the payments are made in produce or in goods, the price of these being previously settled on. The store-keeper (which we call shop-keeper) receives the produce in exchange for his goods, and exchanges that produce for more goods; and thus the concerns of the community go on, every one living in abundance, and the sound of misery never heard.

But when this tommy system; this system of barter; when this makes its appearance where money has for ages been the medium of exchange, and of payments for labour; when this system makes its appearance in such a state of society, there is something wrong; things are out of joint; and it becomes us to inquire into the real cause of its being resorted to; and it does not become us to join in an outcry against the employers who resort to it, until we be perfectly satisfied that those employers are guilty of oppression.

The manner of carrying on the tommy system is this: suppose there to be a master who employs a hundred men. That hundred men, let us suppose, to earn a pound a week each. This is not the case in the iron-works; but no matter, we can illustrate our meaning by one sum as well as by another. These men lay out weekly the whole of the hundred pounds in victuals, drink, clothing, bedding, fuel, and house-rent. Now, the master finding the profits of his trade fall off very much, and being at the same time in want of money to pay the hundred pounds weekly, and perceiving that these hundred pounds are carried away at once, and given to shop-keepers of various descriptions; to butchers, bakers, drapers, hatters, shoemakers, and the rest; and knowing that, on an average, these shop-keepers must

all have a profit of thirty *per cent.*, or more, he determines to keep ~~this~~ *thirty per cent. to himself*; and this is thirty pounds a week gained as a shop-keeper, which amounts to 1,560 pounds a year. He, therefore, sets up a tommy shop: a long place containing every commodity that the workman can want, *liquor* and *house-room* excepted. Here the workman takes out his pound's worth; and his house-rent he pays in truck, if he do not rent of his master; and if he will have liquor, beer, or gin, or any thing else, he must get it by trucking with the goods that he has got at the tommy shop.

Now, there is nothing essentially unjust in this. There is a little inconvenience as far as the house-rent goes; but not much. The tommy is easily turned into money; and if the single saving man does experience some trouble in the sale of his goods, that is compensated for in the more important case of the married man, whose wife and children generally experience the benefit of this payment in kind. It is, to be sure, a sorrowful reflection, that such a check upon the drinking propensities of the fathers should be necessary; but *the necessity exists*; and, however sorrowful the fact, the fact, I am assured, is, that thousands upon thousands of mothers have to bless this system, though it arises from a loss of trade and the poverty of the masters.

I have often had to observe on the cruel effects of the suppression of markets and fairs, and on the consequent power of extortion possessed by the country shop-keepers. And what a thing it is to reflect on, that these shop-keepers have the whole of the labouring men of England constantly in their debt; have, on an average, a mortgage on their wages to the amount of five or six weeks, and make them pay any price that they choose to extort. So that, in fact, there is a tommy system in every village, the difference being, that the shop-keeper is the tommy man instead of the farmer.

The only question is in this case of the manufacturing tommy work, whether the master charges a higher price than

the shop-keepers would charge; and, while I have not heard that the masters do this, I think it improbable that they should. They must desire to avoid the charge of such extortion; and they have little temptation to it; because they buy at best hand and in large quantities; because they are sure of their customers, and know to a certainty the quantity that they want; and because the distribution of the goods is a matter of such perfect regularity, and attended with so little expense, compared with the expenses of the shop-keeper. Any farmer who has a parcel of married men working for him, might supply them with meat for four-pence the pound, when the butcher must charge them seven-pence, or lose by his trade; and to me, it has always appeared astonishing, that farmers (where they happen to have the power completely in their hands) do not compel their married labourers to have a sufficiency of bread and meat for their wives and children. What would be more easy than to reckon what would be necessary for house-rent, fuel, and clothing; to pay that in money once a month, or something of that sort, and to pay the rest in meat, flour, and malt? I may never occupy a farm again; but if I were to do it, to any extent, the East and West Indies, nor big brewer, nor distiller, should ever have one farthing out of the produce of my farm, except he got it through the throats of those who made the wearing apparel. If I had a village at my command, not a tea-kettle should sing in that village: there should be no extortioner under the name of country shop-keeper, and no straight-backed, bloated fellow, with red eyes, unshaven face, and slip-shod till noon, called a publican, and generally worthy of the name of *sinner*. Well-covered backs and well-lined bellies would be my delight; and as to talking about controlling and compelling, what a controlling and compelling are there now! It is everlasting control and compulsion. My bargain should be so much in money, and so much in bread, meat, and malt.

And what is the bargain, I want to know, *with yearly servants*? Why, so

much in money and the rest in bread, meat, beer, lodging and fuel. . And does any one affect to say that this is wrong? Does any one say that it is wrong to exercise control and compulsion over these servants; such control and compulsion is not only the master's right, but they are included in his bounden *duties*. It is his duty to make them rise early, keep good hours, be industrious and careful, be cleanly in their persons and habits, be civil in their language. These are amongst the uses of the means which God has put into his hands; and are these means to be neglected towards married servants any more than towards single ones?

Even in the well-cultivated and thickly-settled parts of the United States of America, it is the general custom, and a very good custom it is, to pay the wages of labour *partly in money and partly in kind*; and this practice is extended to carpenters, bricklayers, and other workmen about buildings, and even to tailors, shoemakers, and weavers, who go (a most excellent custom) to farm-houses to work. The bargain is, so much money *and found*; that is to say, found in food and drink, and sometimes in lodging. The money then used to be, for a common labourer, in Long Island, at common work (not haying or harvesting), three York shillings a day, and found; that is to say, three times seven-pence halfpenny of our money; and three times seven-pence halfpenny a day, which is eleven shillings and three-pence a week, and found. This was the wages of the commonest labourers at the commonest work. And the wages of a good labourer now, in Worcestershire, is *eight shillings a week, and not found*. Accordingly they are miserably poor and degraded.

Therefore, there is in this mode of payment, nothing *essentially* degrading; but the tommy system of Staffordshire, and elsewhere, though not unjust in itself, indirectly inflicts great injustice on the whole race of shop-keepers, who are necessary for the distribution of commodities in great towns, and whose property is taken away from them by this species of monopoly, which the

employers of great numbers of men have been compelled to adopt for their own safety. It is not the fault of the masters, who can have no pleasure in making profit in this way: it is the fault of the taxes, which, by lowering the price of their goods, have compelled them to resort to this means of diminishing their expenses, or to quit their business altogether, which a great part of them cannot do without being left without a penny; and if a law could be passed and enforced (which it cannot), to put an end to the tommy system, the consequence would be, that instead of a fourth part of the furnaces being let out of blast in this neighbourhood, one-half would be let out of blast, and additional thousands of poor creatures would be left solely dependent on parochial relief.

A view of the situation of things at SHREWSBURY, will lead us in a minute to the real cause of the tommy system. SHREWSBURY is one of the most interesting spots that man ever beheld. It is the capital of the county of SALOP, and SALOP appears to have been the original name of the town itself. It is curiously enclosed by the river SEVERN, which is here large and fine, and which, in the form of a *horse-shoe*, completely surrounds it, leaving, of the whole of the two miles round, only one little place whereon to pass in and out on land. There are two bridges, one on the east, and the other on the west; the former called the English, and the other, the Welsh bridge. The environs of this town, especially on the Welsh side, are the most beautiful that can be conceived. The town lies in the midst of a fine agricultural country, of which it is the great and almost only mart. Hither come the farmers to sell their produce, and hence they take, in exchange, their groceries, their clothing, and all the materials for their implements and the domestic conveniences. It was fair-day when I arrived at Shrewsbury. Every thing was on the decline. Cheese, which four years ago sold at sixty shillings the six-score pounds, would not bring forty. I took particular pains to ascertain the fact with regard to the cheese, which is a

great article here. I was assured that shop-keepers in general did not now sell half the quantity of goods in a month that they did in that space of time four or five years ago. The *ironmongers* were not selling a fourth-part of what they used to sell five years ago.

Now, it is impossible to believe that a somewhat similar falling off in the sale of iron must not have taken place all over the kingdom; and need we then wonder that the iron in Staffordshire has fallen, within these five years, from *thirteen pounds to five pounds a ton*, or perhaps a great deal more; and need we wonder that the *iron-masters*, who have the same rent and taxes to pay that they had to pay before, have resorted to the tommy system, in order to assist in saving themselves from ruin! Here is the real cause of the tommy system; and if Mr. LITTLETON really wishes to put an end to it, let him prevail upon the Parliament to take off taxes to the amount of forty millions a year.

Another article had experienced a still greater falling off at Shrewsbury; I mean the article of corn-sacks, of which there has been a falling off of *five-sixths*. The sacks are made by weavers, in the North; and need we wonder, then, at the low wages of those industrious people, whom I used to see weaving sacks in the miserable cellars at Preston!

Here is the true cause of the tommy system, and of all the other evils which disturb and afflict the country. It is a great country; an immense mass of industry and resources of all sorts, *breaking up*; a prodigious mass of enterprise and capital diminishing and dispersing. The enormous taxes co-operating with the Corn-bill, which those taxes have engendered, are driving skill and wealth out of the country in all directions; are causing iron-masters to make France, and particularly Belgium, blaze with furnaces, in the lieu of those which have been extinguished here; and that have established furnaces and cotton-mills in abundance. These same taxes and this same Corn-bill are sending the long wool from Lincolnshire to France, there

to be made into those blankets which, for ages, were to be obtained nowhere but in England.

This is the true state of the country, and here are the true causes of that state; and all that the corrupt writers and speakers say about over-population and poor-laws, and about all the rest of their shuffling excuses, is a heap of nonsense and of lies.

I cannot quit Shrewsbury without expressing the great satisfaction that I derive from my visit to that place. It is the only town into which I have gone, in all England, without knowing, beforehand, something of some person in it. I could find out no person that took the Register; and could discover but one person who took the "Advice to Young Men." The number of my auditors was expected to be so small, that I doubled the price of admission, in order to pay the expense of the room. To my great surprise, I had a room full of gentlemen, at the request of some of whom I repeated the dose the next night; and if my audience were as well pleased with me as I was with them, their pleasure must have been great indeed. I saw not one single person in the place that I had ever seen before; yet I never had more cordial shakes by the hand; in proportion to their numbers, not more at Manchester, Oldham, Rochdale, Halifax, Leeds, or Nottingham, or even Hull. I was particularly pleased with the conduct of the *young* gentlemen at Shrewsbury, and especially when I asked them, whether they were prepared to act upon the insolent doctrine of Huskisson, and quietly submit to this state of things "*during the present generation*"?

CATHOLICS AND JEWS.

It must fill with disgust every man of right mind; every man who has any regard for *sincerity*, to see these two bodies *embracing*. I do not impute this embracing to the Catholics in general, and I should be very sorry to per-

ceive it in any of the *teachers* of the ancient religion; but I cannot shut my eyes to what is passing; and if any considerable number of the Catholics should appear to favour the exaltation of these blasphemers, it will give a blow to their religion, such as it has not received since the Reformation. As to the conduct of O'CONNELL; as to his advocating the cause of the Jews, that is nothing; for people recollect his conduct with regard to the forty-shilling freeholders; but, when a Catholic Duke, who has already presented a Jew at Court, presents their petition to the House of Lords, and urges their being put *upon a level with Christians*; when this is the case, Catholics in general ought to look about them. Disguise the matter how they may, if they pray for the passing of that bill which is now before the Commons, they pray, in effect, for the degradation of the memory of Jesus Christ; for the act will, in effect, declare, that the man who asserts Jesus Christ to have been AN IMPOSTOR, is as *good* a man, as worthy of credence, trust, power, and honour, as a man who believes Jesus Christ to have been and to be the Son of God. The Jews assert, that Jesus Christ was an impostor, a liar, a cheat, and that he deserved to be nailed upon the cross. See O'Connell, then, kneeling before his crucifix as large as life, which every one can see through his window in Merrion-Square, Dublin; see him kneeling before this crucifix; and then see him get up and embrace a Jew, and call him his dear friend and fellow-citizen! That is enough: let the Catholics look to it. At any rate, if any considerable number of them join in this enterprise, they will be the everlasting scorn of the whole nation.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.

Barri Elm Farm, 13th May, 1830.

MR. CORRETT has growing several acres of Swedish Turnips for seed. As this is a seed which does not suffer from keeping, any gentleman who would lay

in a stock, or any seedsman, if he will call or send to see the crop growing, will find a person ready to show it him. The turnips remained in the ground all the winter, and the bloom shows how very pure the sort is. No drawing or selecting has ever taken place, from first to last. The stalks are now at their full growth, and are about six feet high; and the field is at this time in full bloom. This is perhaps the finest piece of seed of the kind growing in England.

ANOTHER SERMON.

Just Published,

At my shop, No. 183, Fleet-Street, London, and to be had of all booksellers in town and country, PRICE SIX-PENCE, a Sermon, entitled, "GOOD FRIDAY; or, THE MURDER OF JESUS CHRIST BY THE JEWS": addressed to *Christians* of all denominations.—My other Sermons, *twelve in number*, may be had in one volume, price 3s. 6d.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT "REFORMATION," showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries; in a series of letters, addressed to all sensible and just Englishmen. This is the Title of the Work, which consists of Two Volumes, the first containing the Series of Letters above described, and the second containing a List of *Abbeys, Priors, Nunneries*, and other Religious and charitable Endowments, that were seized on and granted away by the Reformers to one another, and to their minions. The List is arranged according to the Counties, alphabetically, and each piece of property is fully stated, with its then, as well as its actual value; by whom founded and when; by whom granted away, and to whom.—Of this Work there are two Editions, one in Duodecimo, price 4s. 6d. for the first Volume, and 3s. 6d. for the second; and another in Royal Octavo, on handsome paper, with marginal Notes, and a full Index. This latter Edition was printed for Libraries, and there was consequently but a limited number of Copies struck off: the Price 1l. 11s. 6d. in Extra Boards.

NEW EDITION.

EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.

Just published, at my shop, No. 183, Fleet Street, a New Edition of a volume under this title, with a *Postscript*, price 2s. 6d. in boards, and consisting of *ten letters*, addressed to *English Tax-payers*, of which letters, the following are the contents:—

Letter I.—On the Question, Whether it be advisable to emigrate from England at this time?

Letter II.—On the Descriptions of Persons to whom Emigration would be most beneficial.

Letter III.—On the Parts of the United States to go to, preceded by Reasons for going to no other Country, and especially not to an English Colony.

Letter IV.—On the Preparations some time previous to Sailing.

Letter V.—Of the sort of Ship to go in, and of the Steps to be taken relative to the Passage, and the sort of Passage; also of the Stores, and other things, to be taken out with the Emigrant.

Letter VI.—Of the Precautions to be observed while on board of Ship, whether in Cabin or Steerage.

Letter VII.—Of the first Steps to be taken on Landing.

Letter VIII.—Of the way to proceed to get a Farm, or a Shop, to settle in Business, or to set yourself down as an Independent Gentleman.

Letter IX.—On the means of Educating Children, and of obtaining literary Knowledge.

Letter X.—Of such other Matters, a knowledge relating to which must be useful to every one going from England to the United States.

Postscript.—An account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett.

It grieves me very much to know it to be my duty to publish this book; but I cannot refrain from doing it, when I see the alarms and hear the cries of thousands of virtuous families that it may save from utter ruin.

Just Published.

MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S ITALIAN GRAMMAR, entitled "*A Grammar of the Italian Language; or, a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian.*" Price 6s.—Throughout this Grammar the Author has supposed himself to be addressing those who are altogether unacquainted with the subject; he has, therefore, taken the greatest pains, both as to the proper arrangement of the several matters treated of, and that clearness of explanation that they require. At the same time, the work will be found useful to those who are more than mere beginners. It professes to be an "Introduction" only, and comes within a moderate compass; but while the Author has set out by noticing points the most simple, he has, in the course of his task, studiously called the reader's attention to the greatest difficulties that occur in the study of Italian. Of the importance of these difficulties the Author may pretend to be a judge, since he has had to encounter them himself; and the want of assistance which he has experienced in books called Grammars, has induced him to think that the results of his own study, as contained in the present work, may be of service to other people.

Just published, No. X. of

COBBETT'S ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN, and incidentally to YOUNG WOMEN. I have begun with the YOUTH, and shall go to the YOUNG MAN or the BACHELOR, talk the matter over with him as a LOVER, then consider him in the character of HUSBAND; then as FATHER; then as CITIZEN or SUBJECT.

A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied, with minute Directions relative to each mode of application. These are all drawn from the actual experience of Mr. Cobbett, on his Farm at Barn Elm, last year (1828). The Book is a neatly-printed Duodecimo. Price 5s. 6d.

THE WOODLANDS:

OR,

A TREATISE

On the preparing of ground for planting; on the planting; on the cultivating; on the pruning; and on the cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods;

DESCRIBING

The usual growth and size and the uses of each sort of tree, the seed of each, the season and manner of collecting the seed, the manner of preserving and of sowing it, and also the manner of managing the young plants until fit to plant out;

THE TREES

Being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin names, being prefixed to the directions relative to each tree respectively.

I know every thing about the rearing and managing of Trees myself, from the gathering of the Seed, to the cutting-down and the applying of the Tree; and *all* that I know I have communicated in this Book. It is handsomely printed in 8vo., and the Price is 14s.

MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS. This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law; and really I have never met with a politician, gentle or simple, who knew half so much of the matter as myself. I have wanted this book for my sons to read; and monopolizing has never been a favourite with me; if I have ever possessed useful knowledge of any sort, I have never been able to rest till I have communicated it to as many as I could. This Book was translated and published at the request of the American Secretary of State; the Bookseller, though he paid me only a quarter of a dollar (thirteen-pence halfpenny) for every page, had a Subscription from the President, Vice-President, and all the Members of the Two Houses of Congress, and from all the Governors and Lawyers in the country. This Work was almost my *coup d'essai*, in the authoring way; but upon looking it over at this distance of time, I see nothing to alter in any part of it. It is a thick octavo volume, with a great number of Notes; and it is, in fact, a book, with regard to public law, what a Grammar is with regard to language. The price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is, I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

THE ENGLISH GARDENER; or, A Treatise on the Situation, Soil, Enclosing, and Laying-out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-Beds and Green-Houses, and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard; and also, on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers; concluding with a Calendar, giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other Labours to be performed in the Gardens in each month of the year. There are several Plates in this Work, to represent the laying-out of Gardens, the operation of Grafting, Budding, and Pruning. It is printed on Fine Paper, contains 500 pages, and is sold at 6s. in Boards.

THE ENGLISH GRAMMAR; a New Edition. Of this Work, from first to last, Sixty Thousand Copies have been sold; and I verily believe that it has done more to produce real education, as far as correct writing and speaking go, than any book that ever was published. I have received from the year 1820, to the present time, continual thanks, by word of mouth and by letter, from young men, and even from old men, for this work, who have said, that, though many of them had been at the University, they never rightly understood Grammar till they studied this work. I have often given the Reviewers a lash for suffering this Work to pass them unreviewed; but I have recently discovered that the newly-published **EDINBURGH ENCYCLOPEDIA** says of it, that, "for all common purposes, it is the best Treatise we possess, and that it is entitled to supersede all the popular, and many of the scientific, productions on the subject of our language." The price of this book is 3s. in boards.

POOR MAN'S FRIEND; or, Essays on the Rights and Duties of the Poor. This is really the most learned Work that I ever wrote; that is to say, learned in the Law. I have entered fully into the matter; and I have brought together all the authorities, from those of Holy Writ down to the present day. I oppose it to the infamous doctrine of **MALTHUS**. A small Volume. Price 1s.

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A FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. The notoriously great sale of this Book is no bad criterion of its worth. The reason of its popularity is its *plainness*, its *simplicity*. I have made it as plain as I possibly could: I have encountered and overcome the difficulty of giving *clear definitions*; I have proceeded in such a way as to make the task of learning as little difficult as possible. The price of this book is 5s. in Boards.

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TULL'S HUSBANDRY.—The Horse-hoeing Husbandry; or, A Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation; wherein is taught a method of introducing a sort of Vineyard Culture into the Corn-fields, in order to increase their product, and diminish the common expenses. By **JETHRO TULL**. With an Introduction, containing an Account of certain Experiments of recent date, by **WILLIAM COBBETT**.

This is a very beautiful volume, upon fine paper, and containing 466 pages. Price 15s. 8vo., bound in boards.

I knew a gentleman, who, from reading the former edition which I published of **TULL**, has had land to a greater extent than the whole of my farm in wheat every year, without manure for several years past, and has had as good a crop the last year as in the first year, difference of seasons only excepted; and, if I recollect rightly, his crop has never fallen short of thirty-two bushels to the acre. The same may be done by any body on the same sort of land, if the principles of this book be attended to, and its precepts strictly obeyed.

A SET of the Register, complete, from the First Volume up to the present time, is to be sold at No. 183, Fleet-street.

YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA. This Work, and the English Grammar, were the produce of Long Island, and they are particularly *dear* to me on that account. I wrote this book after I had been there a year, during which I kept an exact Journal of the weather. I wrote it with a view of giving true information to all those who wished to be informed respecting that interesting country. I have given an account of its Agriculture, of the face of the Country, of the State of Society, the Manners of the People, and the Laws and Customs. The paper is fine on which this Book is printed, the print good, and the price moderate, viz. 5s.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD ; or, The HISTORY and MYSTERY of the NATIONAL DEBT, the BANK of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper-Money. This is a new and neat Edition of my chief Political Work, the Work that was received with scoffs and imprecations by the Pretenders to Statesman-like knowledge only about sixteen years ago, which has been gradually increasing in reputation ever since, and which is now daily pilfered by those who formerly sneered at it. Price 5s.

COTTAGE ECONOMY. I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the Labouring and Middling Classes of the English Nation; and I knew that the lively and pleasing manner of the writing would cause it to have many readers, and that thus its substance would get hauded to those who could not read. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest mode of making *Beer* and *Bread*, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. It was necessary, further, to treat of the keeping of *Cows*, *Pigs*, *Bees*, and *Poultry*, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details; and I think it impossible for any one to read the Book without learning something of utility in the management of a Family. It includes my Writings also on the *Straw Platt*. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

I cannot trust myself to offer an opinion upon the following works, for reasons which will suggest themselves to every reader, particularly, if he be the father of sons for whom he justly entertains the greatest affection. I shall, therefore, simply observe, that they all have had a very considerable sale; and that I wish them to have a sale, far surpassing, if possible, any thing written by myself.

THE LAW OF TURNPIKES ; or, an Analytical Arrangement of, and Illustrative Commentaries on, all the General Acts, relative to Turnpike Roads. By WILLIAM COBBETT, Jun., Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 3s. 6d. boards.

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To be had at 153, Fleet Street.

In the Press.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES.—This Work, which has been so long in hand, is now in the Press. It will contain the Name, Situation, &c., of every Parish, and even of every Hamlet; it will contain a description, and an Account of the Country; also of each County; and will, I trust, convey more useful information on this subject, than has ever been conveyed in all other books put together. It is not a book made to flatter fools, nor to hide the doings of public rubbers; it is to convey a mass of important truths; its object is to make the English reader well acquainted with all that he need know about his own country. The precise bulk and price of the Book I cannot yet state; but I imagine that it will be a Thick Duodecimo Volume (six or seven hundred pages), and that the Price will be from Eleven to Thirteen Shillings.

THE LANCET.

No. 351, published this day, contains :—

Mr. LAWRENCE's Forty-seventh Lecture: on Simple Fractures and their Causes; Symptoms of Fracture; Displacements of Fractured Ends; Diagnosis of Fractures; Prognosis of Fractures; Treatment of Simple Fractures; Diet in Cases of Fracture; Period of Consolidation.

Mr. Lawrence's Forty-eighth Lecture: Modifications of Fracture Bandages and Splints; Ecchymosis in Fracture; Un-united Fracture; Compound Fractures; Propriety and Period of Amputations; Bleeding in Fracture; Exfoliations of Bone; Inflammation in Compound Fracture; Amputation for Injured Joints; Consolidation in Compound Fracture.

Mr. Lawrence's Forty-ninth Lecture: Fracture of the Ossa Nasi; Simple and Compound Fracture of the Lower Jaw; Fracture of Single Vertebrae; Fracture of the Spine; Prognosis of Fractures of the Spine; Treatment of Fractures of the Spine; Fracture of the Sternum; Fracture of the Ribs; Emphysema from Fractures; Fractures of the Pelvis.

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London Medical Society.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 69.—No. 22.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 29th, 1830.

[Price 7d.



In the return printed by order of the House of Commons, in June, 1808, it is stated as follows "1st February, 1801, a pension to LADY LOUISA PAGET, of 300*l.* a year." And, in another part of the same return, "5th March, 1801, a pension to LADY LOUISA "ERSKINE, of 300*l.*," out of another public fund. This was the *same person*, first when *single*, next when *married*. She was sister, or cousin, of the MARQUIS OF ANGLESEA.

LETTERS.

1. To Mr. Davenport, about "Collective Wisdom."
2. To Lawyer Scarlett, about *Banishment Bill*.
3. To Sir James Graham, about "*Right Honourables*."
4. To Mr. Monck, about the "*Great Unpaid*."
5. To the Man of Millions (Peel), about *Mexico*.
6. To Mr. Brougham, about *Negro-feeding Hypocrites*, and about "*diffusion of Useful Knowledge*."

TO MR. DAVENPORT.

Bolton, Hertfordshire, 25th May, 1830

SIR,—A greater number of topics, in a like space of time, has seldom been presented to my mind, than that which I find in the London papers of the last ten days. This system of boroughmongering, which has so long been the curse of the country, begins to shake. Did you ever see men at work, *grubbing* a great tree, which ~~has~~ been, for many ages, sucking up to itself the prime parts of the earth for rods round about it; robbing the underwoods of their share of nourishment from the ground,

and, at the same time, of the warmth and almost light of the sun, making them a stunted and starveling race; did you ever see fellows with spades, mattocks and axes, at work in grubbing one of these overgrown, enormous, tyrants of the woods? Just such a work is now going on with regard to the great, overgrown, lofty THING. I am, and long have been, the *spade-man*: I go on before, *uncovering the roots*, and exposing them to the wonder of the spectators: you and others, particularly my friend, the descendant of "John with the bright sword," come after me, and *peck and chop away*, awkwardly enough, to be sure, and without knowing very well what you are at; but still, you do something amongst you; and by-and-by, we shall see the old THING begin to shake. The good of it is, that amongst those of you who work the hardest, and sweat at it the most, are some who are *sure to be crushed*, whenever the THING comes down; PEARL, BARING, HUSKISSON and SCARLETT, for instance. Even you and GRAHAM, and even BIG O, would, if you were wise, be quiet, and let the THING stand as long as it can.

I am now about to remark on some of the strokes given in this work of grubbing, beginning with your good hearty chop at the character of the *Collective*, given on the 17th of May, when you presented the *Birmingham Petition*; and here is the chop.

"MR. E. DAVENPORT, in continuation, said, he did not know whether the "honourable member's interruption was "an impromptu suggestion or not, but "a more disorderly one he had never "witnessed in that House. The petitioners prayed for Reform in Parliament, and in that he cordially concurred. He had been a reformer since "the time of the disgraceful expedition "to Walcheren. The Parliament was "not a fair representation of the people. "As it was a selection from the mass, "it ought to be better than the mass

"of the people; but it was not. He
 "did not think it was a fair specimen
 "of the average talent of England. If
 "he threw a net across the Strand, he
 "believed that the first 658 men he
 "caught would constitute a House of
 "Commons which would obtain the con-
 "fidence of the people, and be more
 "worthy of it than the present House of
 "Commons. A reform might be ob-
 "tained on constitutional principles,
 "which would satisfy him. He would
 "have the Septennial Act repealed; and
 "he cordially concurred with the peti-
 "tioners in desiring to see the expenses
 "of elections diminished: so that talents
 "and character might have a fairer
 "chance than at present against money.
 "If any person should propose the vote
 "by ballot, it should have his consent,
 "not that he thought that mode of vot-
 "ing good of itself, but it would op-
 "erate, in the present state of society, to
 "check corruptive influence. Property
 "ought, indeed, to have its legitimate
 "influence; but at present it had a
 "very unjust and improper influence,
 "tending to control everything like
 "freedom, and this influence might,
 "probably, be corrected by the ballot.
 "It was a statement of the petitioners
 "that all the industrious classes were
 "suffering greatly, because the money
 "was taken out of their pockets to go
 "into the pockets of the receivers of
 "taxes, and they stated that for all these
 "evils there was no remedy but a Re-
 "form of Parliament; and he called on
 "the House to attend to the prayers of
 "the petitioners in time, before the
 "House lost the confidence of the peo-
 "ple altogether, and before they took
 "the means of reform, and, perhaps, of
 "avenging their own wrong, into their
 "own hands. The Reform Meeting at
 "Birmingham had been followed by
 "similar meetings all over the country,
 "and reform was becoming a favourite
 "topic with the people. For the rest,
 "he had never been slow to express his
 "opinion either in that House or else-
 "where, and he should still have the
 "courage to do so without entertaining
 "any apprehension that the societies he
 "had alluded to could meet the fate of

"other societies across the water, or
 "that he should be afflicted with the
 "'Scarlett' fever. The hon. member
 "concluded by moving that the petition
 "be brought up."

Well said, my little man! I always,
 from a boy, despised the queer, noisy,
 senseless, half-smutty writings of the
 profligate Irish parson; STERNE; but I
 have since found, that he was, into the
 bargain, a most *base plagiarist*; and
 whoever will read OLD BURTON's "*Ana-
 tomy of Melancholy*," will find that the
 parson was a literary thief from one end
 of his works to the other. Now, you
 are so good a boy at only fifty years of
 age, that I will not call you a *thief*;
 but when you talk about "*throwing a
 net across the Strand*," in order to catch
 658 better legislators than you sit
 amongst, I must claim the honour of
 having been your *teacher*; for in a Re-
 gister, which I sent from America in
 1818, I said (I do not say it now, mind),
 "I will engage, that if I strain a string,
 "garnished with *nooses*, across any one
 "of the great roads leading into Lon-
 "don, *the first thousand men that I catch
 "by the legs, are more fit to make laws,
 "than the thousand in the two places
 "down at Westminster.*" Yours is a
 net and mine was a *string*: you are for
measles; I was for *springes*: you are for
 taking legislators by envelopment, like
 partridges; I for taking them by the
 legs, like larks or pheasants.

Now, all that was wanting to make
 you a really "good boy" was the
 words, "*as CORBETT used to say*," put
 in just before the words "*throw a net
 across the Strand.*" This would, too,
 have saved me this trouble; and would
 have prevented you from being looked
 upon as a mean plagiarist by every one
 who shall read this Register. You had
 the folly to write me a supercilious let-
 ter; and I will keep on, when occasion
 serves, rapping you for it, *till you make
 atonement.* You are just as haughty a
 fellow as any one that is to be found; and
 I will take the *bit of straw* out of you, be-
 fore I have done with you. But as to
 this "*Parliamentary Reform*," how
 did Brougham look when you were talk-
 ing about it? However, as I shall, by

and by have to address a man of sense upon this subject, I will here get rid of you.

WM. COBBETT.

TO LAWYER SCARLETT.

LAWYER.—I see that you are about to repeal the "*Banishment Bill*." This Bill was passed for me; and for me only; and, which is curious enough, it was passed in consequence of the STRING project, mentioned in my letter to DAVENPORT! It is one of *Six Acts*, which opened the new account between me and the THING, I having balanced one account in Long Island. The history of this bill, from first to last, would make a comedy far more entertaining than any of those that the unfortunate players have had to mumble over for many years past. Indeed the lunge and starts and plunges that the THING has made to save itself, have but too often been of a *tragic* character; but latterly, they have been farcical. This Bill was farcical. It was sent from the Lords with *transportation* in it! But the "*loyal*" booksellers prayed that it might not be so; for that that would "*degrade the character of literary men*!" So that the *living* of these "*gentlemen*" would have ceased. They said that they *abhorred* seditious writers, and "*approved*" of their being punished; but that this punishment, applied to *all* writers, would degrade the character of authors; and at the same time, cause a great diminution in the amount of the *paper-tax*! Yet DAVENPORT's 638 could not, *very well*, pass a law to *transport* particular men by name; and so *banishment* was adopted, which as "John, Earl of Eddon" observed, "*spoiled the bill*."

How I did laugh when this bill had passed! "Ah! dear creatures," said I, "it were, indeed, a pity that, after passing Peel's Bill, any naughty fellow should be suffered to utter words having a TENDENCY to bring them into CONTEMPT!" And then, the bright idea of *punishing* me by driving me back to Long Island out of the reach of the THING'S taxes! However,

the repeal was too late. I have made the whole world know all about this Bill: there is not a corner of the earth where it is not known, that the 638 and those in *other places*, had, for *eleven years*, a law to protect them against being laughed at by those, to govern whom they were making laws; *aye*, and this law, and the *dead-body bill*, will never be forgotten by the people. I see that you are, however, about to add to the sum in which newspaper people are to be bound before they have committed any offence, to pay fines for any offence that they may commit! SCARLETT, reach your head this way, and let me whisper to you: can you find out any way to make produce high-priced, and to make the bank pay in gold at the same time? Can you file an information, or bring in any bill to do that?

WM. COBBETT.

TO SIR JAMES GRAHAM,

Descendant of John with the Bright Sword.

SIR.—Accept of my thanks for your motion and speech about the RIGHT HONOURABLE Privy - Counsellors. Your motion (14th of May,) was for "An humble Address to his Majesty, for an account of all salaries, profits, pay, fees, and emoluments, whether civil or military, from the 5th of January, 1829, to the 5th of January, 1830, held and enjoyed by each of his Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council, specifying, with each name, the total amount received by each individual, and distinguishing the various sources from which the same is derived."

This motion was opposed by the ministers, and lost. The *fluffy* part of your speech I shall omit; but the pith of it is valuable indeed! It is as follows, as reported in the MORNING CHRONICLE. It has produced a prodigious effect all over the country. It will serve me as a text to preach on. Here it is: read it, Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen, and remember every word of it. Never did any thing come so *pat* in point of time. Never was a better blow given to the thing. Here it is:—"He had

divided the Privy Councillors into classes. It was here the place to say, that in all his calculations upon these subjects, he had always omitted the Royal Family, because they having a certain income under the assignment of Acts of Parliament, there was nothing mysterious about them, and in many cases these assignments had been made under the sanction of Bills, which had themselves undergone long and anxious discussion in the House. He therefore excluded them altogether from his calculations upon this occasion. The total number of Privy Councillors was 169: of whom 113 received public money. The whole sum distributed annually amongst these 113 was 650,164*l.*, and the average proportion of that sum paid to each yearly was 5,752*l.*—(hear.) Of this total of 650,164*l.*, 36,103*l.* were for sinecures—(loud cries of hear); 442,411*l.* for active services, and 121,650*l.* for pensions, making together the total which he had stated. Of the 113 Privy Councillors, who were thus receivers of the public money, 30 were pluralists, or persons holding more offices than one, whether as sinecurists, or civil and military officers. The amount received by the pluralists was 221,133*l.* annually amongst them all, or 7,321*l.* upon an average to each annually. The number of Privy Councillors who enjoyed full or half-pay, or were pensioned as diplomatists, was 29, and the gross amount of their income from the public purse was 126,175*l.* or upon an average a yearly income to each individual of 4,347*l.* a year. The whole number of Privy Councillors who were Members of both Houses of Parliament was 69, and of those, 17 were Peers, whose gross income from the public purse was 378,846*l.*, (hear, hear,) or, upon an average to each, 2,065*l.* a year. (Loud cries of "hear.") The remaining 22 were of the House of Commons, and the gross amount of their receipts was 90,849*l.*, or, upon an average to each individual, 4,130*l.* a year, (Hear.) It appeared, then, that there were 113 Privy Councillors re-

ceiving the public money, of whom 69 were Members of either House of Parliament. He had already stated that 22 were in the receipt of public money by way of salary; the total number of Privy Councillors in the House of Commons was 34, and of these, 22 were charged upon the public purse."

A famous blow! A famous grubber! This is a stroke at one of the main roots: I think I see a Yankee, with his twelve-pound axe, coming down into it. *Hah!* I have read this over fifty times, and every time with fresh admiration. Not only the motion and the opposition and the speech are valuable in themselves; but they have greater value; even greater value in that which they have elicited from other persons, especially from Sir Joseph Yorke, if the report be correct, and more especially still from Doctor Black. Sir Joseph is reported to have said, that "he would vote for the motion of the Hon. Baronet, because there was a libel abroad that the taxes of the people were given to the aristocracy of the country. (Hear.) It was, therefore, highly favourable to the character of the House to call for the returns, and to show how much the confidence of the people had been abused." (Hear.)

Very true, Sir Joseph. It is a shame that libellers should go about the country telling such stories about the aristocracy swallowing up the public money. I dare say it is a lie that we have two Generals to every regiment of soldiers, and two Admirals to every ship of the line; I'll be bound for it that it is a lie, that we have one commissioned officer to every five soldiers, including serjeants and corporals, and that we have one commissioned officer in the navy to every five sailors; it must be a lie that we have military and naval and ordnance academies, where the sons of the rich are educated by the means of taxes raised, in part, upon the labourers; it must be a horrible lie that the bishopricks, deaneries, and rich livings, are shared amongst the aristocracy and their dependants, while the work of the church is done by most meritorious men,

with hardly a sufficiency to say, all these must be monstrous lies, as must also be the assertion that, in the Customs, the Exchequer, the Law Courts and other departments, the emoluments are given to the aristocracy and their dependants; it must have been a lie out of all measure to say there are whole bands of lord and lady and master and miss pensioners, who are kept out of taxes raised, in great part, out of labouring people; but, Sir Joseph, though these are all such damnable lies, that you have a son who is a captain in the navy, who was only about ten years old at the close of the last war, while there are thousands of men, none of them above the rank of lieutenant, who were fighting at sea before that son was born! this is no lie at any rate; and, whether that son belongs to the aristocracy, the reader will judge for himself.

But begging your pardon, Sir James, for having been thus drawn aside from you, a still more valuable service that you have rendered is the bringing out of my friend Doctor Black, who is clearly another thing than Sir Joseph, Yorke. It was I that made this gentleman a Doctor. A thousand times have I repented of it, and a thousand times have I congratulated myself on the subject. When he runs after Wilmot Horton and Malthus and Brougham, I really am so enraged with him that I could break his bones, and certainly should if he were within my reach; then again, in a day or two, he does something to make me so proud of him, that, though a Scotchman, I almost wish him to be my own son; and, in speaking of him, I feel such exultation. "Aye! look here at Doctor Black! God bless that cursed Scotland, and God forgive me for having said any thing against it!" Amongst all the occasions in which this adopted literary son of mine has awakened my paternal sensibility, on none has he been more closely riveted to my heart than on the occasion to which your meritorious speech and motion have given rise. This has brought him out in all his native eloquence; in all

his richness of fact and of point; and, at the end of every sentence, his proboscis, like that of the huge megatheros in the swamps of the Mississippi, going every time down to the bone; but away with all attempt at description: take the thing itself. I beseech you to read it with attention. Lose not a word of it: consider it well; for herein you see the thoughts which are making their way into the mind of all the people of England.

"More has been done this session in the way of making the workings of our matchless constitution intelligible to the meanest capacity than in any other session for half a century. The motion of Mr. D. W. Hallam on the subject of the Crown Lands, and the motion of Sir J. Hallam to obtain an account of the amount of public money sacked by the Privy Council, have placed before the people much valuable information in a tangible shape. Of a truth the English aristocracy, whose estates, according to Mr. Hallam, are chiefly the spoil of the church, are most constant in their predilection for a liberal appropriation to themselves of public property. At the Revolution the taxes, at the highest computation, produced but 2,061,356l. 7s. 9d., and yet, says the author of the History of the Taxes, 'With this revenue King James II. supported his Civil List, kept a formidable navy ready to put to sea, an army of near 30,000 men on land, and saved money yearly, if we can credit the account of the issues of his revenue, which amounted to no more than 1,699,363l. 2s. 9d.' These were hard times for a high-minded aristocracy. It is pretty clear that after paying for a formidable navy, and an army of 30,000 men, and defraying the expense of the Civil List, little would remain for Privy Councillors. The nobility were then reduced to the necessity of taking pensions from Louis XIV. They must, of course, receive pensions from some quarter or other; but no doubt the Revolution which enabled them to take the money of their countrymen was

"hailed as a great change for the better. Scarcely had the Revolution been effected, when we find the Commons (for boroughmongering had not yet identified the Lords with the Commons) objecting loudly to the appropriation by the Privy Council of the Irish forfeited estates to themselves."

"Thus early do the Privy Council figure in the character in which they were exhibited by Sir JAMES GRAHAM on Friday night. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER told Sir JAMES that he knew of no precedent in which the Members of the Privy Council, as such, had been called on for an account of their emoluments. A Resolution of the House of Commons against Privy Councillors procuring or passing exorbitant grants to themselves or to any who had been Privy Councillors, grounded on the known mal-practices of Privy Councillors in this way, if not a precedent, is, at all events, holding up Privy Councillors in as invidious a light as that in which they were held up by Sir J. GRAHAM's Motion. 'They are a body,' (quoth the right hon gentleman) 'comprising persons who, undoubtedly, receive emoluments from the public, in the whole, perhaps, to a very large amount.' (Hear, hear! from the opposition.) 'To bring forward a motion for the emoluments of the Members of the Privy Council was not, as it appeared to him, treating with sufficient respect a body composing the Council of the Sovereign, and a high Judicial Court; it was treating them in an invidious point of view; and it was not advisable to depart from precedent, and to establish the principle that classes of men were to be held up to obloquy.' But why held up to obloquy? Is this backing your friends? Of course the emoluments to a large amount, received by the Privy Council from the public, are not beyond their deserts. Why then assume that the enabling the public to see in what manner those whom the King delights to honour are provided for, is holding them up to obloquy? Obloquy, farsooth!—

"What! and is the sense of what is due to the splendour of the Monarchy sunk to so low an ebb in Parliament, that the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER even associates obloquy with the rewards bestowed on the principal body of the State? This is not loyalty in its high and palmy state. The statement of Sir J. GRAHAM will certainly, however, surprise many, who were not aware of the extent of national gratitude to the Privy Council. £50,164! is no doubt a large sum to be shared by 113 members of that body, exclusive of the Royal Family. The sum divided among the 47 Peers of this body, namely, 578,440!, is not to be despised. The whole of the private estates of the House of Peers, have been calculated at about two millions a year. But then, what treasures the British Constitution yields to them! What are their private estates to the places in the State and in the Church, the Sirs secure at home and abroad, the pay in the navy and army!"

"Excellent wench!

"Perdition catch my soul but I do love thee!"

Words which burst involuntarily from my lips, substituting Doctor for wench. Here it is all. Here is the whole story that I have been telling all over the country; and that I have been trying to hammer into English heads ever since I returned last from America, when the THING opened its new account with me by the means of making me debtor for the Six Acts, and which account I have been endeavouring to settle from that day to this. Here we have it all: public money sucked by the aristocracy; their estates chiefly the spoil of the church: the Revolution made, to enable them to take money from the people: the same event giving them Irish estates; their private estates, nothing to the places and measures in state, church, and colonies. Here it is all: here is the GLORIOUS REFORMATION, here is the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION here is the whole of it, ripped up and laid bare as a board!

Did I, could I, ever expect to live to

"see this in a London newspaper! I do hope that the Doctor will never offend me again! If he should relapse, and go again, like Whitst Horton and Brougham, and the rest of the surplus-population mongers, he will certainly bring my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave. But, he won't, he won't; I'm sure he won't; and therefore, be tranquil, my mind! Indeed he has followed this admirable article up with another, in which, quoting his brother "Scotsman," he described the "pauperism of the rich." Ha there calls pensioners and sinecurists paupers. He goes well into the causes of the sufferings of the people who are compelled to keep these paupers. In short, Sir James, your motion and speech, valuable as they are in themselves, are ten thousand times more valuable, when considered as the cause of having produced these articles of Doctor Black.

TO MR. MONCK.

SIR,—I read in the reports of the proceedings of Mr. Davenport's 658, that, on the 21st of May, when the Beer Bill was before the House, you moved a clause in the following words:—"Provided also, and be it further enacted, that any license which shall be granted by virtue of this Act, shall not authorise the person so licensed to sell beer to be drunk or consumed on the premises so specified in such license, it being the intention of this Act to give encouragement for the sale of beer in shops, but not to create an unlimited number of ale-houses." I wonder, or, rather, I do not wonder, what this was for: it was manifestly to defeat the great object of the bill; to keep the monopoly still in the hands of the publicans and the brewers, and to keep all the present power in the hands of the magistrates, chiefly the parsons. You are aware, doubtless, of the facility which the publicans give to those who want to be returned for such a borough as Heading. Yes, yes, you are aware of the part which those publicans act in such cases; and you are aware that this bill gives their power a furious blow.

You are aware that it gives a smite to the great unpaid.

I may be asked whether, then, this Beer Bill do not evince a desire on the part of Mr. Davenport's 658, to give greater freedom to the people? I answer in the negative: it evinces no such thing; for at the very same moment that they are doing this, they have before them a bill for laying additional restraints on the press. The bill, it is expected, will cause more barley to be sold, and more malt to be made; so that it will cause barley to rise in price with little or no diminution of tates: that it will enable landlords to get their rents, and will tend to suck a little more money out of the people through the channel of guzzlings in beer. These are all dreams and nothing more. However, there will be plenty of time to talk of this hereafter. The 658 of Mr. Davenport have here laid their axe into another big root of the boroughmonger tree; and I thank them for it. But my friends, the Yankess, seem to be preparing their axe for the best stroke of all. That, however, is matter too high to be addressed to any one but the man of millions. Hoping that, in your next election, or contest for Reading, public-house keepers may have nothing to do, I remain, &c,

WM. COBBETT.

TO PEARL.

PEARL,—The newspapers say that your father, who had a presentiment that he should be the founder of a great family, has left you three millions of pounds sterling, all got by his INDUSTRY! We will talk about that another time, Peel: at present the subject is the designs which BROWN JONATHAN has, or which he is said to have, and which I hope he has, on Mexico and Cuba. The story is this; that, in the time of Canning, the republics of Mexico and Colombia were about to capture Cuba, in order to prevent the Spaniards from fitting out ships there to annoy those republics; that Canning interfered to prevent the taking of Cuba by them; that now the Spaniards are annoying Mexico, and doing injury to our trade

with that country; that, therefore, this country ought to interfere and interdict Spain from keeping up such annoyance. This is the outline of the ground of a petition, which Huskisson presented from some fellows that he called merchants of Liverpool, on the 20th of May. But in presenting this petition, this double-pensioned privy-councillor took occasion to indulge his old *Canningian* grudge, against the United States. This speech of his, together with the speeches of Baring, the man of millions, and that great statesman and diplomatist, Sir Bobby of Southwark, are all worthy of the greatest attention. They are all indicative of an approaching war with the United States, or, which is much more likely, of a bowing down to the very earth of this THING, which has got an *imperial bushel* and an *imperial yard*, and has also got the "*noblest assembly of free men in the world*." Pity that such a fine THING should be brought down on its belly, but come down it must, or it must get rid of this debt and the dead weight; and that it cannot do without a parliamentary reform. All the rest of the debate is rubbish, except what relates to the views of the United States - and that is of importance tremendous to the thing. I shall first insert what Huskisson said on the subject upon presenting the petition. And I beg my readers not to think little of it because the scene is at a distance. Those who have read the Register for ten years past, those who did me the honour to listen to me at the Mechanics' Institute, in London, at the great towns in the north, last winter, at almost every place where I have been this spring; even those who heard my opening speech at the Preston election, will remember how constantly I have been arguing upon the danger to us of having suffered the United States to get quiet possession of the Floridas, and they will also remember my prediction, that we should soon be shut out of the Gulf of Mexico. Remembering what I have said upon this subject over and over again, I beg to present to you patiently through the medium of Huskisson.

"If the United States were suffered to get all of Mexico that they desired, there would be nothing left of its independence superior to the independence possessed by the Indian tribes, in connexion with the United States; an independence, which he need not observe, was held at the option of that power. In making those observations he was the furthest in the world from meaning to create any impression, that he desired to see the good understanding and mutual confidence, now happily subsisting between two such countries as Great Britain and the United States, in any way disturbed; but when he looked at the permanent circumstances which determined the policy of nations, he could not help being persuaded that it was the duty of England, as it was her interest, to take such measures as might secure the permanent independence of Mexico. The steps necessary for that would find abundance of precedents in the history of Europe; with reference to European States, and there was certainly nothing in democratic Republics, which ought to entitle them to any exemption. It was perfectly true that Mr. Canning had all along observed the neutrality, and had inculcated that policy, but it was not to be observed for ever; a reasonable time was the duration which was to be expected for it, and most assuredly there was nothing in Republics, any more than in the most despotic military states, which entitled them to forbearance. He would now call the attention of the House to a correspondence held by Mr. Jefferson, so far back as the time when he was Secretary of State, writing to one of the ministers of the Republic, at a foreign Court, and speaking of the navigation of the Mississippi. "You know that navigation," he says, "cannot be of any service to us, unless it be accompanied by the possession of a port at which the sea and river vessels might meet and exchange cargoes." Then he proceeded to state a general position, to the effect that the right to

"see anything, as the stream, for exam-
 "ple, of the Mississippi, gave the right
 "to all the measures that could be required
 "for the enjoyment and exercise of that
 "right. In a few days after that, the
 "same functionary wrote a letter, a
 "confidential letter, to the American
 "Minister at Paris, in which his ideas
 "are more definitely expressed. In his
 "confidential communication, he dis-
 "tinctly pointed at the town of New
 "Orleans, saying, that though it might
 "not be prudent to hazard a proposition
 "of that nature at first, that the general
 "principle might be stated and settled,
 "and that by little and little the con-
 "templated cession of it might be ren-
 "dered familiar. The right to it, he
 "observed, should be claimed, and also
 "the possession of a circumjacent ter-
 "ritory, extra-territorial of Spain. That
 "was the idea he confidentially com-
 "municated, and which he left for
 "future growth. The war ended, and
 "the war of the Revolution followed.
 "In 1803, the United States bought the
 "whole of Louisiana from France, with
 "hard money; and in 1806, Mr. Jeff-
 "erson, the same Mr. Jefferson, no longer
 "Secretary, but holding the higher
 "situation of President, began to broach
 "the idea that the whole gulf stream
 "ought to belong to the United States;
 "and held that, whether they could
 "obtain it by consent or force, the ac-
 "quirement of it ought to form the
 "fixed desire of their policy. In 1819,
 "the United States obtained a further
 "increase of power and territory, by the
 "cession of the whole of the Floridas;
 "and in 1823, having all those,
 "they raised a question about Cuba,
 "and manifested desires at open var-
 "iance with the independence of Mexi-
 "co. It was, perhaps, scarcely neces-
 "sary to add, that the whole language
 "of Mr. Jefferson, and his views in
 "every respect, were the same which
 "the Government of the United States
 "held up to the present time. There
 "were also documents proceeding from
 "that Government in 1823, in which
 "Cuba was spoken of as calculated to
 "form almost an interesting accession to
 "the territory of the United States, as

"affording a control over the Gulf
 "of Mexico and the Isthmus, and as
 "filling up the measure of our (the U.S.)
 "political well-being. He thought
 "that pretty well showed the political
 "views of the United States. Now in
 "such a position of affairs he had no
 "hesitation in asserting that this coun-
 "try was bound to maintain her com-
 "mercial rights in the Gulf, or be
 "prepared to give up her maritime and
 "commercial ascendancy in the New
 "world; therefore, once and for all, he
 "would affirm that we ought to put
 "Cuba out of dispute. The right
 "honourable gentleman, after enlarging
 "upon the importance of the matter in
 "question, and the opinions entertained
 "respecting it out of doors, proceeded
 "to observe, that if the sentiments
 "of the House proved to be in unison
 "with those of the country, those sen-
 "timents might go forth beneficially,
 "and might assist in putting an end to
 "hostilities between Spain and Mexico.
 "This country had high claims on
 "Spain; not only for the independence
 "which she attained through our inter-
 "ference, but on other grounds; more-
 "over, we were entitled to call upon
 "her for a cessation of hostilities upon
 "the very precedent which she herself
 "established in 1609, by granting to
 "the United Netherlands a truce of
 "twelve years, which was not after-
 "wards disturbed for forty years. Now
 "he thought we had a right to ask of
 "Spain that she should grant a truce of
 "twelve years. He begged of the
 "House to bear in mind that Mexico
 "was the great source of the precious
 "metals, that the whole of Europe was
 "at present suffering under a scarcity of
 "the precious metals, and that much im-
 "provement might be expected to arise
 "from that increased supply of them
 "which could alone be expected from a
 "termination of that disquiet in Mexico,
 "which alone could be expected to
 "lead to the working of her mines.
 "On these grounds, expressing only
 "the opinion of an individual member
 "of Parliament, he must be allowed to
 "say that he thought his Majesty's
 "Ministers were called upon to exert

"their influence with the Allies of this country, for the purpose of inducing the great powers of Europe to insist that a termination be put to those hostilities."

So much for that. Peel made a long answer with regard to this country not being called on to interfere. He contended that we were not called on to interfere. This is a great subject, a truly great subject; and it is one of which I understand every branch and every twig ten thousand times better than Huskisson and Peel both put together. Before our wise 658 began the last war against America, I warned them and foretold every one of the consequences. I will now warn them again; but to lay this matter fully and fairly before the people of England will require a whole Register. It will require a couple of good days to begin the thing at the right end, and to make the whole matter plain to every man in the country, and this, please God, I will do in the next Register; and I will here again show, how different the state of England would have been now, if the power had been in my hands instead of in the hands of such men as Canning and Huskisson. The besotted people of England have thought proper to be guided, and have their affairs managed by fellows like these. It is for me to show, that I have no share in the disgrace; and show it I will. But in deferring this state paper on the affair of Mexico, I must not, even for the present, omit to notice the crying answer, which, if the report be correct, Peel gave to the observations of Huskisson relative to the views and conduct of the United States. I shall notice the other parts of his speech in my state paper next week; but this part I must insert now. Pray reader, get out your white handkerchief, and prepare to shed tears with this poor man of millions. "Utter," in the bombastical language of some poet, "sigh for sigh and groan for groan," and when "the fountain of his eyes is dry, let yours supply the place, and furnish

"streams for both." Here are the melting words, "sighs that burn and melt hearts of ice."

"He would now allude to another point, and a very delicate point, touched upon by his right hon. friend, as to the probability of the United States making encroachments upon the territories of this country. The United States were a great and powerful nation; its institutions amongst the finest in the world, and he hoped they had too much generosity and good sense to profit by the weakness of Mexico for the purpose of taking possession of any of those provinces. He trusted the people of the United States would feel that it would be contradictory to their own general principle of independence to take advantage of a State which had not the power of defending itself. At the same time, he was bound to state, with regard to the United States, that he placed implicit confidence in the declarations of the honourable persons by whom the Government of that nation was conducted, and of the Minister of the United States, whom he believed to be as honourable a man as ever breathed, and he was convinced that there was no intention by force or fraud to get possession of any of those important provinces: but he trusted that the Government of the United States would prevent those modes of acquiring possession, he meant by unauthorized acts of settlement, by which in remote and unoccupied countries possession might be obtained. It would be as just and generous on the part of the United States to discourage acquiring possession by these means, as to prevent the acquisition by force. He trusted he had said enough to prove that the Government was not indifferent to the immense importance of the South American States, and that they were not justly chargeable with any dereliction of duty or honour if they did not feel bound to enter into a defensive alliance with Mexico, to protect her from a foreign attack. He said nothing of any abstract question of general policy; all he wished was to

"deny that there was any moral obligation imposed upon this country to interfere on the present occasion."

Upon the first reading of this, the heart of an Englishman swells in his breast, and forces a blush up into his face; but, when reflection comes and tells us, that it is not England; that it is *Boroughland*, we recover ourselves, and clap honest JONATHAN upon the back, while he says,

"Yes, I am proud; I must be proud to see
"Men not afraid of God, afraid of me."

Aye, and afraid of them they are; and God bless him, for the ten thousandth time I say, for his valour in having reserved a spot for Englishmen to flee to. Oh, yes! Jonathan is to be wheedled out of Cuba, I dare say, by this pretty stuff about his power, and his freedom, and his *generosity*! and I dare say Jonathan's minister is to be coaxed by being called "as honourable a man as ever BREATHED!" How the Yankees will laugh, when they read this! and does this poor secretary of state imagine; does this leader of Davenport's 658 believe this poor humble, vulgar grovelling stuff will have any other effect, or can have any other effect, than that of confirming the Americans in the opinion which they entertained before; namely, that this country is utterly unable to go to war; can the poor man entertain any such hope? The newspapers say that he has three millions of money: it is very likely that he has. And to possess the whole of the three millions, I, being in his place, would not, so help me God, have uttered those words. However, there he is; and he will find millions of Englishmen base enough to say, that he has done right.

Sir BOAR of Southwark, who made a fine speech in favour of the Jews, and who praised them for *paying taxes so cheerfully*, and who might have praised them for *collecting them so largely*; Sir Bobby called for vigorous proceedings against these United States. If Sir Bobby had been at Lake Erie, or Lake Champlain; if he had been at Fort Erie along with DAUMONT, at Platts-

burgh along with PARMON; at New Orleans with PARMENHAM; if Sir Bobby had survived the hard blows which the "*envoyeurs of France*" and the "*restorers of the Bourbons*" had to endure upon those occasions, he would have hesitated a little before he recommended measures so very vigorous.

But if the report speak truth, BAKING, old BINGHAM's son-in-law, spoke in a still more warlike strain; which is rather surprising, seeing that he said, last session, that we could not begin a second campaign without a *Bank Restriction*; that is to say, without *assignments*! After this, to hear Baring talk in such a warlike strain is rather surprising. However, the report gives us the following words as having come from his mouth: "The subject then before the House exceeded in importance all these questions in reference to the commerce of the country. It was impossible to overstate the consequences of this subject to the best interests of this country. It had been stated by his right hon. friend, and in that he concurred, that the interest of this country was involved in maintaining the independence of the New States of America. The probability, as had been stated, that Great Britain might not have free access to the Gulf of Mexico, was sufficient to rouse the attention of the Government, and he was glad to hear from the right hon gentleman, that the subject had occupied the serious attention of his Majesty's Ministers. It was impossible, even in the widest speculations, to foresee all the vast importance of America to Europe. In particular, it was necessary to advert to the two great families, the Anglo-American and the Spaniards, the two governments, the United States, and those of the New American States, which seemed destined to divide the Continent between them. It was not possible that the Mexicans could increase in prosperity as they ought, or obtain that security which was so desirable, as long as they were threatened by an invasion from the mother country. The right hon. gen-

"a man was bound by his situation to speak with courtesy of the Great Powers of Europe; but he called on him not to disappoint the people of this country; not to stay too long, until the people of the United States crept on and settled in all the wilderness, when, suddenly baffled, he would find that it was impossible to place any control on the growing power of North America. If not checked now, there would be no means of checking hereafter the Government of the United States. If the Government of this country should lose sight of the interests of Great Britain on this subject, if it were not to try and uphold the independence of the New States of America, this country might come to rue the day in which the Government had lost the only opportunity of acting with effect."

Well said, bold Baring. 'Ah! Thou art a statesman, I'll warrant thee. If I recollect right, thou hadst something to do with the *deal* for the Mississippi territory, I think Jonathan made a *loan* for that, in which thy amicable feelings were brought into play. It is very hard, therefore, to wish to hem poor Jonathan up in a hole, and to expose him to be attacked again by other Pakenhams, and such like heroes coming from the conquest of France.

If you do hem him up, you will have better luck than your predecessors in the 658. Huskisson made a reply which is very well worthy of notice. He evidently thinks, and I think, too, that nothing will satisfy Jonathan short of expelling us from the Gulf of Mexico, and of *getting possession of the Mexican Mines!* The conclusion of his reply was in these words "He thought it was time, too, that a termination of these acts of aggression should take place, for the better understanding of the relative position of those countries with North America, for in spite of all the disavowals in Congress and elsewhere, he was satisfied that the accession of the province of Texas was meditated by the United States. He knew this from more quarters than one. It had been de-

clared even in that country, that they would allow the people of Texas to advance gradually to their borders, and when they have so advanced, that they would throw over them the panoply of their constitution. Now he, (Mr. Huskisson) was one of those who wished those borders to be extended no further. He wished to see the people of North America confining themselves to promote the happiness of those who are spread over the immense territory they already possess, without seeking to aggrandize themselves by new acquisitions; and he deprecated the weakness or the indifference which would, by avoiding to do justice to other countries, allow them to extend their panoply further. (*Hear, hear.*)"

Aye, "hear, hear!" Do, for God's sake, hear him, and cheer him too; that will be all you will get in exchange for the Mexican mines. The Liverpool fools may petition and pray, till their lungs be exhausted and their knee bones sore, before they will prevail upon Jonathan to shorten one single stride which he is taking towards the sovereignty of Mexico. He is not fool enough to unite that country in form with the United States; and statesman Huskisson, notwithstanding his pensions, is quite mistaken if he suppose that the plan is to "throw the panoply of the American constitution over Mexico;" the plan is to prevent us from laying hold of it with our claws; to prevent us from drawing away the produce of its mines, and that is what Jonathan will prevent to a certainty.

Towards the close of Huskisson's opening speech, there is something so superlatively absurd about the *precious metals*, that one really stands aghast at reading it. However, I must defer any lengthened commentary upon this until next week.

TO MR. BROUGHAM.

Sir,—You have lately been figuring away, I see, at two TAVAN-MAN-TOS; one about *negro slavery* and the other about the *diffusing of useful knowledge*,

Upon the first occasion, you took occasion to utter, being surrounded by a stupid crew of thoughtless creatures, in part, but chiefly by a crew of tax-eating vermin, who make use of this negro story to divert the attention of the people from the worse than negro slavery existing here; you took occasion to utter some most impudent and hypocritical stuff relative to those, of whom I have long been one, who insist on the hypocrisy of men who are going to the West Indies and East Indies, to seek for objects of compassion, while they see millions around them in a state of half starvation, and more, neither pen nor tongue to better their lot. You had, it seems, WILBERFORCE in the chair; and you had ALLEN, and BUXTON, and a pretty tribe. Now, in the first place, the negroes are better fed than the working people in England; they are better clad in proportion to the climate; they are less hardly worked. You pretend that these friends of the blacks are also friends of the whites that are suffering here; and tell us, that this WILLIAM ALLEN has "devoted his days and nights to the education of the British peasant." Where got you that base word peasant? What continental tyrant's tool did you learn it from? The name never was applied to Englishmen, still Scotchmen got away amongst us. But this Allen, who is so ready to feed the labourers with books, did he ever, in his whole lifetime, make one single effort to enable the labourers to see how their earnings were taken away from them by the tax-eaters? and the pious prelate that you say you had with you, he, it seems, shows his love for the people of England, by diffusing wholesome education amongst them. A little wholesome food, arising from their own earnings, and not from fractional farthings tossed back to them by the tax-eaters, is what they want. Pretty hypocrisy, indeed! pretty charity, to take from a labouring man fourpence halfpenny, for every sixpenny pot of beer that he drinks, fourpence halfpenny for a pound of sevenpenny sugar, and, then, give him a religious tract to fill his belly, and those of his hungry wife and children.

HowELL BUXTON, you tell us, is famed for prison-discipline, but not famed, I take it, for endeavouring to take off those taxes, which produce the misery, which produce the crimes, which send such thousands to prison. There are always more than a thousand men in prison, in England, for poaching alone. Did Fowell Buxton, or your educating bishop, or Wilberforce, or you, or any other friend of the blacks, ever attempt to do away with the barbarous code of game laws? No, but you have assisted to harden them; aye, and there is more bodily suffering experienced at this very moment, by English poachers, their wives, and children, than by all the negro-slaves in the whole world put together. Is it not notorious, that, of late years, thousands upon thousands of Englishmen have been compelled, under pain of the dungeon and the lash, to draw wagons and carts like cattle? Have you, or Wilberforce, or your bishop, or any other friend of the blacks, ever made a single effort to rescue these men from this suffering and degradation? No. But of all things in the world, how came you to brag that Wilberforce and you had laboured together in the cause of *Parliamentary Reform*? How came you to be so foolish as this? Both of you notorious turn-coats upon this subject. No longer ago than the time of that poor creature Canning being made Prime Minister, which was in the month of May, 1827, you and LORD JOHN RUSSELL expressly said, that THE PEOPLE NO LONGER WISHED FOR IT; and upon the strength of that, the "noble Lord" expressed his intention to *discontinue his annual motions upon the subject*! What! have you forgotten this *already*? And there is the "noble Lord," NOW again, hammering away at it like a tom-tit upon the bark of an old pollard tree. And as to WILBERFORCE, when, in 1817, a million and a half of men petitioned for Parliamentary Reform, he spoke and voted for the bills which were to gag and to dungeon them! Now, have you the brass to deny this? And this being undeniable, where d'd you find the brass to cry up "NASSA WILBY" as a friend

of reform and of the people of England? The excuse amongst you, then, was, that the radical reformers were blasphemers; a most hypocritical and base pretence; but, Brougham, were they, at any rate, more blasphemous than those who openly proclaim JESUS CHRIST to have been an IMPOSTOR? Yet there are you now labouring like a horse, or an ass, to get a law passed to declare that these wretches are as good and as worthy of trust, power, and honour, as Christians are! There you are, hugging old "*Vetal Christianity*" with one arm, and with the other those who mock at Christianity, and call its founder an IMPOSTOR!

You say, that I (for it is me that you mean) talk about the sufferings of the poor in England, but *do nothing to relieve them*. Why, if I give them all my earnings, I must starve myself. But to say nothing of those whom I cause to *live well out of wages*, was it doing nothing to cause the poor in my parish (to go no further) to be *unchained from the car's that they were driving*? Was it nothing to compel the Jews, not only to cease to rob the poor fellows with one horse cart, and *ass-warts*, but to make them pay fines for the robbery, and give the money to the men that had been robbed? And who was it that prevented the *dead bodies of the poor from being sold*? Was it you and Buxton, and the other tender-hearted "*amis des Noirs*"? No! On the contrary, you were for the bill, and Black-loving Buxton said not a word against it. I did my part, at any rate, in stopping that horrible measure. Go, go, Brougham; and, before you again "*prattle*" about your "*humanity*," and your tender feelings for the Blacks, find some West-Indian, who has ever *dared to sell the dead body of a slave*!

To my readers I will now say what I have always said, namely, that I hold all slavery in abhorrence; that sugar, coffee, rum and other things, are the produce of negro slavery; that I never use any of them, and that I think the use of them injurious to England; that I am, after long reflection on the subject, convinced, that the possession of the Colo-

nies themselves are of no use to England; that even if the sugar, &c., be of use, the Americans, who have no colonies, have these things cheaper than we have, *exclusive of the tax*; that if it could be without loss of lives, I should be glad to hear that the islands were sunk under water; but that to have the colonies and their produce, there must be blacks to labour in them, and that they will not labour without being compelled by bodily force. Dry up your tears, therefore, *tender-hearted ma'am*, at put no more sugar into your tea, and take no more coffee to aid in the digesting of your rich and multifarious mess. Pretend not to compassionate the negroes; or, at any rate, refrain from swallowing the fruit of their sweat and their blood. The "*friends of Blacks*," as they call themselves, consist of two distinct classes; the *thoughtless* and the *foolish*, and the *hypocrites* and *knaves*. The latter use the former as their tools in this work, the objects of which are, first, to get for themselves a character for *justice, mercy, and humanity*; and next, under that character, to get for themselves *power, or public money, or both*.

So much for your negro slavery affair; though I should not forget that Wilberforce voted for *Pitt's gagging and dawning bills*, and for pretty six acts into the bargain. So much for the present. I lay the negro affair by till another time, and now come to your society for the diffusion of useful knowledge, at a meeting of which you and Lord ALTHORP were, the other day, deplastering each other with praises. This, like all the rest of this "*education*" schemes, is a combination for the purpose of *amusing the working classes, and diverting their attention from the cause of their poverty and misery*. The methodist parsons are the most efficient tools in this way. They daily assert, that when a man's dinner is taken away by the tax-gatherer, it is *for his good*, and that he ought to bless God for it. The vagabonds are fat and sleek enough themselves, in the mean while. You are at work in another way; but you have the same end constantly in view; namely,

the *keeping the cause of the poverty and misery of the people disguised from them, and thereby perpetuating the plundering of them.*

This *educating work, this feeding with tracts*, began, about forty years ago, under the guidance of that prime old prelate in petticoats, that choice tool of the boroughmongers, HANNAH MORE; and it has been going on ever since. Now, as *crime* is *TWENTY-FOLD* in amount what it was when Hannah began, as the jails, including hulks and all sorts of prisons, are ten times as capacious as they were before Hannah started with her tracts; this being undeniable, would not the *education-schemers*, if they had only common sense, cease to cry up the *utility* of their schemes? Ah! you do want for sense to perceive the *inutility* for good purposes; but you want the thing for the purpose before mentioned, that is to say, for the purpose of *amusing* the working classes, and of *disguising from them the cause of their poverty and misery*. It is the *will of God*, it is *un-toward seasons*; it is their own *want of care*; it is *any thing* but the *taxes*! Then some Lord is in the chair of the Society! How good! How condescending! This lord *must* be a good man! The people are not told how much this lord and his family cuts off their dinner every day. In this case, to which I am now alluding, your *generous* associate, LORD ALTHORP, said, that he had read the society's tracts with *great advantage*. Indeed! They must be fine tracts! I wonder who wrote them?

"*Useful knowledge*," indeed! If LORD ALTHORP will tell the tract-readers how it happens, that his brother FREDERICK is, or was a little while ago, Captain of a man of war, with Lieutenants under him, who were *fighting at sea before the said FREDERICK was born*; if LORD ALTHORP will tell the tract readers *this*, he will give them a piece of knowledge more *useful* than all that your thousands of tracts contain. And this is not only what he will not tell them, but what he will, if he can, *take care that they shall never hear of*;

and this is the main object of all the "*education schemes*."

Now, Brougham, this system of deception *shall come to an end*. I say it; and I will make it come to an end. I have not room at present to state my plan; but I have resolved on it, and I will fully describe it next week. My title, will be; "*POLITICS FOR POOR MEN; OR LESSONS FOR THE LABOURING PEOPLE*." I'll bet you a bottle, Brougham, that I sell more tracts in a month than you do in a year, with all your *subscriptions* and all your trickery. My *first Number*, price 2d., will be published on the *first of July*. I am the lad for giving them "*useful knowledge*." We will see whether Huskisson's pensions are to be paid for "*the present generation*."

WM. COBBETT.

I INTENDED to make some remarks on loan-maker Baring's doctrine about *church property*; on Lord Morpeth and his *Printers' Pensions*; on my poor-law lawyer Stanley's project for *relieving manufacturers*, on the Birmingham plan of reform, from which I *dissent*; and on BIG O's work in favour of the Jews. But, I must put all those off for want of room. Perhaps I shall not be able to write about *Mexico* next week. I must do the thing *well*; for it will be read in America, France, Spain, and Russia. It is a *capital job*, and I will do it well.

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.

THE *Eleventh Number* of this work is now published; and the two Numbers that were out of print, are *re-published*. I intended to conclude the work in Twelve Numbers; but there must be Fourteen; so that it will be completed on the 1st of September.

THE ENGLISH GARDENER; or, A Treatise on the Situation, Soil, Enclosing, and Laying-out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-Beds and Cucin-Houses, and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard; and also, on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers, concluding with a Calendar, giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other Labours to be performed in the Gardens in each month of the year. There are several Plates in this Work, to represent the laying out of Gardens, the operation of Grafting, Budding, and Pruning. It is printed on Fine Paper, contains 500 pages, and is sold at 6s in Boards.

THE ENGLISH GRAMMAR, a New Edition. Of this Work, from first to last, Sixty Thousand Copies have been sold, and I verily believe that it has done more to produce real education, as far as correct writing and speaking go, than any book that ever was published. I have received from the year 1820, to the present time, continual thanks, by word of mouth and by letter, from young men, and even from old men, for this work, who have said, that, though many of them had been at the University, they never rightly understood Grammar till they studied this work. I have often given the Reviewers a lash for suffering this Work to pass them unreviewed, but I have recently discovered that the newly published *LONDON ENCYCLOPEDIA* says of it, that, "for all common purposes, it is the best Treatise we possess, and that it is entitled to supercede all the popular, and many of the scientific, productions on the subject of our language." The price of this book is 3s. in boards.

POOR MAN'S FRIEND, or, Essays on the Rights and Duties of the Poor. This is really the most *learned* Work that I ever wrote, this is to say, learned in the Law. I have entered fully into the matter and have brought together all the authorities, from those of Holy Writ down to the present day. I oppose it to the infamous doctrine of *MALTHUS*. A small Volume. Price 1s.

A FRENCH GRAMMAR, or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. The notoriouly great sale of this Book is no bad criterion of its worth. The reason of its popularity is its *plainness* and its *simplicity*. I have made it as plain as I possibly could. I have encountered and overcome the difficulty of giving *clear definitions*. I have proceeded in such a way as to make the task of learning as little difficult as possible. The price of this book is 5s. in boards.

THE WOODLANDS?

OR,

A TREATISE

On the preparing of ground for planting; on the planting; on the cultivating; on the pruning; and on the cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods;

DESCRIBING

The usual growth and size and the uses of each sort of tree, the seed of each, the season and manner of collecting the seed, the manner of preserving and of sowing it, and also the manner of managing the young plants until fit to plant out,

THE TREES

Being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin names being prefixed to the directions relative to each tree respectively.

I know every thing about the rearing and managing of Trees myself, from the gathering of the Seed, to the cutting down and the applying of the Tree; and *all* that I know I have communicated in this Book. It is handsomely printed in 8vo, and the Price is 14s.

MARTIN'S LAW OF NATIONS. This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law, and really I have never met with a politician, gentle or simple, who knew half so much of the matter as my self. I have wanted this book for my sons to read, and monopolizing has never been a favourite with me; if I have ever possessed useful knowledge of any sort, I have never been able to rest till I have communicated it to as many as I could. This Book was translated and published at the request of the American Secretary of State, the Book-seller, though he paid me only a quarter of a dollar (thirteen-pence halfpenny) for every page, had a Subscription from the President, Vice President, and all the Members of the Two Houses of Congress, and from all the Governors and Lawyers in the country. This Work was almost my *coup d'essai*, in the authoring way, but upon looking it over at this distance of time, I see nothing to alter in any part of it. It is a thick octavo volume, with a great number of Notes; and it is, in fact, a book, with regard to public law, what a Grammar is with regard to language. The price is 47s. and the manner of its execution as, I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

To be had at 183, Fleet Street.

Printed by William Collett Johnson's sons; and published by him, at 183, Fleet Street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 69.—No. 23.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 5TH, 1830.

[Price 7d.]



In the return published by the House of Commons, in June, 1808, are the following items: "Teller of the Exchequer, MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM, 23,093*l.* a year"; His brother, LORD GAVVILL, Auditor of the Exchequer, "4,000*l.* a year." Another brother, THOMAS GAVVILL, Chief Justice in Eyre, "2,316*l.* a year."

TO

ALEXANDER BARING.

Defence of the BISHOP OF LONDON, against an attack contained in a publication, purporting to be the report of a speech made by ALEXANDER BARING.

Bolton, Hertfordshire, 1st June 1830

BARING,

WHY I choose you as the man to address myself to on this subject, I will tell you presently, when I have inserted the ROCHESTER PETITION, which prays for the total abolition of tithes. And here it is right that I remind my friends of ROCHESTER of my own labours in the same vineyard. In 1823, the county of Norfolk sent up a petition, praying that a part of the church property might be taken, and applied to the general purposes of the nation. This petition was presented to the House of Commons, received by that House, and recorded in its journals. At Pensenden Heath, in the month of October, 1829, I tendered a petition for the approbation of the county, praying for a total abolition of the tithes, and for leaving the clergy to be maintained in the same manner as the dissenting ministers are maintained. At the Mechanics' Institute, in London, on the 4th of March last, I

made a speech, in which I maintained and proved, that it was not only legal and constitutional for the Parliament (if fairly chosen by the people) to deal with this property and apply it in any manner that they pleased; that it would not only be legal to take away the whole of this property from the clergy; but that it would be just towards the clergy themselves; and I said then, as I say now, that these opinions are not promulgated out of any dislike that I have to the church establishment itself; but to a sincere conviction which I entertain, that the religion of the church would be more honoured, and the working clergy greatly better paid, if left to the justice and generosity and piety of the people themselves. How much I must have been pleased, then, at reading the following petition, the sensible and spirited people of Rochester, and especially my friends there, will easily imagine. In short, this is my own cause. It is a subject which I first brought forward. It is one of my political babies, and a chopping baby it is. How I must be delighted to see the Collective coming into my doctrines. I always watch in front. My friends of Rochester, you have the happiness to live in the neighbourhood of barracks and soldiers. You have seen a regiment drawn out in full show, and you have seen, of course, a little bunch of men far in advance of the head of the battalion, armed with axes and other such like tools. Those, my friends, are the PIONEERS going before to clear the road for the battalion. I am the pioneer in politics; and not only the pioneer, but the first man to enter the breach, or mount the rampart. I have had some rough handling, to be sure. The enemy has sometimes had me in prison, and sometimes driven me across the sea; and what is worse, the battalion itself has frequently kept firing at me in all directions; but, at last, I have got them in docile training, and now they all come after me as the flock follows

the wether that wears the bell. This is not a thing for me to find fault with, but a thing for me to be proud of; and it is with infinite pride that I here insert your excellent petition, not forgetting, at the same time, the spirited and praiseworthy motion made by Major Warr, at the last meeting on Penenden Heath

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled

"The Petition of the undersigned Owners and Occupiers of Land, and others, Inhabitants of Rochester, and its neighbourhood, in the County of Kent.

"HENRY SUMMITT, That, impelled by the distress that at present affects almost all classes of society, and which is, by general consent, admitted to be mainly occasioned by excessive taxation, the Petitioner do leave to represent to your Honourable House the great relief that would be afforded by the abolition of tithes, a tax which, by drawing so large a share of the gross product of the land, is alienating it from the community in general, to the agriculturists in particular, and to the best interests of religion. To the community, by it is idly increasing the price of articles of most general and necessary consumption, to the agriculturists, by subjecting them to vexatious restriction in the cultivation of the land, and by depriving them of the ability to compete with the foreign grower, or to contend against the importation of grain, which it is the present policy of this country to encourage, and to religion, by proving a fruitful source of discord between the clergyman and his parishioners, and so destroying that harmony upon the continuance of which the success of his spiritual labours chiefly depends.

"In urging the abolition of this impolitic tax, the petitioner solicits, with the utmost sincerity, any desire to advocate a system of spoliation, on the contrary, they fully admit the vested rights of private patrons and lay proprietors as well as the claims of the present incumbents to a life interest in their present incomes, but, due regard being paid to these, they maintain, that the tithe tax is, equally with all other taxes, properly the subject of legislative disposal, in opposition to the argument now much relied on, that tithes, having been given for the maintenance of religion, are therefore irrevocable. The Roman Catholic might, with some plausibility, advance such a claim to their recovery, they having been originally granted for the support of his creed, but the Protestant can found his right upon the law of the land only; upon that law which, as it gave, can also modify or take away.

"It has been deemed necessary to accom-

pany all the plans heretofore proposed for the repeal of this objectionable tax with a substitute affording an equivalent income to the clergy, it is however evident, that, although a computation might remove the inconvenience of the tithe system, yet it would afford no diminution of taxation, and as all taxes, in whatever shape imposed, fall ultimately upon labour, that the inability to compete with the less taxed labour of other countries would remain unabated. But the petitioners confidently submit that the time has, at length, arrived, when it ceases to be necessary to provide a substitute of this nature, as they consider, that, however essential the aid of wealth and honour may have hitherto been to the Church of England to enable her to lure to her service men of learning and talent, to advocate the truth and excellence of her doctrine, and dispense the necessity for such aid happily no longer exists. This task has been so ably performed, as to leave nothing further to be expected or desired, and it may be fairly assumed that the established religion can now be safely left to its own intrinsic excellence for its future support. The well paid labours of those eminent men, who, attracted by the splendid rewards of the church, have laboured in her cause, have so simplified the clerical duties as to make them practicable by persons of ordinary capacities and acquirements, to such an extent, in deed, as to render the functions of the clergy of the establishment almost entirely ministerial, for its comprehensive Liturgy, by applying all the formalities of devotion, whether prayer or praise, imprecation or benediction, disavowal or belief, and also strictly enjoining the various occasions upon which they are to be respectively used, affords no opportunity for the exercise of judgment, the exhibition of talent, or the display of learning. Nor do the duties of the preacher, any more than the minister, require an education superior to that which is usually bestowed upon the middling class of society, for the inexhaustible stores of invaluable sermons which have emanated from the labours of those highly gifted divines who have, at different periods, shed a lustre upon the English church, afford a fund of instruction admirably adapted for every purpose, and to select from which requires but a moderate portion of literary attainments.

"The qualifications for the proper performance of these functions being few, and the acquisition of them not requiring expense, as they consist principally of property of demerit, and the possession of the natural advantages of suitable voice and delivery, but moderate stipends would be necessary to ensure a sufficient number of competent candidates, even without any stipends, so that the petitioners consider that it would be a libel upon the members of the Established Church to shut, for a moment, their liberality for this purpose, when it is seen how respectably the different Dissenting congregations maintain their pastors, and how readily they supply

large sums for the erection of chapels and establishment of schools.

"In this economical plan of reform, there are no incomes from the state, for future archbishops, bishops, and the other dignitaries of the hierarchy. But the admission of episcopacy need excite no alarm on that account, for the history of the early periods of the church satisfactorily shows that the care of suitably providing for all orders at its establishment may be safely entrusted to the proper feelings of the people.

"The petitioners have thus sketched the outlines of a scheme of reformation, which, when matured, would, they believe, work well, be generally approved, and render the abolition of tithes easily practicable. This plan would receive the approbation of many, who consider a wealthy priesthood as peculiarly unfitted to inculcate the precepts of Christianity, and who regard the unexpensive provision for its primitive teachers as indicative of the desire of its Founder, that his servants should look, not to riches or rank, but to a reward of a far different nature, as the recompense for their labours. Others, who are zealous of upholding the Church of England, would truly calculate that its adoption would tend to ensure the stability of that now tottering fabric, as, when shorn of its wealth and temporal honours, it would cease to be the object of attack, either of the financier or reformer. Those who are enamoured of the beauty and sublimity of the language of its Liturgy, or impressed with the conviction of the truth and importance of its creed, would most effectively protect these from innovation, by confining the office to a class of men who, from their functions being ministerial, would have neither opportunity nor temptation to deviate from the path of orthodoxy, whilst the community in general, and the agriculturists in particular, finding themselves relieved from an oppressive tax, would hail the reform with unalloyed satisfaction.

"The petitioners, therefore, pray your Honourable House to take the necessary steps to effect an early abolition of the Tithe Tax, a measure which would give more satisfaction to the country, and elicit greater credit upon the legislature, than any enactment that has been carried for centuries past; and, when coupled with the boon of religious liberty lately so liberally granted, would entitle the present Parliament to be mentioned in terms of the most glowing eulogium by the historian of the United Kingdom.

"And the petitioners shall ever pray," &c.

And now, Baring, I turn to you. When this petition was presented, the newspapers say that you made a speech, and this speech the *Morning Chronicle* gives us in the following words, which I insert in order that I may comment upon it; and not because I have any

respect for the man who is reported to have made it. I take it as a publication in a newspaper; and as such I shall handle it.

"Mr. Baring referred to what had fallen from him on a former day, on the subject of the annual value of the Sees of Canterbury and London. He felt called upon to admit that he had been misinformed, and had consequently made a very exaggerated statement, especially when he said that the income of the See of London would ere long be equal to 100,000*l.* a year. The Right Rev. Prelate, in another place had made a reply, which showed the extent of the error he (Mr. Baring) had committed. He most implicitly believed what had fallen from the Right Rev. Prelate, and he had himself taken the opportunity of inquiring. The result of his inquiry was a strong feeling of regret that he had given currency to a very exaggerated statement, which had found its way round the country. He had heard it frequently asserted of the Diocese of Winchester, in which he chiefly resided, that in the first year it produced to the bishop 90,000*l.* This statement, he had reason to know, was far beyond the truth. There was one consolatory point in the late explanation of the Bishop of London, viz, the admission of his Lordship, that if his income even approached the sum that had been mentioned, it would be highly proper for Parliament to interfere for its regulation. Such an opinion from such an authority must have great weight. He (Mr. Baring) thought that the Church committed a great error in hunning inquiry, in order to refute prevalent exaggeration. Great prejudices would thus be removed; but the Church did not place sufficient reliance on the hold it had of the feelings and affections of the country. In Hampshire, the tithe upon corn-lands amounted generally to one-third or one-fourth, and most of the occupiers of the soil would be glad to compound for one-fourth. Human wit could not have devised a mode of payment more in-

"convenient or offensive than that in which religion was paid for in this country. However the whole was a delicate question."

You had been *misinformed*, had you? You do not tell us who it was that had misinformed you. You are glad, are you, that the Bishop of London put a stop to an exaggeration, "*which had found its way round the country*?" Who carried it round the country, Baring? Not I; for I knew it to be a lie, and described it as such to every one that mentioned it to me. It found its way round the country in your speech, of which, it seems, you now repent. So much for that, Baring; and now for the Bishop of Winchester, whose first year's revenue, you had heard it "*frequently asserted*" was 90,000*l.* a year, a statement which you now know to be far beyond the truth. It is always above 40,000*l.* a year, in one way and another. But this is beside my present view, which is to remark on your bold meddling with this church property. Another remark, however, with regard to the amount of the tithes. you say, that in Hampshire, the tithe amounts, generally, to one-third or one-fourth. You cannot mean of the *produce*, because that would be a lie so impudent, so barefaced, that not even a stock-jobber, or loan-monger, or blaspheming Jew, would dare to put it forth. You must mean a third or a fourth of the rent of the land. Now, what "*prevalent exaggeration*" is there, then, about the amount of these tithes? Suppose the present rental of the lands alone to be about twenty millions in England and Wales. Here, according to your own showing, are seven millions a year for tithes; and my estimate of the church property in England and Wales, including the proprietorship or ownership of lands, houses, woods, mines, warrens, mills, manors, tithes, Easter-offerings, and all other fixed exactions, has never been over ten millions. So that, I pray you, do tell me where you have heard of the "*prevalent exaggerations*" relative to this church property. I have heard of none but those contained in your

speech relative to the revenue of the Bishop of London.

But, Baring, you seem to be almost glad that you did exaggerate; because, say you, "the late explanation of the Bishop of London has elicited an admission of his Lordship, that if his income even approached the sum that had been mentioned, it would be highly proper for Parliament to interpose for its regulation; an admission which, coming from such an authority, must have great weight."

"Great weight," in doing what, Baring? What do you want the weight for? What do you want it for, Baring? What is it to do? Why, to establish my doctrine, to be sure. To take the property away, and apply it to other purposes. I can hardly believe that the Bishop was such a fool as to make the admission, which would have come quite soon enough when a bill had been brought in to take away the property, as will be the case, I take it, in a couple of years' time or thereabouts. Surprising, if the Bishop did make such admission? But the truth is, that old Mammy Church begins to falter in every accent. How changed she is within the last few years! She "*breaks very fast*," as we say of other old ladies. She is no longer that bouncing dame that she was in 1794, when she frightened poor Mr. Ruggles to suppress his book, which inculcated the right of the poor to be maintained out of the tithes; no longer that boisterous lady that she was in 1817, when the Hampshire parsons huddled a county meeting into an address of thanks on account of the passing of the gagging and dungeoning bill, and in the year 1819, when PARSON HAY got his rich living of Rochdale, directly after having been the principal Magistrate in the Manchester affair of the 16th of August. She is quite an altered creature. Keep as quiet as a lamb. Looks as if butter would not melt in her mouth.

Time was, Baring, when a Bishop of London, or even a vicar of your parish, would not have condescended to give explanations on such a subject to a man like you; and if he had condescended

to notice what you said, would have talked to you somewhat in the style that I am about to talk to you now.

You had said, it seems, that the Bishop's income for the See of London, would, before long, amount to an hundred thousand pounds a year. Well, Baring, and if it did, what right have you to say any thing against that? The Bishop of London is the son of a very worthy man, who was a schoolmaster, eminent in his profession. The Bishop of London is a learned man, and possessed of great talents; and he is an Englishman born and bred, as his fathers before him were. He appears not to have been a dependent of the aristocracy at any time of his life; he is connected with none of them by marriage; he has, doubtless, attained his high rank and great power, because the ministers thought that his well-known talents and zeal and industry would make use of that power in the most efficient manner for upholding the Government and the present order of things, but there was nothing unnatural in this; he has attained to his eminence without any dirty or mean arts, and, supposing the system to be a good one, as you do, there is not a man in the House of Lords more worthy of respect and of honour. *For my part*, I would not let him have, out of public property, an income of an hundred thousand pounds, nor of one single penny: as he is a descendant of the apostles, I would give him apostolical allowance, and no more. The apostles held, that the *priests should live by the altar*; and by the altar he should live, if I could have my way.

But you, Baring! You stand in somewhat different stead; and let me ask you whether the Bishop of London be not as worthy of an hundred thousand pounds a year as you are? Whether the rights of his See are not quite as clear as your rights at *Callington* and at *Thetford*? Ah, Baring, it is, as you say, "a delicate question"! Yes, Baring, whether his rights as Lord of the Manor of Fulham; whether his rights to his palace and his rents do not stand upon as firm a foundation as your brother's

rights in the parishes of Stratton and Micheldever. Aye, Baring, and be you well assured, my boy, that his rights never will be touched without the touch extending not only to the parcels of property which I have here mentioned, but to a great many other parcels of property, which you may look upon as the legitimate proceeds of profits upon loans. No, no, Baring, it is not a bit more improper that the Bishop of London should have an estate than that you and your family should have twenty. You seem to rejoice that the Bishop of London has admitted that the Parliament can, if need be, interfere *with his revenue*. Now, Baring, I do not exactly know on what footing of legal right your own numerous and immense parcels of property stand; but this I take upon me to assert; and I defy, I challenge the whole bar and the bench to contradict me if they can, that there exists no law, and no principle of law, according to which the Parliament can take a shilling from the revenue of the See of London, without, at the same time, and by the same act, establishing the right of the Parliament to take, and to apply to public purposes, every inch of land in the parishes of Stratton and Micheldever!

So that it really is, Baring, a "delicate question." Much too delicate to be handled in this hasty manner by a man like you. The truth is, the necessities of the country are just as they were in France, urging on a destruction of the establishments. The question in France was simply this, *Whether the church should be destroyed, or the debt go unpaid?* Burke contended that the creditors of the state ought not to have been paid at the expense of the church, and what he foretold came to pass, the destruction of the church and of the creditors too. Our affair is different in this, that our church has been plundered before; and, Baring, be you assured, that if the remainder of what it possessed by the church, be appropriated to public purposes, the appropriation will not stop there, unless far greater wisdom be displayed than any that I have witnessed in England within the last forty years.

Encore un coup! as the French preachers say. You, Baring, are said (and I believe the fact) to have, in divers fat parts of England, a hundred thousand acres of land to your own cheek, as the Jews call it. Now, what pretensions have you to such possessions better than Mr. Bloomfield has to the estate appertaining to his see? As to *origins*, you are, to be sure, the son of a man who, from a merchant's clerk, rose to be a merchant, a loan-maker, and to be made a BARONET by Pitt. Your wife, to be sure, was one of the daughters of Old Bingham of Philadelphia, who, during the war which shook off from his country the authority of his then King, was fortunate, first, in his share of a gallant privateer, and, after the war was over, equally fortunate in his dealings in the American funds. You yourself have been a loan-maker, or monger; and, I think, you had some hand, or share, in the loan made to the United States, to enable them to purchase of Bonaparte that very LOUISIANA, the possession of which led to their having the Floridas, and is now letting them into that Mexico, to keep them out of which you now appear to be so anxious!

Come, come, now, Baring; clear as was your legal right to deal in the loan, by which the United States got LOUISIANA, and by which Bonaparte got English money to carry on the war against England; fair and honourable as may be the profession of loanmonger, and praiseworthy as might be the sources of wealth of your father and father-in-law, still, Baring, one may, I think, contend without incurring the charge of ill-nature, that the Bishop of London and his wife have as good a right to ride in a coach and six as you and Old Bingham's daughter have; that he is as worthy of his palace and manor of Fulham as you are of those of the Grange, or of any of those other mansions and manors, in the possession of which you have supplanted so many lords and ancient families; and, finally, that one may, without being deemed mad, express a doubt whether any body of law-makers will ever be

found to pass an act to declare any of your possessions more sacred than those which belong to his see.

Encore un coup! I cannot get my pen off the paper. I try hard; but I cannot. I have done with you; but the pen will go on. Your reported speech makes you say, that "human wit could not have devised a mode of payment more inconvenient or offensive than that in which religion is paid for in this country." Pretty bold, when it is known that this mode of "*paying for religion*," as it is here insolently called: pretty bold and vulgar as one could expect, even from the lips of a loan-monger; pretty rude and presumptuous, when it is known that the yielding of tithes has made an essential part of the law of the land for upwards of twelve hundred years: pretty hold this, in a man the pedigree of whose family boasts that they are of Dutch origin, and came over to England about the time that England began to be cursed with paper-money and national debts; pretty bold, indeed; but its boldness yields in point of pre-eminence to its ignorance, which is truly brutal.

"*Payment for religion*"! What, then, Baring, is it your notion that if the tithes were to be abolished, the worth of those tithes would become the property of the *land-owners*? Is this your notion, Baring? After what you have seen the people of England submit to; after having witnessed the baseness of the press in applauding your brother loan-monger, Ricardo, for having got half a million of money by "*watching the turn of the market*"; and after witnessing the incomparably base adulation paid to yourself, you may, not without some degree of reason, think that the nation would be foolish and slavish enough to take the tithes from the parsons, give them to the landowners, pay the parsons out of their own pockets, or live like heathens and be buried like dogs, or, which would be much about as good, all turn ranters and canters, and have their souls frightened out of their bodies. From what you have witnessed, of late years, you

may believe this; but, Baring, if you do believe it, you deceive yourself. A nation is not to be duped a second time in precisely the same way. This nation now understands pretty well how the poor-rates and the church-rates came, it understands, thanks to my HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION, how the aristocracy took to themselves the property that formerly maintained the poor and repaired the churches, and threw those charges upon the people at large thanks to *me*, the nation now understands this pretty well; and be you well assured, Baring, that it is not going to suffer the landowners to take away the tithes, to make the people pay the parsons, or to turn the churches into stables or ranting shops. My friend of Rochester have no such notion as this, I trust. Oh, no! whenever the property called church property be taken from the clergy, the amount of it will be applied, to be sure, to purposes beneficial to the nation. A pretty story, indeed! Give you the tithes on your hundred thousand acres of land, and so strip a hundred parsons probably of the means of keeping their families, or compel the people in an hundred parishes to pay for the maintenance of the parsons, while you snugly clip the amount of the tithes into your pocket! Oh, no, Baring! oh, no, Baring! The thing will not be done thus, be you assured. The thing will be done, I am certain, but it will not be done in this way.

The thing is even now actually begun to be done. The *grabbing* which I mentioned in my letters to Davenport and Graham is now going on with regard to this other great root of the tree, and the workmen are Davenport's 655, who are now at it with all the tools before mentioned. To drop figure, they have before them a bill to cause a COMPULSORY COMPOSITION for tithes. That is enough. The very existence of the bill is a famous chop into this great root. The very idea gives the whole tree a jar, and makes every sensible spectator, especially if he has been parson-ridden, rejoice with exceeding joy. And what do the

famous 655 mean to effect by this bill? What is their object? What good do the sensible 655 mean to accomplish by this bill? Do they mean to compel the clergy to receive less upon the whole than they now receive, or do they not? If they do mean this, they mean to take away part of the church property from the clergy, if they do not mean to do this, what benefit do they mean to confer on the landowners or occupiers? Oh! they will leave the parsons and the dean and chapter and college fellows in the receipt of full a much money as before, but the mode of payment will not be so "inconvenient" and "offensive." So it is to make a great difference to me whether I give the ten pounds, for instance, in the name of tithe or in the name of composition. Not one straw's worth of difference, Baring, and all the effect that the bill will produce will be that of a practical proof that the *Parliament is competent to do what it pleases with this property*, and this will naturally produce an universal cry for taking away the property altogether and applying it to national purposes.

"Lie still if you're wise,"

said the sensible epitaph over a greedy old loan-monger, and, Baring, if the 655 be wise, they will make their tongues lie still upon the subject of clerical property and dues. The time for them to talk about this *Irish matter* will come quite soon enough! And with this friendly hint I take my leave of you, Baring, for the present. It is, indeed, "a delicate matter," Baring, much too delicate for a man like you to touch *Mexican Bonds* you and Sir Bobby and the like may meddle with, but this is "meat for your master."

WM CORBETT.

TO BIG O

On his and BARNITT's praise of the Jews, and on the secret abthc Purty-of-Idiction Dinner

Monmouth, 1st June, 1830

Big O,—Your bombastical stuff at the "purity"-dinner on the 2nd of May

appears to have been your grand effort for the *season*, though the cruel reporters have given you but just *seven-eighths of an inch* in their sheets. I will speak of this dinner affair by-and-by, but first a little about the Jews. It has excited a good deal of curiosity throughout the country to observe that the Catholics should have been amongst the forwardest in endeavouring to push these blasphemers into offices of trust, power, and honour; that avowed Deists and Atheists should think and assert that those who call Jesus Christ an impostor, are quite as good as those who adore his name, is natural enough; that those whom Catholics call *heretics* should endeavour to exalt the Jews might not have been so very surprising to the main body of the Catholics; but that Catholics themselves should be the **FOREMOST** to advocate the cause of, to remove the odium from, to extol, and to raise into power, political as well as civil; that Catholics should thus exalt themselves; that they who kneel before the cross every day of their lives, and make the sign of the cross before they put victuals into their mouths, and before they lie down upon their beds; that Catholics should act thus; that a Catholic duke should have presented the petition to the House of Lords, and that Catholics should, indeed, have been their almost only zealous advocates—this must appear surprising to those who do not know the true characters of the Catholics.

There was a petition, I see, presented from WORCESTER, in favour of the Jews. This petition was presented, as the report says, by JOHN MARTIN, who is a member for TAWNESBURY. "It was got up, I believe, or, at least, it was carried round for signatures, by a Mr. HAWFORD, who is a Roman Catholic and a brother-in-law of this Martin. In justice to the city of Worcester, and to the Catholics there, the names, or at least the number of the names, at the bottom of this petition ought to be published. I do not believe that the names exceeded twenty in number, I know one Catholic of that city who refused to sign it, and who spoke of it with great disapproba-

tion; and I know that the Catholics of Worcester in general looked upon the thing with just abhorrence; since I have been from home, I have, I dare say, spoken with more than a hundred Catholics upon this subject; and I have met with but one who did not abhor the idea of granting the requests of these blasphemers. Every Catholic priest that I have seen, and I have seen a great many, has spoken of the proposed measure, and of its supporters, with disapprobation the most decided.

My dislike of the Jews is that which our forefathers had of them. I dislike them as insolent ruffians, who mock at the religion and morality of Christians; I dislike them as *people that never work*, and form a body of wretches who live by trick; I dislike them as usurers, and the great agents of those systems of usury by which so many nations have so severely suffered; and this nation, above all others; in France they were the rapacious farmers of the taxes; in Poland, in Germany, in Hungary; every where, where they have been allowed to practise their arts of plunder, they have produced ruin to the people, and very frequently to the state. There is something hateful in the very nature of those ceremonies which they have the infamy to call religious. All women ought to look upon them as worse than dogs; for one of the prayers that every Jew repeats daily contains these words: "I thank thee, God, for not having made me a woman," while the woman is taught to say, "I humbly thank thee, God, for having made me what I am."

They have invariably been the supporters of tyranny in all parts of the world; and the most profligate of tyrants have taken them to their bosoms, and received their adulation in return. Cromwell, after he became the tyrant of England, endeavoured to put them upon a level with Christians; they lent him money to sustain his usurpation, and the vile wretches pretended to believe him to be the true MESSIAH! Bonaparte, when he had become a tyrant, had basely betrayed his trust, and had made a league with those whom the French people had commissioned

him to destroy, insolently put these wretches upon a level with the French people, and authorised them to hold their *Sanhedrim* (grand council) at Paris, and thence to promulgate their audacious blasphemies. In return they promulgated, that Bonaparte was the MESSIAH! Take care, Big O, and get Burdett to take care along with you; or one of you, if not both, will get the same title. To a certainty, if the bill had been carried, one of you, two, or the Duke of Norfolk, would have been their Messiah! The Duke would have made a very fine Messiah; aye, and so would you or Burdett either.

All just and great lawgivers have taken care to withhold all encouragement from these people, and as to immunities and rights, they have never possessed any in any christian state in the world. In our own country, the history of them is quite sufficient to convince any man of the ruinous consequences of permitting even their existence to any considerable extent. The law never recognised even their right of residence in the country, though born in the country: they might always be dealt with just as the sovereign pleased to deal with them, and, at times, when the sovereign had been carelessly indulgent, as in the reign of Richard I., the people themselves interfered and abated the nuisance. Wherever they are suffered to increase to any extent, and to carry on their blasphemies and usurious transactions openly, they soon reduce great part of the people to the lowest stage of misery. This was the case in the reign of Richard I., when the people at last rose upon them, and hunted them down like beasts of prey. That gallant but unreflecting King was collecting an army in order to go and drive the infidels from the Holy Land; but the people thought it unreasonable to go to fight against infidels in Palestine, leaving this swarm of more inveterate infidels in England. The greatest King that ever reigned in England, since the days of Alfred, the greatest, the wisest, the bravest, Edward I., whose reign was a reign of justice unparalleled, banished them for ever; and

every great lawyer has applauded the wisdom of that banishment. Lord Coke, in his Institutes, not only lays it down that they have no rights of any sort, but that they ought not to have any; and it is nothing but the soft-headed and hypocritical pretenders to liberality that pretend that the law ought to be changed.

The law regards them as *aliens*; and I can remember the time when a proclamation, or order of council, was issued, *forbidding them to go more than so many miles from St. Paul's Church, London*. This was when I was a very little boy; but I remember it well, because it was occasioned by a horrible murder, committed at Chelsea, by a banditti of Jews. The thing was so much talked of in the country, that I have never forgotten it, nor forgot even the name of the person in whose house the murder was committed. It was at the house of a Mrs. HUTCHINS, a widow, who occupied a farm and gardens at Chelsea. The Jews went to the house in the night, forced the door open by the means of a screw, or a jack, and robbed the house of every thing valuable. Mrs. Hutchins and her children escaped with their lives, by some means that I do not now recollect; but a servant man was murdered by these bloody Jews, in a manner so barbarous, and attended with such circumstances of mutilation, and of studied *insult to human nature*, as to rouse the indignation of all England from one end of the country to the other. Divers other atrocities and burglarious deeds had been committed by these banditti. The feeling was so strong amongst the country people, that, the proclamation was necessary, in order to prevent the Jews from being killed, if they prowled into the country. I, therefore, who recollected this affair so well, was somewhat surprised that Mr. HUTCHINS, of Kensington, who is, I believe, the son of the Mrs. Hutchins above mentioned, and who is a rich and respectable man, and whose life was probably saved by the murdered servant; I was somewhat surprised that he could suffer such a bill to lie on the table of the House of Commons for an hour,

without petitioning against it. For many years after that affair, we never used to see a Jew, in the country, without driving him away, with a cry of "*Chelsea*" at his heels. I have pelted them many a time with snow-balls, or rotten apples, or clods of dirt; and I thought I was doing my duty. This proclamation, or order in council, or whatever it was, which must be on record, clearly shows in what light the Jews were regarded by the law.

Strange alterations! "Waust improvements, ma'am!" For now the Jews are in a sort of partnership with the government, and with the trustees of the turnpike roads; and, if the newspapers be not liars, dukes dine with them and they dine with dukes! Some of you have said that they have been put upon a footing with Christians in the United States of America. The truth is, that no law whatsoever has ever been passed respecting them in America. All the English test laws have been repealed there; but, with the exception of the state of New York, I believe, and with the exception of the affirmation allowed to the Quakers, there is still test enough to shut out from power all but Christians. I have never heard of but one Jew being admitted to any public trust at all, and he was no more than a sheriff of a county; and even this arose out of very peculiar circumstances. So far from encouraging and favouring Jews, the Americans detest them. When I was at Leicester the other day, I saw a gentleman recently from America, who had witnessed the expulsion of the Jews from the State of KENTUCKY. There were six of them at LOUISVILLE, who had been guilty of so many, and such atrocious acts of usury, who had robbed and ruined so many unsuspecting persons, that a public meeting upon that subject was called in the town, at which a proposition was made to expel them from the state by force. The principal speaker at the meeting observed, that, though it was the first duty of free men to obey the law, and that though the law sanctioned the residence of these people, still the legislature had not contemplated

the possibility of so great an evil; that the case was a case of all-subduing necessity; and that the people were as clearly justified in putting away by force this mortal pestilence as they would be in keeping out of the state people infected with the plague. Upon which the meeting came to a unanimous resolution to act accordingly, and actually drove them clean out of the state. They have never existed but as a pest: they never work; never do anything useful to man; never till the land; never make clothes or houses; their whole lives are spent in getting at money somehow or other; they are the great props of all gaming houses; as soon as prize fighting became a sort of base gambling, they took possession of that blackguard concern. This system is their element; and as long as it shall exist, so long will they be suffered to exist here, but not one moment longer. They are every where naturally the friends of political corruption, and as naturally the enemies of political freedom.

Now, Big O, so much for you and the Jews; but I should like to see you down upon your knees before your big crucifix, thumping your breast with one hand, putting your other hand behind your back to be shaken by a Jew, who is pointing with his finger and mocking at the crucifix, the father of lies patting you on the back, and chuckling with delight, while upon a tack on a side of the room, hangs your hat with a bunch of palm in it as big as the plume of a hearse. I should like to see this well represented by the pencil, and written at the bottom, "*DAN'S DEVOTIONS.*"

Your scene at the parity dinner seems to have been a most curious affair. What famous radical reformers you are all become! How converted since the month of May, 1827; when Burdett declared that he would support Canning, though that impudent fellow declared that he would oppose parliamentary reform to the last hour of his life! What! the wind has changed, has it? Patriot Burdett will not support any body now that is not for parliamentary reform. If I had time, this dinner affair should

afford my readers famous sport. The meeting, it seems, consisted of very few persons; but there were quite enough to hear the lies and impudent nonsense poured forth on that occasion. Your dose seems to have been too strong even for the stomach of Burdett himself, and so, like Cæsar, he *swooned*.

"CASCA. The rabblement hooted,
"and clapp'd their chop'd hands,
"and uttered such a deal of
"stinking breath, that it had al-
"most choked Cæsar, for he
"swooned and fell down at it;
"and, for mine own part, I durst
"not laugh, for fear of opening
"my lips and receiving the bad
"air."

A scone of precious folly to be sure! That Lord Easington seems to be a promising youth. How a man could tell so many impudent lies as is contained in the thing called his speech, is truly astonishing. One thing, however, in your proceedings of this day is not to be censured; and that is the most unmeasured becalling of the House of Commons that ever I read or even heard of. So that, at any rate, you have done something to deserve praise. However, the interesting thing is this: that not one word of this censure would have escaped from your lips, had you not been convinced that a reform would come *in spite of you*. There was not one man of you present, who spoke, that would not prevent a parliamentary reform if he could. You see that you cannot prevent it; you see that that is out of your power; and therefore it is that you now again begin to talk of parliamentary reform. You, and all of you put together, cannot prevent it: you will to the last possible moment prevent it; but it is a thing with which men have nothing to do. It is gone beyond that: no man, and no set of men, can either hasten it on, or retard it: *events* will bring it, and *events* will create the men to carry it through, and, I trust, in a manner that shall baffle all the hopes of the base hypocrites who are now endeavouring to prepare the way for still clinging on to the thing, whatever shape it may assume.

TO THE

COLLECTIVE WISDOM.

Monmouth, 1st June, 1830.

"NORLEST ASSEMBLY OF FREEMEN IN THE WORLD," as GRAHAM calls you, how you are tormented with this BEER BILL! What pains you take about providing wash for the "*swinish multitude*"! What a dilemma you are in! Your amiable nature has placed you in a difficulty from which it appears next to impossible to extricate you. You are anxious that the people, who have the happiness to live under the force of your wise and just acts, should have "*a cheap and wholesome beverage*," that more malt should be made, and more barley sold; and yet while you are thus paternally solicitous about providing for the *bodies* of the people, you, on the other hand, are not solicitous about the health of their souls. You would make the trade in beer *free*; but yet you must take care of our *morals*. So that while, on the one hand, you are taking off the *beer duty*, and allowing *any man* to take out, at the expense of two guineas, a *license* to sell it; while you, in this curious manner, make the trade in beer *FREE*; while your "*liberal*" and "*noble*" nature prompts you to this; your care of our precious and immortal souls induces you to compel any one taking out such license, to find, *before* he get the license, *bondsmen* to be *surety* for any *finer* that may be *inflicted* on him! Excellent Collective! "Liberal" Collective! "Noblest assembly of freemen in the whole world"!

Now, MONCK, who appears to have been the most conspicuous in this work of securing our souls, what will the bill then effect? The real object of it was, to cause *more beer to be drunk*; that is to say, *more malt to be made*; that is to say, *more barley to be sold*; that is to say, *more money to be paid to the farmers for barley*; that is to say, *MORE MONEY TO BE PAID TO THE LANDLORDS FOR RENT*. Nothing more natural, rational, amiable, generous, and humane. But, alas! to effect this object, our poor souls must be with-

drawn from the ever-vigilant care of the *parson justices*! And so there is still to be a *licensee*; and tighter than before, *BONDSMEN beforehand*! And so the devil of one single pot of beer will be drunk, the devil of one gallon of malt will be made, the devil of one gallon of barley will be sold, the devil of one penny of rent will be paid more than before the passing of the act, and MONCK, mind, I say, that in spite of all the prayers of all the incorrupt and virtuous *publicans of Reading*, barley will sell at *half a crown a bushel before next Christmas-day*. By making the trade in beer *really free*, the consumption of barley *would have been increased*, and the *landowners* would have profited at the expense of the *monopolists* of the beer trade, but the former cannot find in their hearts to give out of their hands the double-thonged lash of the *licensing and fining system*. Poor gentlemen! What a pity that they cannot have *both*! Alas! MONCK, the *moral and public-spirited* beer-sellers and makers of Reading, whose virtues enable them to influence so many sober electors, may say what they like; but there is *no* remedy for this complicated disease, which afflicts the pious and generous landowners, other than one that will make barley *five shillings the Winchester bushel*, and enable the *Borough Bank* to *pay in gold at the same time*. Find out this remedy, MONCK, and then to prove the *liberality* of the age, you may make booksellers and map-sellers, and even tinkers and tailors, *GIVE BOND*.

WM. COBBETT.

NEW PUBLICATION.

AGREEABLY to the hint that I gave in the Register of last week, I shall on the FIRST of JULY, publish the FIRST NUMBER of a MONTHLY PAMPHLET, to be called

TWO-PENNY TRASH;

OR

POLITICS FOR WORKING PEOPLE.

It will be in the *Duodecimo* form; each Number will consist of *one sheet*,

well filled with matter; the main object will be, to show the working people *what are the causes* of their being poor; *what it is* that makes them so badly off, while the working people in the United States of America are so well off; *what it is*, that in spite of their ingenuity, industry, and frugality, makes them unable to provide in a suitable manner, for their wives and children; and the *motto* will be,

"Yes, while I live, no rich or noble knave

"Shall walk the world in credit to his grave."

This pretty little work shall take in the *past* and the *present*; it shall show how the public money is *raised*, and *who gets it*; it shall contain heaps of most interesting facts and *biographical anecdotes*; it shall speak *plain*, and prepare the people for that really *RADICAL REFORM* that is now at no great distance. It shall strip the thick mantle from political hypocrisy, it shall lay hypocrites and oppressors *bare*, and then leave them to be dealt with as justice shall dictate; it shall inculcate industry, sobriety, conjugal fidelity, paternal care and tenderness, filial affection and duty, honesty towards employers, due obedience to the laws, devotion to the country, and *inextinguishable hatred* against its worst enemies, *those who wallow in public plunder*. In short, it shall contain matter which, when once got into the head of a working man, will remain there for the whole of his life, and be to him and to his children after him, a mass of *useful knowledge*.

It remains for me to speak of the *mode of publication*. The SIX ACTS forbid me to publish a work like this oftener than *once a month*; and they *compel* me to publish it *within two days of the first of the month*, on pain of being pretty nigh half-killed. Beautiful "*liberty of the press*!" The publication will, of course, be at my shop, in London, No. 183, Fleet-street. The retail price will be *Two-pence*, with the usual allowance to booksellers. I sell no books to booksellers at a distance, nor, indeed, to any body, except *at the shop*; so that booksellers in the country

will please to apply to their correspondents in town, who will, of course, send the required supply in their *monthly parcels*.

WM. COBETT.

Bolton, Herefordshire, 1st June, 1830

AND NOW, MASTER BROUGHAM, you shall see whether I am not more than a match for your "*Useful Knowledge*" humbug: you shall feel your nose nipped off, if you venture to poke it out only a quarter of an inch too far. I want no "*society*," no "*subscription*," to send my work about. It will want no *pushing* about: it will contain a spring, in its inside, to set it and keep it in motion. I dare say that *your works* are published at a *loss*; what else is the "*subscription*" for? In short, they are *forced* about; half *given away*; and, as is natural and right, nobody but "*the society*" ever reads them. You shall see that I will send forth some stuff that people will *read*, and be eager to read, without any *coaxing* to do it. What do you want of a "*subscription*," if you can *sell* your tracts? What! you *sell* your tracts; you brag of the *extent of the sale*; and yet you want a *subscription* to assist you in carrying on the publication! You are an odd sort of author! Now, I shall want no *subscription*; and this marks the great difference between us: this shows, in fact, that your stuff is *not sold to a profit*; that you *force it about*; and that it produces no other effect than that of causing you to be *laughed at*.

THE DENT.

(From the Leeds Patriot of the 16th of May.)

THE most important feature by far in the Parliamentary discussions of the last week, was the one in the House of Lords on the state and prospects of the country. The speech of Lord GODERICH will be remembered and referred to after to-day. It is replete with most important matter; and however accidentally the new doctrines appear to have been delivered, we see cause of

congratulation in them to the country at large, although it is evidently intended that one important class in the country, namely, the fundholders, must prepare for sacrifices. We have given his Lordship's speech at great length, and particularly call the attention of our readers to it. During the course of our lives, we have witnessed nearly all the redundant capital in the country lent to the Government. Formerly this capital formed the life-blood of every species of manufacture and commerce, and in every town there were found persons who, by their good conduct and industry, proved themselves worthy of confidence and encouragement; and, in consequence, were the depositaries of the savings as well as the unemployed money in the neighbourhood. The shocks given to trade at different periods during the last war, made havoc in many instances, which neither the strictest prudence nor the most diligent application could prevent; and failures of respectable traders ensued. The unhappy circumstances sometimes attending these failures, were eagerly laid hold of by the ministerial organs of the day, and investments solely in the funds were recommended in every shape and form, as the easiest, best, and safest security. The feeling which was thus created caused nearly all lenders to withdraw their money from tradesmen, which again caused additional distress. Still the Government persevered in every possible way to get hold of the people's money, until at the last the late Mr. GEORGE ROSE came forward with his "*Savings' Bank*" plan. This plan had the effect of gathering the very smallest sums from lenders, which before that period had invariably been distributed in the different local neighbourhoods.

The leading principle in men's minds during the several years these operations were going on, was, that in lending their money to the Government, there was *no risk*. Nay, so lately as the commencement of the present session, when the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER brought forward his plan regarding the reduction of the interest of the four per cents., one part of the plan

notoriously was, that the dissentients *should be paid off*, that is, have their capital returned to them. The new doctrine which has been delivered by Lord GERRARD, and cheered by the Duke of WELLINGTON, is of a very different complexion: it is that the fundholders never expected nor ever can expect, to receive more than an annuity for their money lent to the Government.

His Lordship observed, that it was absurd to estimate the reduction of the debt by the diminution of capital, and then said that—"An ordinary debt was composed of capital lent to the debtor; it was confided to the borrower to repay what he borrowed at his own convenience, and it was confided to the lender to demand back his principal. Of these two conditions only one was applicable to the National Debt. By the contract the State had entered into with its debtors, it had a right to pay them off whenever it was convenient or advisable to do so; but by the terms of the contract, the public creditor could never claim from the state a single shilling of what he had advanced. The utmost which he was entitled to claim, and to that alone had the state pledged itself, was the payment of an annuity" (Hear, hear, from the Duke of WELLINGTON.)

The remaining part of his Lordship's speech, which is dwelt upon with so much delight, is the statement that, "In 1816 the total of the charge for the funded and unfunded debt was 32,938,751*l*. In 1829 the charge for the funded debt was 28,277,117*l*, and the interest of Exchequer bills 878,491*l*, so that the total diminution on that of 1829 compared with 1816, was 3,783,140*l*. When the operation respecting the Four per Cents. should be completed, the reduction on the charge for the national debt for next year, as compared with 1816, would be four millions and a half. This diminution in the charge is equivalent to a reduction of 150 millions of capital at three per cent."

His Lordship, however, evidently evades the relative value of money in 1816 and 1829, on which the whole

question hinges. If this question had been gone into, it would have been discovered, that although there is a nominal reduction in the charges of 3,783,140*l*., yet in consequence of the changes in our monetary laws, the charge for the year 1829 was in effect and reality greater than it was in 1816. Some there are who imagine, that this extraordinary speech was intended to give foreigners some new notions of the power of Great Britain. There could be no possible harm in this; but we strongly suspect that foreign governments are better acquainted with the internal state of England than his Lordship. We cannot divest our memory of the boasting speech Lord GERRARD made regarding the state of the country in 1824, and the never-to-be-forgotten panic which gave the "finish" to his rhetorical flourishes. We strongly suspect men's minds are not so buoyant as they were at that period, not to be so easily led away by mere declamation. We, however, wish not to press this subject further at the present, it is one of infinite importance, and we have said quite sufficient to induce our readers to think for themselves.

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.

THE *Eleventh Number* of this work is now published; and the two Numbers that were out of print, are re-published. I intended to conclude the work in Twelve Numbers; but there must be Fourteen, so that it will be completed on the 1st of September.

ANOTHER SERMON.

Just Published,

At my shop, No. 183, Fleet-Street, London, and to be had of all booksellers in town and country, PRICE SIX-PENCE, a Sermon, entitled, "GOOD FRIDAY; or, THE MURDER OF JESUS CHRIST BY THE JEWS"; addressed to *Christians* of all denominations.—My other Sermons, *twelve in number*, may be had in one volume, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

THE ENGLISH GARDENER; or, A Treatise on the Situation, Soil, Enclosing, and Laying-out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-Beds and Green-Houses, and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard; and also, on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers; concluding with a Calendar, giving instructions relative to the Sowing, Planting, Pruning, and other Labours to be performed in the Gardens in each month of the year. There are several Plates in this Work, to represent the laying out of Gardens, the operation of Grafting, Budding, and Pruning. It is printed on Fine Paper, contains 500 pages, and is sold at 6s. in Boards.

THE ENGLISH GRAMMAR; a New Edition. (Of this Work, from first to last, Sixty Thousand Copies have been sold; and I verily believe that it has done more to produce real education, as far as correct writing and speaking go, than any book that ever was published. I have received from the year 1810, to the present time, continual thanks, by word of mouth and by letter, from young men, and even from old men, for this work, who have said, that, though many of them had been at the University, they never rightly understood Grammar till they studied this work. I have often given the Reviewers a lash for suffering this Work to pass them unreviewed, but I have recently discovered that the newly-published *Encyclopædia Britannica* say, of it, that, "for all common purposes, it is the best Treatise we possess," and that it is entitled to supercede all the popular, and many of the "scientific, productions on the subject of our language." The price of this book is 3s. in boards.

POOR MAN'S FRIEND; or, Essays on the Rights and Duties of the Poor. This is really the most *learned* Work that I ever wrote; that is to say, learned in the Law. I have entered fully into the matter; and I have brought together all the authorities, from those of Holy Writ down to the present day. I oppose it to the infamous doctrine of *MALINUS*. A small Volume. Price 1s.

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THE WOODLANDS:

OR,

A TREATISE

On the preparing of ground for planting; on the planting; on the cultivating; on the pruning; and on the cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods;

SOMETHING

The usual growth and size and the uses of each sort of tree, the seed of each, the season and manner of collecting the seed, the manner of preserving and of sowing it, and also the manner of managing the young plants until fit to plant out;

THE TABLES

Being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin names being prefixed to the directions relative to each tree respectively.

I know every thing about the rearing and managing of Trees myself, from the gathering of the Seed, to the cutting-down and the applying of the Tree; and *as* that I know I have communicated in this Book. It is handsomely printed in 8vo., and the Price is 14s.

MARTIN'S LAW OF NATIONS. This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law; and really I have never met with a politician, gentle or simple, who knew half so much of the matter as myself. I have wanted this book for my sons to read; and monopolizing has never been a favourite with me; if I have ever possessed useful knowledge of any sort, I have never been able to rest till I have communicated it to as many as I could. This Book was translated and published at the request of the American Secretary of State; the Bookseller, though he paid me only a quarter of a dollar (thirteen-pence halfpenny) for every page, had a Subscription from the President, Vice President, and all the Members of the Two Houses of Congress, and from all the Governors and Lawyers in the country. This Work was almost my *comp d'etat*, in the authoring way; but upon looking it over at this distance of time, I see nothing to alter in any part of it. It is a thick octavo volume, with a great number of Notes; and it is, in fact, a book, with regard to public law, what a Grammar is with regard to language. The price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is, I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

A Set of the Register, complete, from the First Volume up to the present time, is to be sold at No. 189, Fleet-street.

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Just published, at my shop, No. 183, Fleet Street, a New Edition of a volume under this title, with a *Postscript*, price 2s. 6d. in boards, and consisting of *ten letters*, addressed to *English Tax-payers*, of which letters, the following are the contents:—

Letter I.—On the Question, Whether it be advisable to emigrate from England at this time?

Letter II.—On the Descriptions of Persons to whom Emigration would be most beneficial.

Letter III.—On the Parts of the United States to go to, preceded by Reasons for going to no other Country, and especially not to an English Colony.

Letter IV.—On the Preparations some time previous to Sailing.

Letter V.—Of the sort of Ship to go in, and of the Steps to be taken relative to the Passage, and the sort of Passage; also of the Stores, and other things, to be taken out with the Emigrant.

Letter VI.—Of the Precautions to be observed while on board of Ship, whether in Cabin or Steerage.

Letter VII.—Of the first Steps to be taken on Landing.

Letter VIII.—Of the way to proceed to get a Farm, or a Shop, to settle in Business, or to set yourself down as an Independent Gentleman.

Letter IX.—On the means of Educating Children, and of obtaining literary Knowledge.

Letter X.—Of such other Matters, a knowledge relating to which must be useful to every one going from England to the United States.

Postscript.—An account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett.

It grieves me very much to know it to be my duty to publish this book; but I cannot refrain from doing it, when I see the alarms and hear the cries of thousands of virtuous families that it may save from utter ruin.

A TREATISE on COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied, with minute Directions relative to each mode of application. These are all drawn from the actual experience of Mr. Cobbett, on his Farm at Barn Elm, last year (1828). The Book is a neatly-printed Duodecimo. Price 5s. 6d.

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PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, The History and MYSTERY of the NATIONAL DEBT, the BANK of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper-Money. This is a new and neat Edition of my chief Political Work, the Work that was received with scoffing and imprecations by the Pretenders to Statesman-like knowledge only about sixteen years ago, which has been gradually increasing in reputation ever since, and which is now daily pilfered by those who formerly sneered at it. Price 5s.

To be had at 183, Fleet Street.

BELL'S LIFE IN LONDON AND SPORTING CHRONICLE; Price Sevenpence.—Instead of the usual comicality in *Bell's Life in London* of Sunday, June 6, it is intended to give a PORTRAIT of HIS MAJESTY, sketched and engraved on wood from the beautiful whole-length Likeness painted by the late President of the Royal Academy, and recently published by Messrs. Moon, Boys, and Graves, in which the King is represented seated on a sofa.—*Bell's Life in London* of June 6, containing this Print, will be kept on sale at the Office, No. 169, Strand, Monday the 7th, and Tuesday the 8th, price only Sevenpence.—Franks gratis to send it to any part of England, Scotland, or Ireland, free of postage.

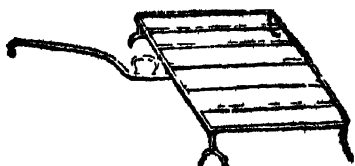
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 69.—No. 24.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 12TH, 1830.

[Price 7d.



"Manifest were the schemes and contrivances to get money, and to put forth things called money to serve as such; every scheme for removing the embarrassment proved abortive; in due succession each rose above the foregoing one in absurdity; and yet, each succeeding schemer was bolder, and more confident of success, than the one that had gone before him. At last, however, there was no hope left, but in the 'States-General.'—RABAU'S *History of the Causes of the French Revolution*.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

*On the INTENSE proceedings of BIG O;
and on the New Scheme of the New
Schemer, SIR HENRY PARNELL, for
forming a New Bank of England.*

INTENSE BIG O.

Gloucester, 8th June, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

I INTENDED to address you this week on the important affair of MEXICO, which is by far the most interesting subject which has come under my notice for a long while; because that affair must end in one of two things; namely, WAR, or a complete *knuckling down* of the borough THING! It must yield before the eyes of the whole world; or it must go to war. Jonathan is bent upon keeping the THING out of the mines; Huskisson says the mines are the THING'S "*only hope*"; BRIGGS says war, if remonstrance fail; and Jonathan, who has just been for the first time *appointing some admirals*, is very coolly loading his "*long tom*." I should have published the paper this week; but it needs a *little sketch of a map* to

accompany it; and I cannot get this ready for *this week*. Next week it will be published; and then, let the *Mexican bondholders* make up their accounts! I will show how much those bonds are worth to the amount of the weight of a mouse's hair.

There are many other subjects that *call loudly for our attention*, both abroad and at home; the proceedings which are paving the way for the borough-power being expelled from the Levant and the Mediterranean; the invasion of Africa by the French; the approach of a political convulsion in France itself, and the consequences to the *boroughmongers* of that convulsion. These foreign matters are of deep interest to us, while at home we should find famous sport in the wriggings and twistings about the *Beer Bill*; in the arguments of "*A PUBLICAN*," published in a pamphlet, showing how much *more advantageous* it would be to take away the church-property than the property in ale-houses and gin-shops; in the numerous petitions for the abrogation of the *East India charter*, in order to *relieve the farmers of England*, in the efforts of Slaney and Wilmot Horton to check, in the naughty girls, their propensity to cause the population to increase, in the new *fit of reform* that Burdett and Hobhouse have been seized with, after having, in 1827, *bucketed* that poor soul, Canning, when he declared that he would oppose all Reform of Parliament to the end of his life. But I must, at present, come to poor BIG O's exhibition of the 28th of May, when, in support of his motion for reform, he produced not the single argument that was not as thread-bare as the bull-frog farmers' coats are beginning to be, and when, though the representative of his "*nine millions*," he had "*not a word to throw to a dog*!" We really must stop here, and ask BIG O, whether he could not have said *something*, some little thing, to produce a *serious answer* to him? Whether he could not have taken "*Peep at Peers*";

whether he could not have looked into the lists of pensions, sinecures, grants, army, navy, colony-jobs, and have shown what the seat-fillers received; whether, when little LORD JOHN, quoting *sinecure-Fox*, the late husband of *Bridget and her daughters*, who have *pensions for life*; whether, I say, when LORD JOHN, quoting Fox, said, that "he liked *equal rights*, but not when applied to *unequal things*"; whether poor "Dan," the orator of *nine millions*, could not have just asked little Lord John, whether there were no *equal burdens* applied to *unequal things*? Could not he have asked him, whether the poor man were not compelled to furnish *his body* to serve in the militia as well as the rich man? Could he not have asked him, whether the tradesman with *eight windows* did not pay *more* per window, than the Lord with *two or three hundred windows*? Could he not have asked him, whether the labourer did not pay postage for his letters, while the Peer paid none? Could he not have asked him, whether the surgeon, attorney, or tradesman, whose income was not worth *five years' purchase*, did not pay an income-tax *equal* to that of the Lord whose income was worth *thirty years' purchase*? Could he not have asked him, whether the *burden* were *equal*, when the tradesman and manufacturer have to pay, on *their goods* sold by auction, a *heavy duty*, while on *timber, bark, top, underwood, and farm stock*, so sold, *no such duty is payable*? Could he not have asked something of this sort? Could BIG O not have taken some one of the scores of instances, in which the middle and working classes have to bear burdens from which the aristocracy *are exempted*? Could the man of "nine millions" of green Erin's sons not have made, on this grand occasion, an exposure that would have restrained his opponents from laughing in his face? Oh, no! He has it not in him: he *knows nothing*: he has *no matter in him*: he is a mass of *unpointed periods*. The Irish call it "*rounding of periods*." They are *round enough*, God knows; but *sharp-pointed ones* are the sort to fight with on occasions like

this. Well; go thy ways, BIG O! Thou hast done one thing, at any rate; thou hast fulfilled my predictions; for I always said, that thou wouldst accomplish nothing for the people; and, indeed, that thou wouldst do them harm instead of good. DAN is, it must be confessed, one of the poorest devils of "*patriots*" that we have had for a long time. OLD GLORY was a prince to him: he did, upon such occasions, bark away at the boroughmongers in a good bold strain. There was not much sense in what he said, to be sure, and no sincerity at all; but, at any rate, his blows were laid on with some force: GLORY used a rough and heavy cudgel, but this poor fellow makes his attack with a *swab*: GLORY did use to excite some little *anger* in the breast of corruption, but she laughs in the face of poor Dan. Oh! Walter Scott or Tommy Moore, do put all this into rhyme! Or my poetical friend at Liverpool, who wrote the affecting *elegy* on BAICK and "his loved SUOVON." To be serious, though, this is a sad finish for Dan; to go out thus, sinking down into the socket, and leaving a stink behind him! GLORY was, I see, *not present*! No, faith! Dan's speech at the "*purity-dinner*" made GLORY *soon*: this reform-speech would have killed him outright.

What, when *Brougham* was laughing at BIG O, could not the latter have answered his *sarcasms* by observing, when Brougham called himself "*a reformer*," that the *fit* was newly come upon him, he having, in May 1827, when the poor silly thing, Canning, was got at the head, and when *place* seemed to be opening to the *Whigs*; could not BIG O have reminded him, that he TIEN said, that "*the people no longer wished for reform*?" And could not he have answered the *little Russell* by observing, that he, at that time of golden dreams, said the same; aye, and gave notice, that he should "*discontinue his annual motion for reform*?" No: BIG O could not do any thing of this sort: he felt the weight of the poor 40s. freeholders press upon him: after his *proposition to disfranchise them* (which was finally done) he must have brass indeed to stand for-

ward as a *leader* in the cause of reform. But over and above all this, who authorized him to propose *triennial parliaments*? That is not *radical reform*. Brougham thought *four years better*, and little Russell, *five*. In short, it was a gross mockery of poor Big O, who may now go back to his *very large crucifix* and his *Jew*..

He is now, I see, in open and desperate hostility "to the Wellington administration," as he calls it. For what, Big O? For what? Just tell me that, now. Because they gave you what you had been bawling for for more than twenty years? Or was it because they disfranchised the 40s. freeholders at your own suggestion? Or was it because they turned with scorn from your blandishments, and set your hostility at defiance? Or was it, in short, because they gave you *nothing*, not even that *silk gown*, of the indelicacy to wear which you had so long and so bitterly complained? At any rate they have acted a better part than the filthy old hypocritical Whigs ever acted; and every one sees, that your noisy and indecent hostility to them is grounded on your own private disappointment.

And what, then, have you done? What have you accomplished? Nothing, but brought into doubt the *sincerity* of the whole body of *Catholics* by your forwardness and zeal in favour of the *Jews*. Men judge of whole bodies by the conduct of those who are conspicuous in such bodies; and though this is not always just, it is always inevitable; and the people of England, who have a natural and laudable abhorrence of the *Jews*, must, from your conduct, conclude, that the professors of the *Catholic religion* are *hypocrites*; for how can they otherwise think of people, who kneel before the CROSS, who make the sign of the cross at every meal, and at their down-lying and up-rising, and who, the next moment, embrace the wretches who assert that he who died on that cross was an impostor? And declare these wretches to be as good, as worthy of credence, and trust, and power, and honour, as Catholics themselves are? To be sure,

this will be an erroneous conclusion, as to the *Catholics in general*; I know this, but the people of England in general do not, and cannot, know it: I know that the apostacy (for that is the word) is confined to the base *Catholic aristocracy*, who, just as I said they would, get themselves in amongst the tax-eaters at the expense of the body of *Catholics*, and who, for the most part, were restrained from open apostacy only by stupid family pride. But though I know this, the nation in general does not; and the Catholics may be assured, that this union (for it is that) of the *Catholic aristocracy* and the *Jews* will, if care be not taken to disclaim it, give to the *ancient religion* a blow heavier than any that *Protestantism* ever inflicted upon it. Great and most successful have been my labours in defending, in removing the unjust obloquy from, this religion of our fathers, but did I defend it because it was capable of an union with the blasphemies of the *Jews*? No. But because a recurrence to true history told me, that it was the religion of *real active and efficient charity*, charity in deeds as well as in words: because it made the people innocent, happy, free, brave, and standing in need of no army for the defence of the country; because it held them together in *one faith*, leaving no room for those eternal squabbles which split one and the same people up into a score or two of sects, each condemning all the rest to the devil; and, perhaps, more than for any other thing, because that religion of our fathers set its face, in the most resolute manner, against, not only the blasphemies of the *Jews*, but against that *usury*, those damnable acts of extortion, which belong to their very nature, and which have been the cause of so much ruin and misery and degradation to England.

These were my reasons for defending the religion of our fathers; and, thus actuated, I set all prejudices at defiance. But let it be clearly understood that I was not defending a thing capable of an union with the horrible orgies of the blaspheming *Jews*. No. nor was I defending a thing capable of giving its countenance to *usury*. I was defending

the religion of *our fathers*, on the principles of which they regarded the Jews as entitled to no right, no immunities, no possession, no inheritance, other than that of their own filthy persons; I was defending that religion which dictated to our fathers the shutting of these blasphemers up in a shed *with one end only open*, and *that end locked up on Sundays and holy-days*, that the wretches might not, on those days, at any rate, insult Christianity, and dishonour a Christian community, by their presence; I was defending the religion of Saint Ambrose, St. Cyprian, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and the rest of those "fathers of the Church," *every one* of whom has expressly laid it down, that *usury* is direct violation of the laws of God. I was, in short, defending a religion which, in its very essence, holds the Jews in abhorrence; and not a religion which can accommodate itself to an *union* with their blasphemy and usury; I was defending the religion of St. PETER, and not the religion of JUDAS ISCARIOT, to which latter *manifestly belongs* every one, who calls himself a Christian (and especially a Catholic), and, at the same time, takes the Jews to his bosom.

In conclusion of this article, let me request you, my friends, to watch the progress of an effort, now about to be made, to enable Jews to *hold freehold estates in fee*! What! they would not *lend any more*, I suppose, without the grant of this right! Good! Pray watch this. this is another *rent* in the system: this is another *hole* in it. Let them make *this hole* with all my heart; but, hating the system as I do, I would not, even to demolish it, suffer a Jew to be put upon a level with a Christian. It will be good sport to watch the progress of this affair about the freehold lands. You see, that, *having failed in their grand object*, they now want to get hold of lands; and, in a short time, they will have a great part of them, either in possession or reversion. That is no matter: one can easily put *that* to rights at any time; but the stain of JUDAS ISCARIOT we never could have rubbed out.

PARNELL'S AFFAIR.

Gloucester, 8th June, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

I AM tempted (but I must refrain) to give Brougham and Massa Wilby, and the whole band of *negro-slavery* fools and hypocrites, a *real body blow*; for facts are *now* come out, which, if well made known, will make every man of sense and truth, every one who has been deceived by them, turn from them with indignation. But I must put this off till *the week after next*. It is a *treat*, and one must not, if one could, put two treats upon the table at once, for, as you will find, my friends, this new scheme of PARNELL is a dish of no ordinary relish. We have the wise fellows here *at a tavern*, and are, therefore, not liable to be *banished*, if we accidentally bring them into contempt by our remarks on their sayings and doings.

This scheme cannot be explained at all, perhaps, for the leading schemers, PARNELL and SPRING RICE, come from the *illustrious* and *intense* side of the water, and we cannot get even at a rough outline of it, except from their intense definition. The schemers met, it seems, at the *City of London Tavern*. PARNELL, who has always been dabbling in paper-money pamphlets, and in what he calls *finance*, was their CHAIRMAN; and there was LINDELL, who is, I verily believe, a member for some county in the North; and there was a SIR WILLIAM COSWAY (I wonder *who* and *what* he is); and there was SPRING, from the land of *pommes de terre*; and there was the Earl of DARNLEY from the same intense climate; and there was the Earl of BUTE, of name and title celebrated in courts and pensions; and there was a Mr. STEWARD, all these there were, if the *Morning Herald* speak truth, and other "*noblemen and gentlemen*," met, on the 29th of May, at the tavern above-mentioned, "for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of forming a banking company," to be called by the queer name of "METROPOLITAN COUNTRY

BANK OF ENGLAND," a name which was certainly imported from the other side of the channel of St. GEORGE, and brought safely along that HOLY-HEAD ROAD which has cost *this country sums so enormous*, in order that the *Irish hundred*, being so precious a cargo, may come along without being jolted, though, after all this immense expenditure, which PARNELL has, I hear, kept *silence* upon, in his pamphlet on *national savings*, the passage by *Liverpool* is better, easier, and *more expeditious*.

But, my friends, not to keep you longer from the "feast of reason and the flow of soul," I now proceed to insert the report, as I find in the *Morning Herald*. Read it with attention; for, as the "*drama of this country is no more*," if we are to believe Dr. BLACK, we ought to seek for something *in its stead*; and, really, we must be fastidious indeed with regard to subjects of merriment, if the solemn foolery, played off upon this occasion, fail to entertain us. When I have inserted the report, I shall offer some remarks on it.

The CHAIRMAN, on taking the Chair, read a note from Sir Rowland Hill, apologising for his absence (apologies were also sent from Sir Edward Knatchbull, Sir Thomas Lethbridge, Mr. Colville, and others), and proceeded to state that the object of the present meeting was to carry into effect a resolution which had been passed at their last meeting on the 27th of March, for the establishment of a Joint Stock Banking Company in the country. A Committee had been appointed for the purpose. From that period they had waited to ascertain the result of Mr. Huskisson's motion, and what course Government had determined to take on the subject, as well as the result of the conferences which several gentlemen had with his Grace the Duke of Wellington. The hon. Baronet concluded, by observing, that the business of the day would be chiefly confined to the passing of a resolution to increase the number of their Committee, and he had no doubt but that a plan would be arranged of carrying on and working the scheme to a successful issue.

The Hon. Mr. LIDDELL, M.P., would yield to none in his zeal for the success of this measure, and particularly so when that success was likely to promote the prosperity of the country. When they considered the great fluctuations in trade, and the evils to which the country was exposed under the present system of banking, it was but right to inquire

whether that system, which *must be considered as the basis of commercial credit* (hear!) were set deep in a rock, or rested only on a sandy foundation; whether, like the *house in the parable*, it stood firm amidst storms and tempests, or whether in practice it was found unable to sustain their shocks. If experience proved the latter, it was high time that that system should be placed on some firmer basis; and here it was *fortunately* in their power to prove theory by experience by turning their eyes to a neighbouring country. If the banking system in *Scotland*, established on sound principles, produced effects so beneficial to that country, why need they doubt that, under a similar system in England, results would be beneficial? The honourable member then read some resolutions which had been adopted at Brown's Coffee-house, Westminster, on the 5th of March last, the consideration of which was calculated to inspire the best hopes of the efficacy of a public Banking Company on joint stock principles, and concluded, after many valuable observations, by expressing his conviction that a measure like the present would greatly promote the general security and prosperity of the country.

Sir WILLIAM COSWAY considered, that if the Scotch system of banking was modified to *English wants and English prejudices*, it would produce most beneficial results to this country; and as a proof of it, it was only necessary to observe, that during the panic of 1825 not even one Scotch Bank failed.

SPRING RICE, Esq., M. P., begged to assure the Meeting of his cordial assent to all that had been so ably stated by his hon. friend Mr. Liddell, both as to the utility and practicability of the important project in contemplation, as also the grounds upon which it had been recommended; yet he thought that, in forming an estimate of its probable advantages, it would be better if the order of recommendation were reversed. His hon. friend had recommended it first on the score of public good, and next on the score of private advantage. He (Mr. Rice) thought that the private advantage was the first point to be assured of; for it was only from ascertaining the certainty of that that we could hope to effect any ultimate and permanent good to the public. Having said thus much, he would assure the Meeting that he concurred with the most ardent supporters of the undertaking, having not the slightest doubt of its success, and he said this as one who had no little experience in undertakings of the same nature. In the next place, it was very necessary to be explicit not only as to what they intended to do, but what they intended not to do, that the public might not be drawn to a wrong conclusion. It unfortunately happened that there were very opposite opinions on the question of currency; some were for all gold, others were for all paper. But the promoters of this undertaking must not be supposed to enroll themselves with either party. In the attempt to render useful the operation of that great dis-

covery of modern commerce, the circulation of paper, which to a certain extent is indispensable, and within certain limits is beneficial to commercial intercourse, great care should be taken, not only against abusing, but of being supposed to contemplate the abuse of a good principle. On the question of issues, the great mischief of the present system of country banking is the want of connexion, and conscious dependence on the great focus of foreign exchanges, from whence arose impatient expansions and contractions of the currency, the existence of which was not even known to the bankers until the pressure and revolution which they produced made them acquainted with the fact. It should not therefore for a moment go abroad, that they made themselves parties to producing an expansion of the currency, further than the prudence which men of business would dictate. Next, as to the present banks. There ought to be no misapprehension of their views. Their proceeding arose not from the distrust or jealousy of the Bank of England. If that were the case, he should not have been found amongst them. Neither did it arise from any hostility to the private bankers. The better sort had nothing to fear; their connexions were established, and their security well known. As to the weaker banks, it might not be expected that they would, like Blackstone's Judge, cry, out of conviction, "*Judico me cremare.*" If it was proposed to burn their outstanding notes, as some of his wrong-headed countrymen did during the rebellion, they might have no objection; but it was only natural that they should exclaim against the introduction of establishments which must affect their interests. But he could not help conceiving that the extinction of their banks would be effected in a way advantageous to themselves. They should, in fact, form an association with and merge in the more secure establishments which were contemplated, as was the case in his own country, and derive more benefit from their dividends in that shape than from the precarious profits at present. He would venture one word more of advice. Let them proceed industriously but cautiously, and they must succeed.

LORD PARNELL: Having witnessed the great extinction of the poorer sort of banks, and the miseries which they had produced, he could not but feel that Government had no alternative but to take the measures they had done. Still he was aware that the most serious inconvenience had arisen from them; and from all that he had heard from his bon. friends, Mr. Liddell and Mr. Rice, he was perfectly convinced that the present undertaking would prove of the greatest use and benefit to the public; and though he could not profess himself to be so well acquainted practically with the subject as his honourable friends, he begged to assure the Chairman, that so far as his efforts and sanction could go, nothing should be wanting to promote it. The contemplated measure, he was satisfied, would do

much to alleviate and remedy the distress which existed, and, he hoped, to prevent its recurrence; and although perhaps he might be more sanguine than others, he looked for the same beneficial results throughout the whole country.

The Marquis of BUTE assured them that he took a great interest in the business of the Meeting, from a sense of its importance.

MR. STEWARD next addressed the Meeting, and concurred with the preceding speaker, as to the benefits likely to arise from the contemplated measure.

SIR H. PARNELL said it was unnecessary, after the able statements they had heard from gentlemen so well qualified on the subject, for him to trouble the meeting at any length. With regard to the currency, he would say to those gentlemen who were anxious for the benefits of a more extended currency, which should be regulated on proper principles, that, as the best and the only way to attain it, they should promote such undertakings as that now proposed. The Scotch system of cash credits (which few English banks had the means to adopt) would do a vast deal more to facilitate local dealings than an extension of paper, and the allowing sufficient interest on deposits (which they were equally unable to do) would prevent the possibility of an over-issue of paper, for this simple reason, that when the paper-money in circulation became more abundant than was wanted, it would be returned to the banks in the shape of deposits. The bank would thus act as a reservoir which would keep itself and the channels through which it distributed and received the circulating medium at a level, without the risk of those fatal issues and contractions of which the effects were too well known. Scotland had made as much use of paper as England, but with this difference, in all stagnations of trade the Scotch banks had relieved and revived it with safety. In England the reverse generally occurred. Neither in 1793, nor in the subsequent panics, including that of 1825, had any distrust been caused by the unprepared condition or inadequate means of Scotch banks; and he hoped that, with the assistance of commercial men, who seemed, from what he had heard, to appreciate the present undertaking, that the same security and facilities would very soon be enjoyed in this country. He would wish to say a few words more; he was well aware of the objection in the public mind against what were called "Joint Stock Companies," but the respectability of the parties who supported the undertaking was a guarantee that it was not even brought forward upon slight grounds, much less that it could be what was called a public company. He would repeat, that the high respectability of the parties who came forward was a sufficient guarantee against the remote possibility of such being the case.

Resolutions were then adopted for extending the Committee; and the Meeting, after thanks having been voted to the Chairman, adjourned to a day appointed.—*The Sun.*

Never was there a greater delusion than this; but more on this part of the subject after I have noticed the absurdities in the order in which they lie before us. In the first place, PARNELL does not tell us of the result of the conferences with the Duke of Wellington! But, I will venture to say, he will venture to have nothing to do in sanctioning this scheme. What has he to do with a private bank? There is no law called for to sanction the bank: what, then, do they want him to take some shares!

But here comes LIDDELL, the "Honourable Mr. Liddell, M.P.," he will tell us all about it. When I saw the words, "yield to none in his zeal," I thought he was going to offer some great sacrifice, either of person or property, especially as there followed, at no great distance, "to promote the prosperity of the country." Not at all! all that he proposed to do was to cause the scheme to succeed; that is to say, to make as much money out of it as he possibly could. Next, however, come his opinions, and these are, that the great fluctuations in trade are occasioned by the present system of banking; that banking is the *ba* is of commercial credit [We will leave out the parable: (O Lord!); that it is high time that this credit should be placed on a firmer basis than the present system; that, fortunately, the Scotch offer us an example in this case; and that, finally, a bank ought to be formed on joint-stock principles!

And what, in the devil's name, are they, I wonder? He made the reporter says, "many other valuable observations," which, in mercy to the suffering reader, the good-natured reporter has left out.

Now, LIDDELL, hear me a bit. What do you mean by fluctuations in trade? The great fall of prices at some times, and at others, the great rise in prices: are those what you mean? And if so, how do you trace them to the present system of banking? There always were, and always must be, and ought to be, fluctuations in prices. It is in the nature of things, it is a moral and

physical necessity that it should be thus. To prevent it, the seasons must be uniform, not only here but abroad; wants and resources must always be the same; industry and science must be stationary; population must neither increase nor decrease. Look, thou shallow, thou talking man, thou prig of political economy; look, thou "Honourable Gentleman" (for that is the climactic name of the gradations of emptiness), look into the Precosum of Bishop Fleetwood, and there thou wilt find that there was an incessant fluctuation of prices, ages and ages before the devil had, for the punishment of a wicked race, been permitted to suggest to BISHOP BURNET the hellish thing called a bank.

Oh, no, Liddell! The fluctuations to which you allude have been caused, not by the present system, or any system of banking; but by acts of parliament.

- 1st. By the acts which caused the 5l. notes to be put out in 1793.
- 2d. By the acts which caused 1l. notes to be put out in 1797, and which made paper, in effect, a legal tender.
- 3d. By the acts which provided for cash payments in six months after the making of peace, and which began to be felt in 1811.
- 4th. By Peel's Bill of 1819, which provided for the resumption of cash-payments in 1823, and (by an intervening measure) for the abolition of small notes in 1823.
- 5th. By Vansittart's small-note Bill of 1822, which provided for continuing the small notes in circulation till 1833.
- 6th. By Robinson's Bill of 1826, which abolished the small notes in April, 1829.

Here are the causes of the "fluctuations in trade," LIDDELL; aye, and in agriculture too; and this last cause is now at work, co-operating with the immense taxes; and work on it will, in spite of all your scheming, as I shall presently show, when I have dismissed your nonsense, and that of your other

"honourable" and "noble" associates, and come to that of your joint-stock and cash-credit Chairman.

But, to go on and get you off my hands; "banking is the basis of commercial CREDIT," is it? Of *debt*, of *debt*; say of commercial DEBT, LIABILITIES; for that is clearly the fact, fact clear to all eyes but those of a bubble-headed, half-witted pretender to economical science. For what is banking? the making of *sham* money to *pass for real money*, in the hands of those who make purchases, or payments, with *sham* money, because they *have not real money to make them with*. This is banking, and this is a basis of *debt*, of dealing without money or money's worth, of gambling under the name of dealing. It is curious to see the origin of the word *bank*, as given to us by BLACKSTONE in his Commentaries. He tells us that some State in Italy (I forget which) having contracted, in various ways, a great number of *debts*, ordered the vouchers of all these debts to be collected together; that, when got together, they formed a *heap*, which in Italian is *banco*, I believe. This name was given to the *mass of debts*; and this word has passed from nation to nation, always meaning a *heap of debts*; and this is what every bank is, and always must be, it is, and must be, a thing to carry on dealings, or to cause dealings to be carried on, without a sufficiency of real money, or money's-worth things, to carry them on with. And this is your basis of "commercial credit"!

Of the example of the Scotch I shall speak to PARNELL; and, therefore, skipping over COSWAY, let us come to SPRING RICE. Well said, SPRING, stick to the *private interest*, or never go on an Irish Grand Jury presentment sessions again. Oh! you are not for *all gold nor for all paper*, but for a *little of both*. Well, SPRING; but is there not some of both *now*? What change will you make for the better in this respect? And, as to your "*great discovery of modern commerce*," what has it produced but debts, gambles, ruin and wretchedness amongst millions, revolutions in governments and states, and enriching

of Jews, jobbers, and loan-mongers? It is no *discovery* in its *efforts*; its effects are essentially *fraudulent*; and frauds have always been in vogue; but it has given *facility* and an *extension* to fraud and corruption.

"Blest paper-money, last and best supply,
That lends corruption lighter wings to fly."

And so, SPRING, you would not have it "*go abroad*," that you wished to produce "*expansion of the currency*." Go *abroad*! indeed! Mightily puffed up with your fancied importance! "*Go abroad*," indeed! Like a Lord High Chancellor, or a Judge. Pretty set of fellows, to talk of *not having* their sayings *go abroad*! If you had heard the description that I gave of you, last night, in my lecture at Gloucester, and the *peals of laughter* that it excited, your brass must have been more than native to embolden you ever to talk again (here in England) about *not having* your sayings *go abroad*. But, to get rid of you, passing over your *witty* and *original* story about your countrymen, in "*the rebellion*" [well said, true Irish 'Squire; always blacken and ridicule your own country if you can make your court by it] burning the bank-notes; passing over this, and also over your manly disavowal of all intention to attack the *strong* banks, while you make your associates merry at the thought of annihilating the *weak* ones. passing over these, though I, for my part, would rely upon the very weakest of all the banks in England in preference to one set up by the whole "*IRISH HUNDRED*;" passing over these things, pray, a word or two with you, SPRING, about your not intending to produce an *expansion* of the currency; "an "*increase*" phrase, I suppose, to express an *addition* to the *quantity of paper-money*. And now, SPRING, if you do not intend to do this; if you intend to make *no addition* to the quantity of paper-money in the country, how are you to assist in *producing that relief*, that *prosperity*, that your brother talker and countryman, LONDON, is so wise as to expect from the measure? But why do I ask you questions of this

sort! Let me get on to another of your countrymen.

And now, Lord DARNLEY, what brought you and Lord BUIE to this tavern-talk; you two above all men living? You say, that the extinction of the small notes, and the lessening of the quantity of paper-money, have "*produced the most serious inconveniences*." Indeed! and that you are satisfied that the "*contemplated measure* will "*do much to alleviate and remedy the distress which exists*." Now, I do hope that you did not utter these words, for you and this very Lord BUIE opposed Lord STANHOPE'S statement, asserting the distress to exist! A good memory is a good thing! But supposing this to be a *lie of the reporter*, how does your hope agree with the assertion of your countryman, Spring Rice? Spring says, that he will *not* have it "*go abroad*," that the associates intend "*an expansion of the currency*," and you say, that you are "*satisfied that the scheme will do much to alleviate the distress*" which has "*arisen from the measures of the Government*;" that is, measures for lessening the quantity of the currency! There, settle it between you, for nobody but Irishmen can understand Irishmen, reconcile your opposite hopes and assertions as you can, and let me hasten on to PARNELL, and to a conclusion.

So, PARNELL, notwithstanding the busting, which I gave you about two years ago, and which one would have thought sufficient to make a brazen statue blush, you are come out again with another bubble-headed pamphlet, and now with your scheme of *cash-credits* (alias *debts*) on the *Scotch plan*; and your associate, Cosway, tells the public, that the "*proof of the goodness of the Scotch system*" is, that not a Scotch bank stopped in "*the panic of 1825*." Ah! COSWAY, how hast got a rare noddle on thy shoulders, I'll warrant thee! What! you did not know, then, that Mr. Atwood proved, in the House of Commons, that it was *impossible to run a Scotch bank*? You did not know, that the *power* in Scotland was such as to prevent this as effectually as if loaded

cannon were placed at the door of each bank? But, PARNELL, *you ought to know it*; and, therefore, for you to expect, or, rather, to pretend to expect to act upon the Scotch system here, is something worse than impudence and folly. You know that the Scotch banks are all combined, and form a monstrous monopoly of the profits of trade and agriculture from one end of that subjected country to the other. And you expect, do you, that the same "*facilities*" will "*soon be enjoyed in England*"!

PARNELL, your concern, if you set it up, will *add to the quantity of paper-money in the country*, or it *will not*: if the former, it will drive the gold out of the country and produce *another panic*; if the latter, it cannot by possibility produce *any relief*. The whole answer to your scheme lies in that one sentence. But what *want* is there of your bank? The banks that now are, are shutting up for want of business. If the hunkers at Bury St. Edmunds *want* for want of business; if the like is going on every where; if the branches of the Bank of England have little or nothing to do; if this be the case, what in the name of all that is foolish and impudent and illustrious and intense, is a bank wanted for in *England*, set up by a parcel of Irishmen and Scotchmen? *In Ireland*, if you like! *Cash-credits* [alias *debts*] may possibly be wanted there; but for the Irish and Scotch to come over and *lend money to Englishmen* is the devil!

You are, I see, uncommonly anxious "*to have it go abroad*," as intense Spring Rice calls it, that this is "*no bubble company*"; that the "*parties are most respectable*"; that "*the high respectability of the parties is a sufficient guarantee that this cannot turn out to be a bubble company*." Better not, in my opinion, have said *quite so much* about this. However, go on, and we shall have some famous sport.

BEER BILL.

TO THE AMERICANS.

I copy the following from the *Morning Chronicle*.—JONATHAN, do read it! It is made for *Englishmen*, I assure you! *Licenses, bonds, penalties, seizure of goods, sending to jail, without trial by jury*; and all this about the *sale of beer* made of our own *barley and hops*! Stick to your democracy, Jonathan!

The following is an abstract of "the Bill to permit the General Sale of Beer by Retail in England," as amended by the Committee —

All persons licensed under this Act, from and after the 10th of October, 1830, may sell beer by retail in any part of England, in any house or premises specified in any such license.

All persons (except such as are specially excepted hereinafter) desirous of selling beer, ale, and porter, by retail, under the provisions of this Act, may obtain an Excise license for that purpose by an application, setting forth their christian and surname, describing the house and premises in which the beer is intended to be sold, and stating the christian and surname, occupation and residence, of the persons proposed as securities for the person so to be licensed. Licenses taken out within the limits of the chief office of Excise in London shall be granted under the hands and seals of two or more of the Commissioners of Excise, or such persons as they employ for that purpose. Licenses taken out in any other part of England to be granted under the hands and seals of the collectors and supervisors of Excise within their respective districts. Such licenses to be granted ten days after the application made for the same, upon execution by the party and his sureties of the bond hereinafter mentioned, and on payment of a duty of two guineas; and every license shall be dated on the day when granted, and shall expire at the end of twelve calendar months after the said date. *No such license shall authorise the party so licensed to receive any license to sell or retail wine or spirits, nor shall any such*

license be granted to any sheriff's officer, or officer executing the process of any court of justice, nor to any person not being a householder. Licenses to any such persons to be void to all intents and purposes. A list for register of every license so granted, specifying all the particulars above-mentioned, to be kept at the Excise-office or dwelling-houses of the collectors or supervisors of Excise. Such list at all times to be produced, and to be open to the inspection of any magistrate of the county or place where such license is granted, and where such house is situate.

The license duty imposed by this act to be under the management of the commissioners of Excise, and to be carried to the consolidated fund.

No license to be granted unless the person applying for the same *enter into a bond to the commissioners of Excise with one or two sufficient sureties*, to the amount of 20*l.*, for the payment of any penalty, not exceeding 20*l.*, which shall be incurred by any offence against this act by the party to whom the license is granted. *The commissioners, collectors, or supervisors of Excise, respectively to determine upon the efficiency of such sureties, and such bonds not to be subject to the payment of any stamp duty.*

No person licensed to sell beer by retail under this act shall be deemed competent or accepted as a surety in any such bonds.

All persons licensed to sell beer by retail are to cause their christian and surnames, together with the words "*Licensed to sell beer by retail*," to be painted on a board in letters three inches in length, and placed over the door of the premises licensed, under a penalty of 10*l.*

Persons selling beer after the expiration of their license, or dealing or retailing any wine or spirits, for every offence forfeit not less than 10*l.*, nor more than 20*l.*

Persons trading in partnership not obliged to take out more than one license in any one year, but no license shall authorize the sale of beer in any other than the house mentioned in such license.

Any two justices, when any riot or tumult shall happen, or be expected, may order houses licensed under this Act to be closed.

Measures sized according to the standard to be used if required for the sale of beer under a penalty not exceeding 40s.

Retailers permitting drunkenness or disorderly conduct in their houses forfeit, for the first offence, not less than 10s., nor more than 5l.; second offence, not less than 5l., nor more than 10l.; third offence, not less than 20l., nor more than 50l.; and the justices before whom such conviction for a third offence shall take place may adjudge the offender to be disqualified from selling beer by retail for two years, and also that no beer shall be sold by any person in the house or premises mentioned in the license of such offender. Persons selling beer, &c., made otherwise than from malt and hops, or mixing, or causing any deleterious drugs or pernicious ingredients to be mixed with any beer sold on their premises, or fraudulently diluting or adulterating any such beer, forfeit, for the first offence, not less than 10l., nor more than 20l.; and, for the second offence, shall be adjudged disqualified from selling beer, &c., for two years, or to forfeit not less than 20l., nor more than 50l. Persons convicted of the last-mentioned offence, selling beer, &c., during such term of two years, in any place, forfeit not less than 20l., nor more than 50l., for every offence. And any person selling beer on premises disqualified as above, knowing it was not lawful to be sold, forfeits not less than 10l., nor more than 20l.

Retailers' houses shall not be open, nor shall any beer be sold or consumed in such houses, before four o'clock in the morning, nor after ten o'clock in the evening of any day in the week, nor at any time between the hours of ten and one o'clock, and three and five o'clock on any Sunday, Good Friday, Christmas Day, or day appointed for a public fast or thanksgiving, under the penalty of 40s. for every offence; every separate sale to be deemed a separate offence.

Penalties under the Act recoverable

before two justices in petty sessions within three months after the offence committed.

Persons convicted of a third offence may appeal to the *General or Quarter Sessions next ensuing*, on entering into a recognizance, with two sureties, to appear at sessions, abide the appeal, and pay such costs as may be awarded; and the justices taking such recognizances are required to bind the person making such charge in a recognizance to appear at sessions, and give evidence against the person so charged. And it shall be lawful for the Court of General or Quarter Sessions to adjudge such person to be guilty of a third offence, and to punish such offender by fine, not exceeding 100l., together with the costs of such appeal, and to adjudge the license held by such offender void; and whenever, in any case, the license of such offender shall be adjudged to be void, such offender shall be deemed incapable of selling beer, &c., by retail, in any house kept by him for the space of two years.

Court of General or Quarter Sessions may adjudge the costs of appeal, and justices may order the petty constable or other peace-officer of the parish or place where the offence has been committed, to carry on the proceedings necessary to obtain the adjudications aforesaid, and the expenses of such prosecutions to be paid out of the county rates.

When parties convicted under this act neglect to pay the penalties incurred, the parties convicting such offenders, after the expiration of two months, may summon the sureties named in the bond herein-before directed to be taken, to show cause why the penalties mentioned in such bond should not be paid by such sureties; and in case such penalties are not paid within fourteen days, may issue their warrant to levy the amount thereof by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of such surety, together with the costs thereof.

Persons summoned as witnesses neglecting to attend forfeit any sum not exceeding 10l.

Penalties may be levied by distress

and sale of the goods and chattels of the offender, but if the goods and chattels are insufficient to levy such amounts, *the offenders may be committed to prison.*

The Justices before whom the penalties are recovered may award any portion of the same, not exceeding one moiety thereof, and the remainder, or in case no part of the penalty be awarded to the prosecutor, the whole of such penalty to the poor of the parish where the offence was committed.

Convictions to be returned to the Quarter Sessions, and filed of record.

No writ of *certiorari* to be allowed.

Actions against Justices for any thing done in execution of this act, must be commenced within three calendar months after the cause of action shall have arisen.

This act not to affect the privileges of Oxford or Cambridge, or the Vintners' Company in London, nor alter any law relating to the Excise, except so far as the same is expressly altered; nor to prohibit the sale of beer in booths or other places at lawful fairs.

DECAY OF THE DRAMA.

Twickenbury, 9th June, 1830.

THE lasses of Old Drury, together with thousands and thousands of others, complain of the "*decay of the drama*;" the *Monthly Magazine* calls out for LAWS to "*foster dramatic genius*;" the poor players, with empty bellies, strut, and shrug, and bawl, and shake their sides to empty benches; and DOCTOR BLACK ascribes this "*great national evil*" to MONOPOLIES! What the devil does the Doctor mean by *monopolies*? What play-house monopoly is there *more* than there has been *for the last forty years*? Have not the *Lord Chamberlain* and his under-strappers always had the dictating to the players what they should *not act*? Have we not always, for more than forty years, had the *surfeiting, sentimental, loyal*, and disgusting stuff of MORTON and REYNOLDS, and the toad-eating rubbish of the COLMANS, getting

the stupid mob's mouth open by ludicrous fooleries, in order to cram slavery down their throats? Have we not for more than forty years heard the play-house ring with "God save *great* George our king," while he was in a state that I need not describe; and with "*Britannia rule the waves*, and Britons *never will be slaves*," while the Yankees were, single-handed, beating us both on *the sea* and *the lake*, and while barracks, and new jails, and tread-mills, and *gendarmerie* were being established all over the kingdom? Have we not, for more than forty years, seen, in these schools of abject slavery, men knocked down if they refused to *rise* and *pull off their hats* during the chanting of these hymns, sacred to baseness and bragging? What is there *new* then? What *new monopoly* has my friend Doctor Black discovered? Have we not still "*Inkle and Yarico*," and plenty of other such stuff, to keep alive the *hypocrisy* which marks this, as it always has every, age of national decline? Have we not still *sentimental sailors, red-coats talking of freedom, enlightened blacks*, and *generous Jews*? Though *pensioned CUMBERLAND* is dead, are there not a plenty of the same cast left behind him? What the devil does the Doctor mean, then, by "*monopolies*" that are *pulling down the drama*? If, indeed, he mean to allude to exhibitions in ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL! If he mean that the drama has been eclipsed by the sublime dialogues and *enactings* there, he may be right enough; but, for any other species of *monopoly*, it is nonsense.

And as to all the numerous reasons given in the *magazines* and *newspapers*, how completely erroneous they are we must be convinced by a mere glance at the *state of the players in the country*, or, in the "*provinces*," as Dr. Black calls the *counties*; and here I stop, to beseech my friend Dr. BLACK, who won my heart by his cut-and-thrust at the tax and church-land and crown-land getting aristocracy; to beseech him, I say, not to call them "*provinces*" any more: it is a word, like "*peasantry*," sacred to tyranny and slavery. The

Bourbons and their Noblesse used to say, *Les provinces et les paysans*. The French people will not let them say it now; and pray, Doctor, let you and I, at any rate, leave those words to be used by the *slaves* in our own country. The state of the players in the country, then, I say, proves most clearly the erroneousness of the opinions, on this subject, of these writers in town.

The "decay" is ascribed to every cause but the *real* one; that is to say, to *want of money*, in the mass of the people, to go to the play with. The *perverseness* of the press, upon this subject, is quite wonderful. It cannot be *ignorance*; for the fact is as clear as the sun at noon-day. And yet, *why* disguise the fact? What can be the *motive* of the *broad sheet*, and of the *magazine* and *review*-people, in keeping this fact out of sight? What can be the *motive* of a conscious insolvent for looking into his books and making up his balance sheet? What can be the *motive* for a tame cornuto in affecting not to suspect his wife, when all the parish can see the horns poking off his hat? So in the case of *the press*, the motive is *fear* of seeing a truth that is ruinous, and the further motive, *hope* that, by the fact remaining disguised from the world, *the ruinous consequences may be, by some lucky chance, avoided*.

These are the causes of that apparent *blindness* in the *Broad Sheets*, and in the *Magazines* and *Reviews*, all of which see, in the fate of the play-houses, their own final fate. They form different parts of the same class; and, if we could come at the plain truth, we should find that they are all on the "decay," and that WALTER SCOTT and TOMMY MOORE, and all the dealers in fiction and smut, feel the "*distress*" as well as manufactories and agriculture; aye, and the "*GREAT LIAR OF THE NORTH*," BAINES of Leeds, *feels* (he has not sense enough to *see*) that he must come down unless *unless prices can be kept up*; and that his *Branch Liars*, at Liverpool and Manchester, must come down too.

This is the *trur* cause of all the non-sense that we hear about the "decay of

dramatic *genius* and *want of taste* for the drama." It is *want of money* amongst the people at large; and it pervades every part of the country. It was observed in *France*, just before the revolution, that the country-theatres became *totally abandoned*! It is just so here. At Gloucester, where the players used to take from 60*l.* to 70*l.* a night, four nights in the week, and for months together, they now take hardly enough to pay for the lights; and the unfortunate player-people are in a state of misery not to be adequately described. But how is it to be otherwise, when farmers and tradesmen are a mass of ruined persons; and when the wages of journeymen are hardly sufficient to sustain life? It is curious enough, that the play-houses should have been evacuated as it were expressly to make room *for me*! The fact is, that that state of things which would give the players audiences, would, to a certainty, deprive me of mine!

But cannot *they and I form an union*? I think we might: and certainly to *their* great advantage, at any rate. I *write plays*, and they act them! We might begin at once with my Comedy of "*Big O and Sir Glory*;" or, *Leisure to Laugh*," written in August, 1825, and to be had at my shop in Fleet-street, price 1*s.* Let them act *this*; I'll warrant them crowded houses; nay, I should not be afraid to engage in the concern myself; and if there be any MANAGER, who is not so completely a slave as to *starve* rather than to set the tax-eaters at defiance, let me have *his proposals* (postage paid) at Bristol *this day week*! There, sons and daughters of Thalia, there is an offer which may make you gay once more. *This is the stuff that the people now want*: they are too busy thinking about politics to be amused with the soft and *loyal* rubbish of the Colmans and the Cumberlands, and the like. The golden times are gone, when DIBBIN got a *pension* for the "*Tight Little Island*," and the "*Sweet Little Cherub*," and "NEPTUNE saying, *Great George shall rule for me*."

O, so! "*Big O and Sir Glory*" is the thing for these days. Not a diffi-

cult piece by any means. The scenery very plain; the principal characters, *Big O, Sir Glory, Sancho, Brick, Bott Smith, and Anna Brodie*, all easily personated; any stout, tall, Irish footman, with good lungs, plenty of brass, a white eye and a swinging body, will do for *Big O*. *SIR GLORY*, indeed, is a more difficult affair; for he is, as Jonathan says, *considerable lengthy*; but with a little paste-board and wire he may be played off very well. As to *SANCHO*, any short, stocky, squat old-clothes man will do; and there are plenty to be had, with eyes, nose, and all. *BRICK*, "our own lamented Brick," as *Big O* called him, is got in a moment by going to some range of buildings that are going on, and catching the first hod-man that you see with rough red head, and round shoulders, with a broad freckled face, eyes grey as a cat's, mouth nearly from ear to ear, big teeth, and with a voice between a bawl and a blubber. To personate *BOTT SMITH*, you have only to take from some penitentiary the first shirking underlooking fellow that you lay hold of, and whose outward look proclaims that all is false and base and mean and mercenary within. Then there will remain only *ANNA BRODIE*, and she cannot be *personated*; "nothing but *herself* can be her *parallel*;" and, therefore, we must bring her away boldly: never mind her scolding and storming and bullying, have her we must, and have her we will, for without her we do nothing. Come on, my lads and lasses! This is the play for you!

THE CROPS.

I NEVER saw them fuller of promise. It is supposed that, in all these North Western and midland counties, there will be more *barley* this year, than there was in the *three last years*. The wheat and oats very good; and the *beans* and *peas* better than I ever saw them. The former are in bloom; and I went into a field this morning, (9th of June,) between Gloucester and Tewkesbury, and the beans were as high as my *arm-pits*.

There will be a prodigious crop of beans. Beans will be 2s. the Winchester Bushel, and barley 2s. 6d, if we have warm and fair weather now. The crops of grass are very great, upland and lowland, but the weather is wet; mowing has begun, and, near the Severn, much of the grass will be spoiled by overflowsings.

The *flowers* are remarkably fine this year; but there will be very few apples, and not many pears. In the garden of a cottage, at 6 miles from Gloucester, to which I walked this morning, and at which I got a bit of bread and cheese and some milk, I saw the *largest pinks* that I ever saw in my life, and the woman was so good as to give me some of them, as large as carnations, and of fine colours. The ground is excellent, and the season good for flowers. I never saw a prettier flower-garden in my life.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

It is *everywhere the same*; all is *decay and ruin and misery*. The farmers are not worse off than the tradesmen, for all are in a state of *gradual decay*. The working people suffer greatly in this county, particularly in the vale of Stroud. In short, all is going on just as I anticipated. Lucky are those who have been able to flee to the United States with the remnant of their means.

TWO-PENNY TRASH.

THE First Number will be published, price 2d., on the 1st of July. Booksellers in the country should give their orders to their correspondents *in time*, that we may, by the 4th or 5th of the month, know how many copies to print. It will come out *monthly*, and will be a nice little book for the young persons who have been taught to read at the Lancaster and the "National Schools"; and it may not be amiss for the use of the poor things who are taught in Brougham's Scotch "*London University*," for they will now not be able to learn how to get their half millions by "*watching the turn of the market*."

TO GARDENER-EMIGRANTS.

I have had before, and have now, applications from *gardeners*, to know whether *their* business will do in the United States. To which I answer, Yes, if they mean to *work*. If they have read my *EMIGRANT'S GUIDE*, how can they *doubt* of success in *their* business. New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston, are each of them *more opulent than Liverpool*. The country around each of them is studded with *gentlemen's seats in the English style*. Must not *gardeners* be wanted, then? Every body, but *parsons* and *lawyers* and *doctors* are wanted, and even the two latter of these would be better off, in general, than here, *ye*, and the *working* parsons also. But I can add nothing to what I have said in my *EMIGRANT'S GUIDE*. I see that a *cargo* of emigrants are just gone from *Portsmouth to New York*. I congratulate them with all my heart. There is another good lot clear of the *boroughmongers*. *WILMOT HORTON* need not be uneasy all that have money, health and sense, and that *do not live on the taxes* will soon be away. The aged, the lame the lazy, and the *idiot* will stay with the *boroughmongers*. I once more beseech all emigrants to have nothing to do with "*Emigration Companies*," or with *back lands*, *cheap lands*. The end is *certain ruin*. Remember *BIRKENHEAD* and *FROWER*, his wild schemes, and the sad fate of those who listened to them. As to those who talk of *Botany Bay*, *Sugar River*, *Nova Scotia* and *Canada*, they are fools wholly beneath my notice, no matter whither they go, or what becomes of them.

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN

THE *Eleventh Number* of this work is now published, and the two Numbers that were out of print, are re published. I intended to conclude the work in Twelve Numbers, but there must be Fourteen, so that it will be completed on the 1st of September.

ANOTHER SERMON.

Just Published,

At my shop, No 193, Fleet-Street, London, and to be had of all booksellers in town and country, PRICE SIX-PENCE, a Sermon, entitled, GOOD "FRIDAY, or, THE MURDER OF JESUS CHRIST BY THE JEWS" addressed to *Christians* of all denominations—My other Sermons, *twelve in number*, may be had in one volume, price 3s 6d

THE WOODLANDS:

(A,

A TREATISE

On the preparing of ground for planting, on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods,

DESCRIBING

The usual growth and size and the uses of each sort of tree, the seed of each, the season and manner of collecting, the seed the manner of preparing and sowing it, and also the manner of managing the young plants until fit to plant out,

THE TREES

Being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them includes those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin names being prefixed to the directions relative to each tree respectively.

I know every thing about the rearing and managing of Trees myself, from the gathering of the seed to the cutting down and the applying of the tree, and all that I know I have communicated in this Book. It is handsomely printed in 8vo, and the Price is 14s.

THE ENGLISH GARDENER; or, A Treatise on the Situation, Soil, Enclosures, and Laying out, of Kitchen Gardens, in the making and managing of Hot Beds and Green Houses, and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard, and also, on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens, and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers, concluding with a Calendar, giving instructions relative to the Sowing, Planting, Pruning, and other Labours to be performed in the Gardens in each month of the year. There are several Plates in this Work, to represent the laying out of Gardens, the operation of Grafting, Budding, and Pruning. It is printed on Fine Paper, contains 500 pages, and is sold at 6s in Boards.

MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS. This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law; and really I have never met with a politician, gentle or simple, who knew half so much of the matter as myself. I have wanted this book for my sons to read, and monopolizing has never been a favourite with me; if I have ever possessed useful knowledge of any sort, I have never been able to rest till I have communicated it to as many as I could. This Book was translated and published at the request of the American Secretary of State; the Bookseller, though he paid me only a quarter of a dollar (thirteen-pence halfpenny) for every page, had a Subscription from the President, Vice President, and all the Members of the Two Houses of Congress, and from all the Governors and Lawyers in the country. This Work was almost my *coup d'essai*, in the authoring way, but upon looking it over at this distance of time, I see nothing to alter in any part of it. It is a thick octavo volume, with a great number of Notes, and it is, in fact, a book, with regard to public law, what a Grammar is with regard to language. The price is 11s. and the manner of its execution is, I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

THE ENGLISH GRAMMAR, a New Edition. Of this Work, from first to last, Sixty Thousand Copies have been sold, and I verily believe that it has done more to produce real education, as far as correct writing and speaking go, than any book that ever was published. I have received from the year 1820, to the present time, continual thanks, by word of mouth and by letter, from young men, and even from old men, for this work, who have said, that, though many of them had been at the University, they never rightly understood Grammar till they studied this work. I have often given the Reviewers a lash for suffering this Work to pass them unreviewed, but I have recently discovered that the newly-published *EDINBURGH ENCYCLOPEDIA* says of it, that, "for all common purposes, it is the best Treatise we possess, and that it is entitled to supersede all the popular, and many of the scientific productions on the subject of our language." The price of this book is 3s. 10 boards.

A FRENCH GRAMMAR, or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. The notoriously great sale of this Book is no bad criterion of its worth. The reason of its popularity is its *plainness*, its *simplicity*. I have made it as plain as I possibly could. I have encountered and overcome the difficulty of giving *clear definitions*. I have proceeded in such a way as to make the task of learning as little difficult as possible. The price of this book is 5s. in boards.

Just Published.

MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S ITALIAN GRAMMAR, entitled "*A Grammar of the Italian Language, or, a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian.*" *Pike is*—Throughout this Grammar the Author has supposed himself to be addressing those who are altogether unacquainted with the subject; he has, therefore, taken the greatest pains, both as to the proper arrangement of the several matters treated of, and that *clearness of explanation* that they require. At the same time, the work will be found useful to those who are more than mere beginners. It professes to be an "*Introduction*" only, and comes within a moderate compass; but while the Author has set out by noticing points the most simple, he has, in the course of his task, studiously called the reader's attention to the greatest difficulties that occur in the study of Italian. Of the importance of these difficulties the Author may pretend to be a judge, since he has had to encounter them himself, and the want of assistance which he has experienced in books called Grammars, has induced him to think that the results of his own study, as contained in the present work, may be of service to other people.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries; in a series of letters, addressed to all sensible and just Englishmen. This is the title of the Work, which consists of Two Volumes, the first containing the Series of Letters above described, and the second containing a List of *Abbeys, Priories, Nunneries*, and other Religious and charitable Endowments, that were seized on and granted away by the Reformers to one another, and to their minions. The List is arranged according to the Counties, alphabetically, and each piece of property is fully stated, with its then, as well as its actual value, by whom founded and when, by whom granted away, and to whom.—Of this Work there are *two Editions*, one in Duodecimo, price 4s. 6d. for the first Volume, and 3s. 6d. for the second; and another in *Royal Octavo*, on handsome paper, with marginal Notes, and a full Index. This latter Edition was printed for Libraries, and there was consequently but a limited number of Copies struck off. the Price 11. 11s. 6d. in Extra Boards.

To be had at 183, Fleet Street.

A Set of the Register, complete, from the First Volume up to the present time, is to be sold at No. 183, Fleet-street.

MEXICO; OR, THE PATRIOT-BONDHOLDERS.

WITH

A Map of the West Indies and Mexican Gulf.

DISCIPLES.—Mexico is, as you know, one of those new republics which the poor, silly, talking thing, CANNING, said that he had "*called into existence.*" You also know, that, owing to the bragging accounts that he and his colleagues and the Collective gave of this famous republic, numerous fools in England lent their money to the *Mexican government*; that companies were founded for *working the mines* in Mexico; that goods were sent from England to that country in prodigious quantities; that *Mexican Bonds*, or funds, became a considerable branch of the great gambling that is always going on in the Stock Hell of the Wen; and that, of course, there are now thousands upon thousands of merchants, manufacturers, loan-jobbers, and bondholders, many of whom must be totally ruined, and all of them greatly injured, if Mexico, whether by Spanish invasion, or by internal anarchy, or by any other cause, be placed in such a state as to *cause all these engagements with England to be broken and set at naught.*

All this you know, and have long known as well as I. You know also, that Mexico, which is the great country of *silver mines*, and which has a population nearly equal to that of England, and a capital city containing two hundred thousand people; you know, that that country has had nine or ten revolutions in its government in so many years; and we learn, that, at this time, the *anarchy* appears to be greater than ever. This naturally gives rise to great alarm amongst the bondholders, the mining fellows, and the gambling merchants and manufacturers, who see, that they must lose the expected fruits of their gambling, and their *stake* into the bargain, unless *order* and *peace* and *government* be established in this source of silver, and, therefore, they are uncommonly anxious for the establishment of order, peace, and government in Mexico.

Amongst the *causes* of the *disorder*,

they look upon the *armaments*, which the King of Spain is preparing in CUBA (that great island so near at hand), wherewith to *subdue the Mexicans*, and *bring them back to their allegiance*; and one of which armaments is said to be preparing *at this time.* The gamblers, seeing the fatal consequences of this, have now applied to the *parliament to interfere*, in order to make the King of Spain *desist* from thus disturbing them in their expected profitable pursuits! A pretty *reasonable* thing, to be sure, to tell him that he shall not endeavour to reduce his revolted colonies to obedience, because such obedience would be injurious to English gamblers, who have, in a great measure, been the cause of the long-continued disobedience! This is modest enough; but this is the state in which the affair now stands, or, at least, the state in which it stood on the 22nd of May, when HUSKISSON presented to the House of Commons, or lower Collective, a petition on the subject from some people whom he denominated "*Merchants of Liverpool.*" I shall, and-by, have to show how JONATHAN "Ah! take any shape but that!" How I say, Jonathan, long Jonathan, with his "long-tom," enters into this matter, making the King of Spain only a *secondary object of dread.* But, that I may resemble the Collective as little as possible, I shall avoid complexity and confusion, by first speaking of this called-for *interference* of our Government with the *King of Spain*, the reasons and grounds for which interference were stated by HUSKISSON, on the 22nd of May, in a speech which I shall insert here, though I have published it once before, because *two laughs* are better than one; and because I wish, for a reason hereafter to be stated, to have, in this one paper, all the matter belonging to the subject. I beg you, my friends, to read this, and all the other speeches that I shall quote, with *great attention*; for in them you will see how the *Borough* people are pushed; you will see what *their* notions are, and it is on *their* notions that I shall have principally to remark.

Mr. HUSKISSON presented a petition, which he said, was well entitled to the consideration of the House. It was from that portion

the merchants of Liverpool who were in commercial intercourse with Mexico. They complained of the interruption to their commerce from the expeditions fitted out by Spanish subjects from the island of Cuba, and of the consequent danger and loss to their trade. We were bound by treaty to Mexico; we had a great interest in the tranquillity and in the commercial operations of that country, and ought to protect the trade between Mexico and this country. The petitioners *prayed the House to take such measures as would restrain Spain from attempts so injurious to us and to Spain herself, as they must ultimately fail.* We have a right to insist on the suspension of these hostilities, although we had no right to require Spain to recognise the independence of Mexico or the other States, formerly her colonies. The right hon. Gentleman, after narrating the circumstances of a menaced attack from Mexico and Colombia conjointly upon Cuba, some years ago, referred to a correspondence of Mr. Clay's, Secretary of State for the United States, giving his opinion in favour of the success of such an attack. Cuba would then have been lost to Spain had not this country and the Government of the United States interfered. Mr. Canning had an interview with the Mexican and Colombian Ministers upon the subject, to remonstrate against the enterprise; and such interposition did in fact take place as put an end to the undertaking. This Government would have much to answer for, if they allowed any such attack to endanger the commercial transactions of this country, and of other countries which navigated the southern seas. These new States were inclined to show deference to the wishes of this country. He was sorry that an opinion had gone abroad that we now repented of having recognised the South American States, and that we were ashamed of the connexion. His own conviction was, that such an opinion was groundless. Which had advised the recognition? He feared he was wandering on the subject. The consequences of interposition with the new States was, that they abandoned the attempt upon Cuba. This was now four years since, and during that interval, Spain was preparing forces, and collecting them in Cuba, with a view, upon a proper occasion, to attack Mexico. He asked the King's Government whether they were aware of these forces setting out from Spain? and whether, if so aware, they remonstrated against such an expedition, and insisted that Cuba should not be made a point from which an attack could be made on Mexico? If this expedition went out from Spain with our knowledge, and without remonstrance, we did not act with impartiality; and if remonstrance was made, he was sorry it failed of the good effects which our remonstrance on the former occasion, with the new States, produced. Cuba ought not to be allowed to be made a point from which Mexico would be assailed. It was said, on a former night, that the restraint put upon Mexico and Colombia, was in the true spirit of impartiality. But if Spain was not now restrained from the threatened attack, our boasted impartiality was mere mockery. To get rid of that charge, we ought to impose a similar restraint on Spain. There may be great danger in allowing Spain to congregate

her forces in Cuba. All the considerations of commerce, of impartiality, and of humanity, required one interposition in this case to prevent the dangers that might ensue. Now, after twenty-one years of opposition between Spain and her colonies, the latter had freed themselves, and for seven years Spain had no power in any of the States. Third parties were interested in this contest. Did not our commerce suffer in 1822, when we were going to 15000 letters of reprisal. The consequence of threats then was, that we got from Spain 30 or 40 per cent. compensation for our losses. It was true that in Mr. Canning's State Paper, it was expressly laid down that England would observe the strictest neutrality in the contest between Spain and the new States of South America; but, then, that must be construed only in reference to some reasonable time, at which such contest was to have an end. It could not be for a moment supposed, that England was continually to look on and witness such a miserable warfare as had hitherto existed.

Thus, you see, then, the real object is to get money out of the Mexicans, under the pretences of justice, impartiality, and HUMANITY; above all things "humanity!" and the legal ground for compelling Spain to desist from her armaments is, that England, or, more properly speaking, *Boi oughtland*, interdicted Mexico and Colombia from attacking Cuba, four years ago, when they were about to do it; and that, therefore, impartiality required a similar interdict now to be imposed upon Spain with regard to her projected attack on Mexico. One might show up the stupidity of this reasoning, and have some sport with it; but I have no room, or time, to throw away; and, as we are now about to see, Peel demolished Huskisson's grounds completely, by proving that they were WHOLLY FALSE.

Peel had a difficult part to play: the imputation against him and his colleagues, was, that they had sacrificed the "honour" of the country, and the interests of its merchants and manufacturers, by not interfering. He might have said, that it was a gang of gambling mine-sharers and bondholders that, at bottom, the interference was wanted for; but this was too bold for Peel; and, therefore, he had to show, that there was no treaty, no engagement of any sort, no moral obligation, that called on us to interfere; and that, as to the argument of analogy, namely, that, as we had interfered to interdict an attack on Cuba by Mexico, so we were bound, in justice, to interdict attacks on Mexico from Cuba; as to this argument, which was the only one that had any weight in

Mr. Peel demolished it in a moment, by quoting a dispatch from Canning (the Secretary for Foreign Affairs) to one DAWKINS, his envoy to the Mexican Congress. I quote the words; and they are conclusive as to the fact.

But the fourth point, upon which he principally relied, he should now lay before the House. He was aware that in doing so, he did not adhere strictly to the course usually pursued; but in a case like the present, where the honour of the country, and of Mr. Canning personally, was concerned, he hoped the House would permit him to depart from the ordinary line, and to quote the opinion of Mr. Canning himself on this subject. He held in his hand an extract from a dispatch of Mr. Canning to Mr. Dawkins, on his going to the Congress in March, 1826. The following was the purport of the extract: "You will see how earnestly it is desired by the United States, by France, and by this country, that Cuba should remain tranquil. The British Government, so far from denying the right of the new States in America to make a hostile attack upon Cuba, whether considered as in the possession of a Power with whom they were at war, or as an arsenal at which armaments were fitted out against them, have uniformly refused to join the United States in remonstrating with Mexico and Columbia against it, or in intimating that this country would feel any displeasure at such an attack."

This is complete: not only did we not "interdict" an attack upon Cuba, but we refused to join Jonathan in remonstrating against such an attack; aye, and "refused to intimate to Mexico and Colombia that this country would feel displeasure at such an attack"! Thus was poor HUSKISSON and his "Liverpool merchants" left fairly nonplussed! My friends, did you ever, when half a dozen greedy fellows had just sat down to a table covered with turtle and venison and glasses and decanters, see the table with all its load carried off by the suspicious landlord, leaving the gluttons sitting and looking at one another? You must have witnessed a scene like this, to have an adequate idea of the mortification of the pensioned HUSKISSON and his "merchants," when PAUL thus snatched from them their argument of analogy. And what was the condition of poor statesman HUSKISSON in particular, when it was considered, that he himself was one of the very cabinet that authorized this despatch to Dawkins!

Thus, then, this settles the matter as far as relates to any moral obligation that we are under to interfere with Spain in this case; it settles the matter as far as relates to any duty, on our part, towards Mexico; but it does not settle

the matter as to our right to interfere, and as to the policy of such interference, or, speaking more plainly, the advantage to us of such interference; and when, in cases ~~not~~ this, I say us, I do not mean the English people generally, but the tax-eaters and the whole of the Borough and Bank phalanx, or band. And it is as clear as daylight, that the interest of this band calls loudly for interference; for the band has need of Mexico, and, indeed, has a great deal at stake in it. However, adopting the common parlance, begging you to bear in mind, that WE, the tax-payers, have an interest always directly the opposite of that of this band, I proceed next to the speech of ALEXANDER BARING, describing the sad effects of these menacing Spanish armaments in Cuba.

Mr. BARING was aware of the immense importance of the protection of our trade and interest in this quarter of the globe. The amount of our exports to these newly-established States, amounted to about nine millions yearly, or three times the amount of that exported to Russia, Prussia, Holland, France, and Spain. The probable advantages resulting from the close commercial connection with the South American Government were, that they were new and rising Governments, whose demands for our manufactures would be rapidly increasing, without danger of their entering the lists with us as rival manufacturers or competing with our armaments as great naval powers. Australia offered many flattering prospects to the industry of the mother-country; from the habits and information of her people, she would naturally become a producer or manufacturer of our staple articles for herself. Great as the amount of exports to the newly-created Republics was, it was natural to expect that amount would be every year increased, more especially if they were all removed out of the reach of the tense and threat of invasion from the mother-country. In this way, Brazil, which boasted of no imperfect constitution under its monarchical Government, imported yearly to the amount of 6,000,000*l.* of official value; and even the poorest of them, Chili, for the same reason, imported as much as 1,100,000*l.* of official value. The contrast was striking as to Mexico, which, owing to the unsettled state occasioned by this tense and alarm, only imported 400,000*l.* official value yearly; of the remaining States in this agitated quarter, another imported only 540,000*l.* the rest 1,100,000*l.* As soon as comfort, quiet, and a firm hope of peace, were generally entertained in these States, the trade of Mexico and Venezuela must rapidly increase. At present, their exchequer was only drained and squeezed to keep up a large military force, ostensibly to resist the threatened invasion by Spain, but who were not unfrequently found engaged in plundering consignments and conveyances of goods and produce, to the vast loss of British subjects using capital in that country. Thus, all the merchants sensibly felt the transit of the political chiefs in

across this country, it was impossible that any thing could escape their occasional visits, not excepting those who had embarked their property in speculations, or extracting from the soil the precious metals. This was altogether an artificial state of society. One of its results was that the outlay of English capital had produced most satisfactory results, the Rio Grande mine having returned more silver yearly than all the rest put together. The progress of these States has been accompanied by the increase of British interests, which, in the event of an invasion, would necessarily lead British subjects into arms against a Power with whom Great Britain was on terms of peace and amity. In vain—it was impossible—any other result could be anticipated; and this Government well knew that the point should and ought to be settled as soon as possible, to protect those interests of ours, which had grown up under such peculiar circumstances.

BARING says nothing of the Bonds here! But he says quite enough to convince every man of only bare common sense, that JONATHAN, long Jonathan, with his deadly "long tom," with which he did so belabour the "conquerors of France" and the all-conquering "Blue and Buff"; quite enough to convince every man of the least portion of common sense, that JONATHAN will never suffer us to interfere in the manner that the "merchants" of Liverpool pray for! Lest, however, this should be insufficient to produce such conviction, a city-sage put in his declaration as to the value of Mexico to this country; and, having great respect for that abstemious corporation, we will hear, and so shall Jonathan, what the statesman THOMPSON said upon this interesting occasion.

Mr. Alderman THOMPSON said, that if the merchants of London did not interfere in the question with regard to Mexico, it was not because they thought less of its importance, but because they had the strongest reliance on the promises held out by his Majesty's Government, that they would use every means to prevent the aggressions of Spain. In fact, there were not fewer than twenty-six millions of British capital embarked in various ways by our engagements with South America; and there was no country in the world better suited to British enterprise. He was, therefore, most happy to hear, and he was sure so would every commercial man in the kingdom, that it was the intention of Government to interfere with Spain for the prevention of such harassing attacks. He knew that large shipments had been stopped in consequence of the former aggression, but he hoped that many months would not elapse before our relations with that country were placed upon a better footing. He could not conclude without offering his thanks to the right honourable Gentleman for the able manner in which he had introduced a subject so interesting to this country, and to the world at large?

Now, my friends, look at the map: Mexico, lying half round the Gulf

of that name; see it bounded to the north by the dominions of Jonathan, just as Middlesex is by Hertfordshire; see the mouths of the Mississippi, Jonathan's only outlet from the Western States; see the Floridas (now in his possession) coming round to the east of those mouths; see the great island of Cuba commanding (with Florida) by the north side of it, the entrance of the Gulf, and by the southern side of it, the West India Sea. Look at all this, my friends; recollect, that that NEW ORLEANS, whence that very General JACKSON, who is now President, had to drive into the sea those "conquerors" (under Cochrane and Packenham) whom his volunteers did not leave dead on the plain; recollect, that that New Orleans is on the Mississippi, not far from the mouth; and when you have thus looked and thus recollected, believe, if you can, that Jonathan will, purely for the love that he must, of course, bear towards those who impressed his seamen, and who, after they had been compelled to serve them, shut them up, as prisoners of war, on Dartmoor, where many of them were SHOT for attempting to escape; believe, if you can, that he will, purely out of affection for these people, suffer them to nestle themselves into Mexico, draw away the contents of the mines, and establish there a power in alliance with us, to enable us, at any time, to ruin all his Western States by the absolute command, which such power and such alliance would give us, over the mouths of the Mississippi: believe this, if you can, my friends; and believe, further, that Jonathan will be the more disposed to suffer us to do this, when he finds, from the statement of BARING, that Mexico may be made such a great market for OUR goods, and so profitable to US as the great source of silver; when he finds, from the statement of THOMPSON, that WE have twenty-six millions of capital embarked with the Mexicans and others, in that part of America, and that there is no country in the world better suited to BRITISH enterprise: believe, if you can, that these statements (and others of nearly the same sort, that we shall see by-and-by) will add to Jonathan's eagerness to suffer US to creep into and get the mastery of the power of Mexico.

Now, my friends, put Spain out of the question; for, all the talk about interfering to prevent Spain from disturbing our interests in Mexico, is sheer nonsense.

To be sure, it does require impudence and ignorance unparalleled to propose to Spain not to arm against the Mexicans, not to endeavour to reduce them to obedience, lest ~~we~~ ^{we} should not get paid the interest of the money that we lent them to enable them to rebel! This does demand a stock of impudence and insolence and ignorance, such as is to be found no where but amongst under-strappers of Boroughmongers; but Spain is nothing in this question; nothing at all; the dispute is between US (the Borough and Bank people) and JONATHAN; and this you are now going to see; and see it you will with interest and with delight; for here is, in all probability, preparing for the Borough THING, a blow such as it has not received for many and many a day; a blow, the mere wind of which is more to be dreaded by them than all the bawlings of all the Bio O's and all the Old Glories and all the Sanchos that ever existed, or that ever will exist.

I am now, before I proceed to further remarks of my own, about to insert the latter part of HUSKISSON's speech; also those parts of the speeches of PEARL, SIR BOBBY, BARING and BRIGHT, which relate to the views of long Jonathan, with his wawereiful "long tom" and those cruel rifles with which he gave the "conquerors of France" such "imperial weight and measure" at New Orleans, of the battle at which place "His Majesty's government" never, from first to last, gave us any account whatever! From those speeches you will clearly discover, my friends, that it is Jonathan, and Jonathan only, whose conduct and views puzzle the THING here; that it is he who has got the ring in the THING'S nose; that it is he who stands frowning at it with a club in his hand, just as a clodpole stands at a gap to keep hungry cattle out of a rich field of corn. Read, I pray you, all those speeches, or parts, with great attention; notice particularly the passages in *Italics*; and when you have done this, be so good as to hear me. A copy from the report in the Morning Herald of 23d of May.

HUSKISSON. Among the other considerations which should make us anxiously wish to see the independence of Mexico fully established, was the formidable power which the United States already possessed in that quarter. The United States entered into the world not alone Cuba to be transferred to any other maritime power than Spain; had we not, then, a right to say to them, that we would not per-

mit them to have any more territory than they now possessed on the Gulf of Mexico? It was quite clear that the United States eagerly looked to the ports of Mexico, and if they were seized upon, then the independence of what would remain of Mexico would be little better than that of those Indian nations who were at the mercy of the United States. Though England and the North American States were now on friendly terms, still no man could calculate how long they might continue so; and however desirable it was that nothing should interrupt the existing relations of amity, it was still right that we should be always prepared for such an occurrence. If this principle held good in the old world, there was nothing in the democratic States of the new, to show that they were not as desirous of aggrandisement as the most military despotism in Europe could possibly be. The right honourable Gentleman then took a historical retrospect of the negotiations carried on between the United States and Spain, for the navigation of the Mississippi, and contended that the late Mr. Jefferson had invariably shown, both in and out of office, the most anxious wish to extend the territories of the Union, in the direction of Mexico. His despatches on the subject were written at a time when Great Britain was about to go to war with Spain; however, they ended in nothing, for the two Powers contrived to reconcile their differences. When the French Revolution broke out, Spain took part with France, and Louisiana being ceded to the latter country, was purchased for a sum of money by the United States in the year 1803. In the year 1806 Mr. Jefferson, still full of his favourite scheme of Mexican aggrandisement, wrote to Mr. Monroe in these terms:—"We begin to consider the whole gulf-stream in our waters." In 1819 the United States got the whole of the Floridas. In 1823, when the question of Cuba was under discussion, what was the language of Mr. Jefferson? In writing to the then President, he said, "I candidly confess that I look upon Cuba as the most interesting accession to our system of States. The control which it would give us over the Gulf, would fill up the measure of our political well-being." He (Mr. Huskisson) now contended, that we must either maintain our rights in that Gulf, or cease to have any connexion with the New World. If the views of the House and of the country should be in unison with those of the petitioners upon this question, the impression might go forth beneficially, and cause an end to be put to all further hostilities between Spain and her late colonies; colonies over which she can never hope to re-establish her power. It should be remembered that Mexico was the great source from which the precious metals were derived; and at present the whole world suffered materially from the deficiency of the supply, in consequence of the wretched system of warfare that was carried on. The only hope of relief was, from the produce of the mines of that country. In the same, then, of suffering Europe his Majesty's Ministers ought to appeal to Spain, and say to her, "We cannot jase you not to delay taking those steps which shall render the mines as productive as possible." From all these considerations, he implored his Majesty's Ministers to inter-

Barfing : be not so hard on poor "Jotty!" Let him have a little share in the good things of the earth. While WE, disinterested WE, were "*delivering Europe*," we *squatted* down upon *Demerara* and *Baiequibo* and *Ceylon* and *the Cape*, belonging to our friends, the Dutch; we *squatted* down upon *TRINIDAD*, belonging to our friend, the king of SPAIN; we *squatted* down up the *Mauritius* and *Pondicherry* and other places, belonging to our friends, the *BOURBONS*; we *squatted* down upon the *Ionian Isles* and *Malta*, belonging to our friends, the *KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM*; we *squatted* down on *Heligoland*, belonging to our friends, the *DANES*; and we continue to *squat* in all those places, though our friends are all now "*delivered*." Pray, then, be not so hard, Sir BOBBY, on poor JOTTY, if he make a *squat* or two in Mexico, while he is "*delivering*" the Mexicans.

But I shall be told that we get *nothing* by our *squatting*; and that is very true; but what is that to Jonathan? We, indeed, *lose* by them; we *are*, as the great PRINCE OF WATERLOO says, compelled to *pay* for our *squatting*s; our *squatting*s drain us of our money and plunge us into *distress*; but Jonathan cannot help that! Let him go on *squatting*, and, may be, he will get into *distress* too. Ah, no! Jonathan has no nice, good, grand and noble *aristocracy* to keep upon his *squatting*s: his *squatting*s will not make his taxes *four times as great as they were before*, but will make them *less*. But we have no right to find fault with this. Every one to his *taste*: we cannot live without *life-guards* and a fine, noble *aristocracy*, and we must *pay* for them, of course. JOTTY's taste is different, more humble, and less costly. He does not like his millions to live on *hog-potatoes*, while his hundreds eat *strawberries* at a guinea an ounce; and if we *do*, Jonathan cannot help that.

PEEL tells us, that, in 1825, when it was supposed that Mexico and Colombia were about to *capture Cuba*, JONATHAN "*interfered*," and advised them not to attempt an attack upon Cuba, until the result was known of an application to *Russia* for *her mediation* with Spain! *Her mediation*! What the devil had *she* to do with the *West Indies*? Nothing; but she had a deal to do with *US*: a deal to do with *Malta* and the *South Ionian Isles*! This is the devil all over, to be sure! The plain truth is

this: Jonathan had then, and long before, *resolved upon having Cuba*, which he will have in spite of our teeth, partly drawn and partly broken by our *debt*, *dead weight*, *standing army*, *positions* and *stencres*. Having *resolved* on this, he *forbade* Canning's "*new world*" to meddle with Cuba, and he had before "*asserted*" that WE should not have it. And in order to keep US off, he told us, that he would *apply to Russia* for *her mediation with Spain*! That was enough! We, though we had an "*imperial*" yard, did not attempt to *mete* Jonathan with it; but became as *quiet* as "*Blue and Buff*" were, when they returned home, after the battles on Lakes Erie and Champlain. How often have I told you, my staunch and sensible friends, that *Russia* and *Jonathan* will always pull together against our all-"*delivering*" THING!

After this, having this clear view of the designs of Jonathan, do look, if your stomachs will let you, at the speech of poor PEEL: look at "*the whole world being interested*" in preventing Spain from harassing Mexico: look at "*our counselling Spain not to waste her energies*:" look at "*the happiness of other nations deeply concerned in the settlement of the independence of Mexico*:" look at Peel's *anxiety*, lest "*Spain should paralyse herself*" by attempts to bring Mexico to obedience: look at the "*friendly advice* that Spain "*is DAILY receiving from this country, of whose friendship she is assured*:" look at his earnest desire, to "*put an end to a state of things that interrupts the commerce of THE WORLD*." Look at all this, and, remembering that he is a *minister*, and speaks in the name of the THING, which has an "*imperial*" yard and bushel;" look at all this, and do, for God's sake, look at his fulsome, low, vulgar, crawling compliments to Jonathan's *people*, *government*, and *embassy in London*! Feeling as *Englishmen*, your hearts will sicken within you; but, my friends, bethink a little: it is the THING'S minister that is talking, and talking, too, to a *septennial* and *unreformed* Parliament! Think of this; and think, too, that of all the objects in this world, the *Boroughmongers* *hate* and *dread*, and *justly dread*, Jonathan the most, and that in proportion as he becomes powerful, they become, and will become, *feeble*. Think of these things,

my friends, and then you will be heart-whole again

But, now, what is the *remedy* for these manifest designs of Jonathan? His designs are, clear as daylight, to get possession of CUBA, to encroach upon Mexico, to get possession of her seaboard in great part and thus, having the Floridas, to have the sole command in the Gulf of Mexico and in the West India sea. These are his designs openly avowed, or, at least, so evident, that the avowal is not necessary. In justification of these designs, he has, in answer to the THING, only to ask what is its justification for keeping *Demerara* and *Essequibo*, *Ceylon*, the *Cape*, the *Mauritius*, *Pondicherry*, *Martinez*, *Guadaloupe*, *Trinidad*, *Malta*, the *Ionian Isles*, *Heligoland*, and so forth. And if . . . , but stop, it cannot be done in plain prose and Doctor Black shall see that dramatic matter is not annihilated!

THING. Oh! I keep those places because I conquered them.

JONATHAN. Why may I not, then, conquer a little too?

PETER. Aye, but you would "take advantage of the troubles of your neighbours," and this would not be "generous," and you are a "great naval power," and have "free institutions," and have an envoy here in London, who is as honest and worthy a man as "ever BRLATHILL," and besides all . . .

JONATHAN (*Holding his nose*). Yes, I guess he may be, or as ever SPILL, or any thing else, but, as to my being generous and being a great naval power and having free institutions, why, is not yours the most generous THING in the world, has it not the greatest naval power in the world, while I, only the other day, had but "half a dozen frigates," "with bits of striped bunting at their mist-headers," and is not your THING's free institutions the envy of "surrounding nations and admiration of the world"? If this be not so—(*aside*, the THING is the greatest liar in the world).

PETER. Yes, yes, it is, it is so, but, as I said before, it would be ungenerous in you to quarrel upon your neighbour's territory during his internal troubles.

JONATHAN. "Squat" in your teeth, but if it be squalling, was it, then, generous in the THING to squat down upon the most valuable possession of its friends and neighbours, the Danes, the Dutch, the Bonapartes, the Spaniards, and the Knights of St John, during their internal troubles, and while it was devouring them from the Jacobins?

Enter abruptly, and seemingly in a great passion, HUCKLESON, BARRING, SIR BOBBY, and BRIGHT.

HUCKLESON. Oh! here you are, Mr Jonathan! And so, "you look upon Cuba as the most interesting accession to your system of States, you already begin to consider the whole of the Gulf of Mexico as in your wa-

ters; you show the most anxious desire to extend your union in the direction of Mexico, you, democrat as you are, are as eager for aggrandisement as the most military despotism in Europe."

JONATHAN. Well, and what of all that?

BARRING. Why, you are "the universal power, making rapid strides, and threatening our interests in more than one quarter of the globe; you go creeping on silently with your settlements, and, in spite of your assurances, will baffie all the adroitness of our Government, unless the present highly favourable opportunity be taken to prevent it."

JONATHAN. Well, I guess you ought to take the opportunity, then.

SIR BOB. What! do you set the empire at defiance? Have you not "got into the TEXAS," with 250 leagues of sea-coast, have you not "squatted down, have you not made a sort of Government of your own there," have you . . .

JONATHAN. What do mean by squinting it is not I that . . .

SIR BOB. It is, it is you, and "if you get possession of Cuba our trade to Mexico must be carried on through the Gulf stream, under your guns from Cuba on one side, and Florida on the other."

JONATHAN (*Aside*). A monstrous good argument for our getting possession of CUBA!

BRIGHT. "Mexico is the great fountain of mineral wealth, and the focus, of the greatest importance to this country."

JONATHAN (*Aside*). And therefore, of the greatest importance to me to keep you out of Mexico.

HUCKLESON. Aye, Mr Bright, and "ELROPI is now suffering for want of a supply of the precious metals."

BRIGHT. Yes, "and when it is remembered how materially the supply of the precious metals affects prices."

JONATHAN (*Aside*). Ah! What sensible men there are, to let all this out!

HUCKLESON. Very true, Mr Bright, "the only hope of relief is from the mines of that country."

JONATHAN (*Aside*). Then you'll not get "relief," I guess.

BRIGHT (*To Jonathan*). Aye, and "if remonstrance fail we are bound to go to war to prevent the continuance of the system which Spain and you are pursuing, for I am convinced, that, if you are not stopped in your course of aggrandisement, you will soon absorb the whole of South America."

JONATHAN. Stop me, then, but remember, I carry a "long tom."

PETER. Gentlemen, gentlemen. I can assure you, upon the word and in honour of a gentleman, "that it no time did there ever a better understanding prevail between this country and the country alluded to, and that, as to Spain, she is DAILY receiving the most friendly advice from this country." And, indeed (*looking at his watch*), it is now nearly the hour for my performing this part of my diurnal duty [*Exit PETER, followed by all the rest, except JONATHAN, who remains*].

JONATHAN (*Alone*). The old Harry take me, but John Bull has got some great statesmen! Now I see why they are so eager to keep Spain from reducing Mexico: they want the silver here to raise prices: they are afraid to put out *assurances*, yet they cannot continue on to pay all their expenses, that of their debt, of

their dead-weights, as they call it; of their standing army, of their pensions and sinecures, without money; and, therefore, they want Mexican mines! Well, they are in a pretty mess! After carrying on war for twenty-two years to obtain "indemnity for the past and security for the future," they are got into a state of "distress," their "only hope of relief" from which is in what they expect from the mines of Mexico, of which I will take care that they shall never have one single cent. [Exit.

Scene changes to Whitehall Chambers, PELL sitting with a great heap of papers before him; DON DIEGO entering.

PELL (Rising, bowing, and pointing to a chair). I rejoice, Sir, at this and at every occasion, of being able to give you "assurances" of the friendship of this country for yours, which she cannot evince in a way more clearly and strongly, than by "earnestly advising" her not to waste her energies in endeavours "to reduce Mexico to obedience."

DON. You are very kind, Sir, and doubtless perfectly disinterested; but you will allow, that old Spain must naturally desire to repossess herself of the territory and immense riches of new Spain; and that, as to the right...

PELL. We do not, my dear Don, question the right.

DON. Surely Spain is not to be accused of rapacity, for endeavouring to get her own colonies, when there are other powers which have grasped so many colonies not their own, but discovered, settled, and made valuable by others; and of these powers.....

PELL. You need not proceed, Sir! That has nothing at all to do with the matter: it is the interest of Spain herself to follow our advice, which is given for her sake, and not for.....

DON (Hastily). Spain thanks you; Spain thanks you with all her heart; but.....

PELL (Interrupting). I am glad of it; for he assured that it is for her that we feel in this case: we fear, that by her efforts (vain efforts) to repossess herself of Mexico "her influence in Europe will be paralysed"; and, besides.....

DON (Aside). O gran Dios! PELL. It is clear as day-light, that "Spain" could not inflict upon herself a greater curse than by succeeding in getting possession of "Mexico"; and that.....

DON (Aside). Merciful Redeemer, grant me patience to hear this!

PELL (Continuing all the while). She must be assured, that this country is, in offering this advice, consulting her good only.

DON. Well, Sir, Spaniards, frank and sincere themselves, are not prone to suspect others of duplicity; but, Sir, with a strong indisposition to such suspicion, Spaniards cannot but recollect the BOAST of your Minister, the modest and profound CANNING, that HE had called the New World into existence; Spaniards cannot but remember his exultation and the loud and long cheer of the "noblest Assembly of free men," when he said, "Aye! Spain, to be sure; still the kingdom called Spain; but Spain shorn of the greatness; Spain, it is true; but Spain in possession of a small part of Europe, and not that Spain on some part or other of whose dominions the sun was shining in every minute of the twenty-four hours." Spaniards, Sir, cannot forget these.

PELL. letting th

DON. What! you we of the House of Bourbon another part of it; you the French came and s teries and other church from the hands of those them to your Jew and w holders! You were angry account, were you!

PELL. But, my dear Don Diego, to return to the present state of things, we do not speak for ourselves here: "the whole world is interested in the maintenance of tranquillity in Mexico. Every country that feels an interest in the prosperity and happiness of other nations, has a deep concern in the settlement of this question."

DON. That is to say, in the settlement of the independence of Mexico?

PELL. Yes, certainly.

DON. Do you happen to know of any other country than yours, that has BONDS due to it from the Mexican revolt? Do you happen to know of any other country that has MINING COMPANIES, pretending to own the mines in Mexico? Do you happen to know of any other country that stands in need of an increase of the quantity of currency to raise its prices, pay the interest of its debt; and uphold its all-devouring aristocracy.....

PELL. Sir, Sir, Sir! I cannot hear this; I cannot hear this. We have, since you reject our advice, though proceeding from such pure friendship, ground of complaint, that you say not a word to JONATHAN, though he, in open day, is squatting down in the TEXAS, getting into the ports on the coast, and clearly aims at the command of all the Gulf of Mexico.

DON. Suppose all this? Has he not as good a right to squat in the Texas as you have to squat in the mines? And, as to the command of the Gulf of Mexico, is it not better for us that he should have it than that you should? And would you not have it to-morrow, and Cuba into the bargain, if it were not for fear of him? And, does not God seem to have raised him up for the purpose of.....?

PELL (Interrupting). O, fie! fie! I am sorry to hear this from "most Catholic" lips, especially after the sacrifices that we, and I in particular, have made for.....

DON (Continuing all the while). For the purpose, I say, of preventing the whole world from being made the slaves of your all-devouring, never satisfied, aristocracy.....

PELL (Interrupting). I cannot hear this. My duty to.....

DON. And my duty to my country bids me repeat, that.....

PELL (Looking at his watch, rising, bowing, and ringing the bell). Your very humble servant, Sir; good day, Sir.

DON. Sir, your most obedient!

[Exit. The curtain drops.

Scene changes to the great room in the City of London Tavern. JONATHAN & DON DIEGO.

JONATHAN. They will be here, the landlord says, in a quarter of an hour, and then we shall hear them spout it all out; for they are like woodcocks, which, when they see nothing themselves, think that nobody can see them.

DON. Who are these "Mexican Band-

at your one part he aid of because monas- property pawned a bond- in this

holders* that are able to meet here to-day? And what are they going to do, think you?

JONATHAN. Well, there are, amongst the rest, that ALDERMAN THOMPSON and that SIR BOBBY, who were talking about Mexico, the other night, down at other place.

DON. Hombert!

JONATHAN. And then, there is that same BARRING, who is the AGENT for paying the interest on the bonds, when the money can be got from Mexico, and they are now going to meet here to discuss the means of getting at the money.

DON. I see, I see! So that those who were, the other night, calling for the interference of PRINCE for the sake of "the world," of "suffering Europe," and of "British commerce and manufactures," are going to meet here, in their capacity of bondholders and shareholders! Alas! But our presence will not be very agreeable to them; and it will be useless

for us to remain; for they will hardly speak freely, if we be here; and they all know us.

JONATHAN. Why, they are likely enough to do that; for their arrogance makes them believe, that the rest of their THING is still low for all nations, but we need not run that risk; for the landlord has, at my request, put that screen up in the corner there; and, when they come up, we can just step behind it, and know all that passes.

DON. And so, you say, they are going to discuss the means of getting the interest from the Bondholders in Mexico, and of . . . but here they come, let us . . .

They go behind the screen, at a lower corner of the stage, where they can be seen by the audience, though not by the meeting.

LANDLORD AND WAITERS (*All speaking to, & to, the*). Here, here! Set the chair, set the chair!

* From the *Sun and Morning Herald*, 27th May, 1880.

"THE MEXICAN LOANS.—Yesterday a Meeting of the Mexican Bondholders was held at the City of London Tavern, to take into consideration what steps should be adopted in consequence of the communication from the Mexican Government relative to the payment of the dividends. Those who were present, Mr. Ward, M.P., Mr. Alderman Thompson M.P., Mr. Robinson, M.P., Mr. Marshall, M.P., Sir R. Wilson, M.P., Mr. Baring, M.P. &c.

Mr. Alderman Thompson was called to the Chair, and stated that he had no any direct interest in the matter to be discussed that day, but he was most anxious to render every assistance to those of his brother citizens who had suffered severely by the non-payment of the dividends on the Mexican loans. It was satisfactory to know, by the documents made public by the Mexican Government, that it was desirous of upholding the honour of that country. The political convulsions which have occurred in Mexico may be styled as the principal cause which have obliged the Mexican Government to appropriate the duties set apart for the dividends to other purposes. He was fully convinced that these duties, if properly applied, would be quite sufficient to meet the demands of the Bondholders. It was also satisfactory to know that, by the advice received from Mexico that day, the country was in a very tranquil state.

Mr. MARSHALL, M.P., rose to propose a series of resolutions, and corroborated the statement made by the Chairman relative to the satisfactory nature of the accounts made from Mexico. After a few other remarks, he concluded by moving the following resolutions—

Resolved,—That this meeting perceive with great satisfaction the interest with which the Government of Mexico is directing its attention towards the fulfilment of the national engagements of that Republic, the non-performance of which has, for a considerable time past, subjected the Bondholders to the serious losses and disappointments while it has been in the same degree injurious to the public credit of the Mexican Government.

—That it appears to this meeting, that the non-performance of these engagements has not been caused by the inadequacy thereto of the produce of the funds specially hypothecated to the Bondholders for that purpose (including more particularly the one-third part of the duties of Customs), but by the circumstance of those funds having been diverted to other purposes—That this meeting is fully sensible of the unavoidable pressure of the political difficulties which has from time to time led to this diversion of those funds from the purpose to which they were pledged, and that it relies with entire confidence on the national honour and good faith of the Mexican Government—now that the Republic is restored to the enjoyment of internal tranquillity—for means being taken to relieve the Bondholders from the consequences of the inconvenience they are now sustaining—That it appears to this meeting that no means can be so effectual for this end, as the establishment of a distinct and certain mode of making the necessary contributions to this country—That a Committee be appointed to represent the general interests of the Bondholders, and to confer with his Excellency M. de Gortari on the subject of his recent communication, and to concert with his Excellency such measures as may be calculated, consistently with the actual state of its finances, to restore the credit of the Republic of Mexico with the view to recommend the same to the adoption of the Mexican Government, also to take such steps as may be neces-

sary for securing the influence and co-operation of the British Government, it being understood that although this meeting is persuaded the Bondholders at large will feel very disposition to afford temporary accommodation to the Mexican Government, no authority can be given to release the Mexican from the obligation of paying the dividends on its bonds, at its own risk and expense in the City of London, nor in other respects to invalidate the conditions of those bonds—That a unanimously.

WM. THOMPSON, Chairman.
That the following gentlemen do compose the aforesaid Committee, with power to increase the number to 15, and that three be a quorum—viz. John Marshall, Esq. M.P., G. R. Robinson, Esq. M.P., Alderman Thompson M.P., Sir Robert Wilson, M.P., Charles Buisson, Esq., Isaac van Goolstede, Esq., John Moxon, Esq., Henry Patterson Esq., J. D. Fowler, Esq., Gabriel Shaw, Esq. Herman Silleen Esq.—That the respectful thanks of this meeting, be presented to the Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen for the kindness with which his Lordship has signified his readiness to render whatever assistance may be in his Lordship's power in the furtherance of the claims of the Bondholders.

SIR R. WILSON, in reference to that part of the despatch from the Mexican Government to the bondholders in which it is stated that the proceeds of the duties set apart for the payment of the dividends would be held in the hands of the British Consuls said he was happy to inform the meeting, that he had considered it necessary to have an interview with the Earl of Aberdeen on this question. He (Sir R. W.) was happy to have to state that he was authorised by the Noble Earl to express his readiness to permit the British Consular agents in South America to receive such duties as may be paid over to them by the Mexican Government for the use of the Bondholders—*cheers*. He had always thought it of the highest importance that such a plan should be adopted, as it has happened that money belonging to the Bondholders, and lodged in the hands of the Military Authorities, they had not been able to resist the temptation by distilling the money in the hands of the British Consuls, it would be held more suspiciously for the benefit of those to whom it belonged. The Noble Earl had also expressed his readiness to enter into any arrangement with a Committee of the Bondholders on this subject. He (Sir R. W.) would therefore move that a Committee be appointed, as it would be quite impossible for any commission sent between the British and Mexican Governments to be entered into without one. He should also move a vote of thanks to Lord Aberdeen for his attention to the interests of the Mexican Bondholders.

The resolutions were, however, first carried. It was then moved that a Committee should be appointed, and that the House of Commons and Co. should have a part in conducting the business.

Mr. BARRING, M.P., stated that the House of Commons had not the least interest in the subject of the loans, but that he had no doubt the Mexican Government was most anxious to fulfil its engagements. He feared however, from the observations of the two last speakers, that they would be excited with him would not be fully justified. The Government of Mexico was now in financial straits, but he did not feel that confidence in the existence of the present state of affairs there, to lead him to expect that it would long continue so. He could not say that he thought that the people would ultimately result in the matter into serious disorder. The statement of Mr. Alderman appeared to bear the mark

mutual congratulations on the prospect of getting the interest on her bonds.

JONATHAN. The DON come forward.

DON. Now I see it all. Here I see the cause of their anxiety to prevent our making armaments in Cuba, wherewith to attack Mexico. Here see the cause of all their uneasiness, lest Spain should *weaken herself by such armaments*. Now I see the nature of their *friendship* or Spain, and of their *friendly advice* to her *not to endeavour to recover Mexico*. Now I see the ground of all their alarms, lest YOU should get hold of the coast, and get the command of the Gulf of Mexico. Now I see

JONATHAN. What do you see that any but a blind man might not have seen seven years ago, except, indeed, this new invention of appointing BRITISH CONSULS to receive the duties in the ports of Mexico; and thus

DON. Yes, and thus taking possession of the *revenues* as well as the *mines* of Mexico; and, at the same time, pretending to *strict neutrality*, pretending *friendship* for Spain, pretending a *disinterested* desire to see *peace* and *happiness* restored to the *whole world*, pretending

JONATHAN. Aye, and above all things, pretending to be indignant at what they call *my encroachments* on Mexico, *my "democratic ambition,"* my desire to become the "*universal power*;" and, under these pretences, to talk of WAR with me; war, to be paid for by the wretched and starving English people, to effect objects, which, if effected, would, if possible, only add to the miseries of that people!

DON. Of war! Do they talk of war?

JONATHAN. Why, did you not hear one of them talk of war, if *remonstrance failed*? But *talk* is all that they will do in this way. As COBBETT says, they can never go to war again, as long as this sort of system lasts; and, when it ceases to exist, they are ruined. This very BARRING said, only about eleven months ago, that a "*second campaign*" would produce *bankruptcy*;" and that, you know, means *assignats, bankruptcy, anarchy*, and a tumble-down of this THING, which has so long been oppressing and harassing all mankind, friends as well as foes; making, as COBBETT says, human affairs uncertain, and human life a burden.

DON. It is wonderful that so small a country should have acquired so much power!

JONATHAN. Not at all: God has given it all the means of greatness; the best land for producing bread and meat; has given it mines inexhaustible of iron, copper, tin, and coals; has given it waters to convey these products from place to place with trifling toil; has given it a climate so temperate and healthy as to enable men as well as beasts to work at all times of the year without suffering from the heat or the cold; has given it a people the most industrious under the sun, the most skillful in the useful arts, the most able in conducting commercial concerns, and, until of late, so renowned throughout the world for their probity, that, to satisfy foreigners that a bale of goods was true to the invoice, it was enough that it bore on it the *mark of England*. In short, God gave this people the best country in the world; then surrounded it with the sea that it might be safe from foreign foes without the curse of a standing army; the forefathers of this people gave them the best

government in the world; and their descendants have suffered it to become the THING that we now behold! A THING with a biennial parliament and rotten boroughs; a THING which has loaded the people with eight hundred millions of Debt, and with a standing army, which, including the half-pay, costs more than fifteen millions of pounds sterling a year; a THING which makes the wretched people toil to pay pensions and sinecures to endless numbers of the aristocracy, men, women, and children; a THING that

DON. *Hombre de Dios!*

JONATHAN. A THING that makes the people pay, as Graham has proved, *six hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year* to 113 *privy councillors*, to say nothing of their *relations*; a THING that gave, in 1808 (I don't know what it gives now), 178,000 pounds a year in *places, pensions and sinecures*, to the members of the House of Commons; a THING that makes the people pay pensions to the wife and daughters of patriot FOX, and the mother and sisters of patriot CANNING, who "called the new world into existence"; a THING which will not let a man print a newspaper, or sell a pot of beer, without *bail* beforehand for the payment of any *fines* that may be inflicted on him; a THING which has made it *felony* to take an apple from a tree; a THING which transports men for seven years for being out in the night with gun or club in pursuit of a hare or a pheasant; a THING, which in default of money, sends the poor man (without trial by jury) to jail for a trespass of damage of a *shilling*, or a *penny*, while if a rich man, with horses and dogs, commit a trespass of damage ever so great, it gives the sufferer no redress but by civil action at law before a judge and jury; a THING which, in spite of Magna Charta, amerces, fines, imprisonments, and in some cases in Ireland, transports without trial by jury; a THING that has, at least, reduced to a people to a state of the lowest misery; has made the boast about "*English roast-bef*" a mockery, and has made "*merry old England*" as gloomy as a charnel-house; a THING that has, in fact, crippled the country, and made it wholly unable to come forth in arms; for that would *blow up the THING*, and therefore, Signor, NOW is the time. The people are cowed down, in proportion as they have been loaded, they have become abject. They have no influence, and seem not to wish to have any: the most spirited and enterprising are carrying their skill, strength, and capital to my country, where the laws and the freedom of their forefathers have been preserved; and thus this once famous country is going on gradually sinking in spirit, in character, and in power, and other nations will take from her bit by bit, not only the colonies which the THING has grasped, but that *right of search*, that indubitable proof of real *maritime dominion* that this England has proudly claimed and enjoyed for so many ages. And Signor, whatever be your determination, mine is to *shake the thing out of the Gulf of Mexico, at any rate*.

DON. But the THING, as you call it, has still a noble navy.

JONATHAN. Aye, and a noble army too, thank God for it! I like it to have noble armies and navies. I should never have had independence if it had not been for the noble GOR, the

the noble BRIDGES, the noble
DRUMMONDS, the noble CLINTON, and the
noble ladies that I captured, or made run
away; and the other day, when the THING
was bent upon "deposing James Madison,"
had not the noble DRUMMONDS and the noble
PATTENHAM and noble COCHRANE to deal
with, and did not the noble DACRE begin the
THING's naval war, which had been caused,
in great part, by the noble BARKLEY?

DON But the THING may change its
choice of commanders

JONATHAN No on the contrary; for it has
now military and naval academies, for rearing
up officers from their childhood; so that I'll
leave you to guess who it is that will put the
children into those academies, to be reared at
the public expense, and whose children those
will be! In short, all is right for us; and if
we had wanted a motive for shutting the
THING out of the Gulf of Mexico, that which
we have heard from these loan-jobbers would,
of itself, have been motive enough, and so,
Signor, good day. [Exit JONATHAN]

DON (solus). He's right, he's right aye,
and it is for the good of Spain; it is decided-
ly for her good, that JONATHAN keep the
THING out of the Gulf of Mexico, for if the
THING get there, not only is Mexico gone
from us for ever, but Cuba also, and that too

without my con-
sented of JONATHAN
certain extent,
THING to redu-
cible hemisphere;
indirectly weaken
and the French
right, he's right

Scene changes to Jo-
CITY JONATHAN
with a map, new
OLD TWO-PLUNNY I
BUCKRAIN What d

JONATHAN. Ay, an
guess, but, come, now
of the West Indies, an

BUCK. Here it is, and
[Reads them as follows]

- 1 Cuba
- 2 Jamaica
- 3 St Domingo
- 4 Porto Rico
- 5 Guadaloupe
- 6 Martinico
- 7 Trinidad
- 8 Bahamas
- a East Ilo
- b West Ilo
- c Georgia
- d Mexico
- e, e I c

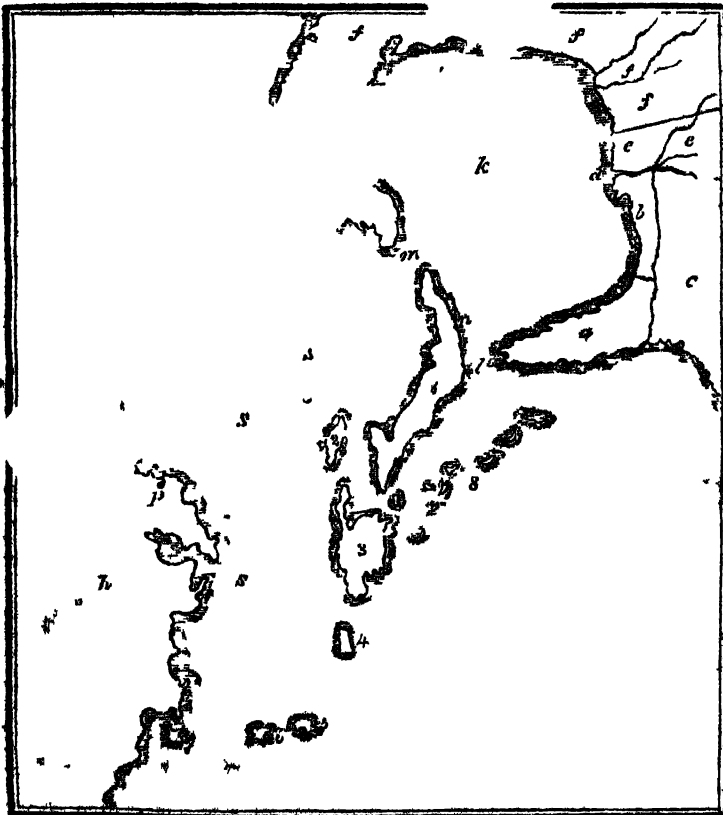
would be the
protector to a
be that of the
q in the West-
would thereby
of Bourbon,
cular He's
[Exit DON]

ments up the
at a table
GOSSETT'S
of WAR
they talk
ey do, I
the map
of the Gulf
ferences

Mexico
Florida
St Antonio
Havannah
rthagena
ra Cruz
West I Sea
Atlantic Ocean
Isthmus of Panama
Pacific Ocean

MAP OF THE WEST INDIES

GULF



JONATHAN. (another upon be, if we let Havana! at 7, you see and wise M. CONSULS here to pay

BUCK. P settle in M Consuls and to wheedle the country what their the people t in order to and to turn

JONATHAN. lowed to co have fleets see, so near is our only Western S

BUCK. command i to have an must not b character, Cuba, to be into the Gu in, at m, l double fire, But, if the THING sh

JONATHAN. War; nous to war. It has heard of ou. this time: it sees that we are and, if we could, single-haude. nothing but commodores, what sha.

BUCK. Very true; and, besic THING such a fool as to imagine, th and Russia want it to have the Mexican

JONATHAN. Aye, these powers, a other powers, hate the "delivering" TH and they look to us as a check to its grasp.

BUCK. Yes, and how mortified the pro THING must have been, when we declare "that no maritime power but Spain should have Cuba;" and when we bade Mexico and Colombia not attack Cuba, 'till an answer came from Russia!

JONATHAN. Ah, a, a, a, a, ah! from Russia! How mad the THING must have been!

BUCK. Yes, and the THING, you remember, would not join us in remonstrating against the intended attack on Cuba! The THING wished them to attack it, to be sure; and then it would have stepped in and "delivered" it!

JONATHAN. Yes, & in Malta and the Ionian Isles; but, it is now too late for the thing to do any thing more in this way. There was a time, indeed, when, if COBBETT's advice had been followed, Mexico might have been closely united with England, and when the former might have been made a source of wealth and power to the latter, and a *bridle*, for ages, in our mouth.

BUCK. When did Cobbett write about that? And what did he recommend?

JONATHAN. Why, don't you recollect, that when he was in Long Island, he published at New York, and in England too, a paper, dated on the 17th of October, 1817, which was published in England in his Old Two-Penny

nger upon 4, and ous fools we must ourselves into the s that VERA COUX, ag, and Sir Henry, the rest, expect their : duties, to be sent the bondholders!

indeed, to let them eir miners and their s and their cutlery; to all the powers of e Mexican Congress 8 are; and to cause ee parts to starvation HING'S aristocracy, Mexico against us.

this THING be al- icio, will it not soon which are here, you of Mississippi, which the produce of the

y not be allowed to must not be allowed ere; and, in short, there at all, in any y; a must have HING get 'et it get refer a vrida.

re-vent this?

Trash, on 27th Dec. 1817, and which made such a *kubbit* at Washington!

BUCK. Oh, yes, I do recollect it now; I was so mad with him for it, that I burnt the paper, and do not remember its contents.

JONATHAN. I took care not to burn it, but have looked at it a thousand times since, and always with fresh joy, that the stupid THING rejected his advice; for, if the advice had been followed, our Western States would have belonged again to England, or would have been deserted.

[then?] BUCK. The devil! Why, what did he advise,

JONATHAN. Why, first lie, in the most elaborate manner, gave the topography of Mexico and Colombia, and an account of their products and resources; he then showed how they were calculated to rival us in the export of cotton, tobacco, &c.; he then showed that the acts that we had passed were intended to prevent their independence; and that, mind, was indisputably true; he then called upon England to take part at once with the revoltors; and, above all things, to get a *firm hold on Mexico*, and there establish a power to hold us in check, to prevent the increase of our naval power, and to secure to herself the undisputed dominion of the seas for ages to come.

BUCK. Good God! Did Cobbett say all this thirteen years ago? I should like to read the whole paper.

JONATHAN. Here it is, then (*takes it up*); and do look at paragraphs 20 and 21, in which, after having shown that our Congress wished to prevent the success of the revolution in South America, he states the powerful motives to that wish, and shows what England would effect by stepping forward then, with- d 'ay, and securing Mexico at any rate.

(*Who has been looking into the Oh! by the lord Harry, look*).

"While the Congress clear- the independence of those not fail to take from the chief part of their export ur, and cotton, those -nce, the Congress onate diminution

"arise in the which are the ducts ex- which f the

"pecuniary means, with to maintain and to defray the interest of congress must have spe.

"great anxiety, those inevitable of the independence of Spain.

"naturally, that body could not ha. with real alarm the prospect of the en- blishment of a free and independent Govern- ment in Mexico, a country bordering on the United States for many hundred miles,

"surpassing the United States in whole popula- tion, having a capital city with nearly two hundred thousand inhabitants, abounding

"in mines of the precious metals, abounding in ship timber and in *conports* in both oceans, having, from the very nature of things, the absolute command of the mouth of the Mississippi, the great and only outlet to the most fertile and flourishing of the United States, and, above all, a country which every

...and every feeling must necessarily be excited, and permanent alliance with the ... of patriotism and ... of duty make the Congress ... and endeavour to prevent a Revolution, which, if successful, would check the ... of the resources and power of their ... country; which would raise up and ... in liberty as well as in power, ... the same Continent; which, while it put ... the interests of their own marines, ... other American marines, sufficient to cope with theirs in point of force, ... naturally in constant rivalry with it; ... would make England the absolute ... amongst all the transatlantic nations, and which, while it necessarily tended to enrich the manufacturers, merchants and shipowners of England, as necessarily tended to give to the English Flag an undisputed ... on the seas for ages beyond the reach of human foresight or calculation."

JONATH. There; don't read any more. Be grateful to God that the THING did not listen to this; for, observe, that, THEN, the THING had not got to *Peel's Bill*; THEN the THING had its "conquering" army in France; THEN all the world bowed down before the great THING, and no one would have attempted to thwart it in its strides. Thank God, the advice was rejected; the THING's press abused Cobbett; and when he came home, the THING passed an act to punish for life every one that uttered any words tending to bring the THING into contempt!

BUCK. And so the THING stopped till France had had time to recover; it stopped till it got into "distress" and till all the nations saw the distress; it stopped till we had nearly paid off our Debt, and had made our navy ten times as formidable as it was when Cobbett gave the advice: the sensible THING stopped till all these had taken place, and THEN it "called the new world into existence!"

JONATH. Ah, a, a, a, ah! And now it is trying to coax us out of the mines and the Mexican sea-ports, by saying that our cry is "as worthy a man as ever BREATHE!"

BUCK. Ah, a, a, a, ah! And by praising "our free-institutions!"

JONATH. And our "gentle character, and our great naval power!"

BUCK. Oh, God! And this is what the illustrious THING, the envy and admiration of the world! is come to, at last!

JONATH. Why, 'tis all *Babel*, as Cobbett says. There's WILMOT HORTON wanting to mortgage the poor-rates to get the working people out of the country, while the idlers are kept in it; and there's ...

BUCK. Yes, to make the people here pay taxes to send settlers out to the rocks and swamps of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, to cultivate the estates of JACK INGLIS, the Bishop, in the townships of Horton and Wilmot.

JONATH. Townships, indeed! How the poor devils in this country are bamboozled!

BUCK. And there are the crafty-fellows in Nova Scotia and the other rocks and swamps petitioning the THING not to let us carry our produce to the THING'S West India Islands, but to make the Islands depend on them!

JONATHAN. Aye, and there are MASSA WILBY and BROUGHAM, and FOWELL BUXTON,

and the rest of the canter, calling for laws to put an end to slavery in the West Indies, while they do all in their power to keep it up here.

BUCK. And there are the parson-captains and parson-justices, and the ... was a bishop-collector, if there be not a!

JONATHAN. And there are the NOBLE Lords who are gaugers, packers, wharfingers, harbour-masters, and ...

BUCK. And "the Earl of Rosslyn's children Clerks in Chancery!"

BOTH. Ah, a, a, a, ah!

JONATHAN. Why, the people are so cowed down; they are, by slow degrees, become so abject, and the ramifications of corruption are so extensive, that even these things do not excite indignation; and therefore the system will go on, till, at last, it will come to a French Revolution, No. 2. [Lament.]

BUCK. Not if there be a reform of the par-

JONATH. Poh! there will, I guess and hope be no such thing. What! do you think that the gaugers and packers will let keep their places as long as they can? And do you think, that those who have the penons, sinecures, grants, half-pay, church property, tithes, crown estates and public charity estates, want to have them taken away from them?

BUCK. Well; but they would lose them by a revolution as well as by a reform.

JONATH. Yes; but it is better to lose them next year than this year. No fear of a reform; this country will go on getting weaker and weaker with regard to foreign powers; it will keep on extending, as it now does, all that the THING can get from the people; it will never pay off a farthing of its debt fairly; it has seen us make a treaty, the other day, with Turkey; it sees us getting into the Mediterranean; it sees us safely united with Russia against it; it sees that we are about to expel it from the Gulf of Mexico; it sees its West India islands going to be at our mercy; and it extols our generosity, and calls our Envoy as "worthy a man as ever BREATHE!"

BUCK. But, if Cobbett get into Parliament?

JONATH. I shouldn't like that, even now. But there's not much fear of that, I hope; for what of the poverty of some, and the apathy and sordidness of others, and the conceit and envy, and.....

Enter Servant.

SERVANT. My Lord Rottenborough, Sir.

JONATH. Oh, devil take him! Tell him I'm coming. [Exit Servant.] The beast comes, I dare say, in the hope of bribing me, being as he is, a great mine-sharer and bondholder. But come, let's go and pick the fool's brains.

BUCK. (As they are going.) Whenever one of these filthy boroughmongers comes near me, I think, as Cobbett says of the over-gorged tax-eaters of Cheltenham, that he is "about to pour out upon me the proceeds of his iniquities." [Curtain drops]

END.

N. B. This MELO-DRAMA will be republished in a pamphlet, in a few days, price 7d.—This will be No. 3. of my Dramatic Works.—W. C.

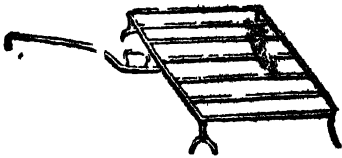
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 61—No. 26.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 26TH, 1836.

[Price 6d.]



An hypocrite with his mouth destroyeth his neighbour, but through knowledge shall the just be delivered.—PROVERBS, xi. 9.

Giving heed to seducing spirits, speaking lies in thy mouth having their consciences seared with a hot iron.—1 TIM. iv. 1, 2

TO THE
READERS OF THE REGISTER,

And particularly to those who have petitioned for the abolition of Negro-Slavery

Tanford (Gloucestershire) 1 June 1836

MY FRIENDS,

It is now much about forty years since a new sect arose, calling themselves in England, "the friends of humanity," and in France the "*amis des noirs*," or, in their language, "*les amis des noirs*." These latter sent out from the first "national assembly," two agents to the great, the rich and happy colony of SAINT DOMINGO, where they caused in one single year more destruction of human life, more human misery, than had ever been before experienced in the whole of the West India islands, from the time of their discovery by Columbus up to the day when these two "*philanthropic*" monsters landed upon the island, which they, in fact, rendered useless to France, and made a scene of desolation which it has, with little intermission, continued from that day to this. Our "*friends of humanity*" have not yet accomplished this end with regard to JAMAICA and our other West India colonies, but they are in a fair way to do this, or to do something still more injurious to England, drive the colonies to seek protection in

the arms of the United States, which would assuredly be the result, if the people of England, the really humane people of England, shall continue to be the dupes of these deceivers, and shall, by their clamours, urge on the Government so to annoy and injure the colonists as to compel them, for their self-preservation, to become citizens of the great naval state across the Atlantic, which, in spite of England, and partly owing to the mischievous proceedings of these NEGRO-LOVERS in England, is about to become, in fact, the predominating power in that part of the world.

It is with the desire of withdrawing you, my friends, from giving your aid in this work of multifarious mischief; this work of private injustice and cruelty; and, if the possession of the colonies be a good, of public injury enormous, that I tender you the facts and the reasoning that I am about to lay before you. But before I proceed further, let me observe how I myself stand as to consistency as to former opinions, and as to experience, with regard to this matter.

The blacks in our colonies are slaves, and I being an enemy to slavery in England, ought, the deceivers will say, to be an enemy to slavery, and every thing going by that name, in the West Indies, and in every other part of the world. A lazy English fellow, whom I had set to dig some ground one day, and whom I reproached for his laziness, replied by saying, "I thought you were a friend of the poor," "Yes," said I "but not a friend of rogues, and you are a real rogue," who was cheating me out of the wages I gave you." "I thought this was a free country," said a Paddy, well stuffed with beef, to his master in Long Island, when the latter, who had set him to hoeing corn, came and kicked him up in the long grass under the fence, "Yes," said the master, "but not free for you to rob me." So that we are, at the very outset, to take care how we are deceived by mere sounds, by mere words, by mere noise.

Yes, but the *blacks* are flogged by their masters. And are there *no whites* flogged by their masters? Come, come! do not hesitate, "MASSA WILBY"; do not hesitate, BROUGHAM; do not mumble, humane BUXTON; is there not a little *back-tickling* that enters into your "*prison discipline*," of which you so recently boasted?

MASSA. Ah! but that is quite another thing: those are *malefactors*; those to whom my humane friend BUXTON allots that "*discipline*" that my friend Brougham so justly extols, as a proof of our love for the *white people of England*, are *criminals*, mind that!

BUXTON. Yes, we prove our love for the *good whites* by our "*discipline*" on the *bad whites*.

BROUGHAM. What! is this adviser of young men, this *poor man's friend*, this *hater of public robbers*; is he the advocate of *private robbers*!

ALL THREE. What! is he the partisan of *felons*; is he the defender of.....

COBBETT. Stop, stop! Stop your mouths for a moment! Do you know of no *other whites* that are flogged? Do you know of no "*fine fellows*," *red coats* and *blue jackets* that are

BROUGH. (*Aside*). Ah! curse!

COBBETT (*Continuing all this*). Now and then flogged, soundly too?

MASSA and BUX. Hah a, hum.....

BROUGH. Yes, yes, then, then, as you "*fine fellows*" are flogged, it that.

COBBETT. I know it well: I know not flogged for *nothing*.

BROUGH. Well, then; very well, then; that makes *all the difference*.

COBBETT. What difference, babbler? the "*fine fellows*" and the "*gallant*" are flogged for *neglect of duty*, for *disobedience of orders*, for *insolence to their officers or their serjeants or corporals or other superiors*; for which offences I myself have seen *hundreds* of men flogged; and are not the Negroes

flogged for just similar offences?

BROUGH. Heh, um.....

MASSA and BUX overlook a most in the "*fine fellows*" *tars* enter *voluntarily*.....

BROUGH. (*Aside*). C

MASSA and BUX. (*are not taken by force from their aged parents* their bosoms, their broken-hearted and del

COBBETT. What! *sailors and militia* from *their aged parents* children, *their sons* is the distinct that these a That the to civil

have you not seen even flogged in the heart

under a guard of German. (*Aside*). Ah! curse him! they would lead him to that!

BROUGH. (*Continuing*) Bayonets? have you not seen a man put two into a felon's gaol, pay a fine to King of a thousand pounds, and held in heavy bonds for seven years, for expressing his abhorrence of that flogging; and did either of you ever open your humane lips upon the subject?

BROUGH. But sailors and militia-men are compelled to serve and to submit to discipline for the safety, peace, and prosperity of the kingdom, and the law authorising their being thus compelled.

COBBETT. Who says it doesn't? Who says it's *wrong* to compel them? But are not the Negroes compelled to work and submit to discipline for the safety, peace, and prosperity of Jamaica, for instance; and does not the law there authorise their being thus compelled?

MASSA. Only think of the dreadful whip!

COB. Only think of the dreadful cat!

BROUGH. But the cat is not laid on without a trial?

COB. Very true: the *superiors* judge

exactly

um, um,

ut you action: instant vice,

ness!

They away of their arts, rep.

essed away es and where, except black! belonging lacks

of the poor
and I do not
but do not t
judge in the r case
were to *middle* in the former case, as
you do in the latter, you would find a
law of libel would teach you to
keep your t *ss* within your teeth;
and if that SMITH, the Comptroller of
Customs in Jamaica, whom we shall see
on the stage by and by, had done in the
former case that which he has done in
the latter, he would have found the
punishment of *death* provided for him
by an Act *'all the saints support-*
ed, and..

*While Cobbett is talking
they all slip out.*

Now, my fi *ls*, deceived people,
who have you *'s* feelings perverted.
you see that thei *'s* thing in the mere
names, in the m *'s* words, when they
come to be looked *'s* with the eye of
common *see*. Taken that common
sense for ou *'s* guide, let *'s* first inquire
*Whether the West India Company can be
carried on without Negro-slavery; and,*
next, *whether this state of slavery be
really kept up by the means of cruelty*
These are the two great questions that
we have to answer to ourselves, and in
answering the last of which we shall
see, upon inquiry, that the falsehoods
and the calumnies of the "friends of
the blacks" are the basest and the
blackest to be found in the records of
human depravity. But before I come
to these questions, I think it right to
state a few facts relative to my own
former opinions, and my *experience* as
to this subject.

I make great allowance for your
errors as to this matter, because I was,
with regard to it, once most grossly
deceived myself; and I was, as you will
see, a little more in *earnest* about it
than the *canters* are. Since I have been
a *writer*, I have always *opposed the
canters*; but I *acted* in my narrow
sphere before I became a writer. The
canting, or, rather, the madness for the
blacks, began in England about the year
1790. I was in England in the fall of
1791, and was married here early in
February 1792. I was about two months

in London; and some one led me to
spend two or three evenings in the week
at *Coachmakers' Hall*, where there was
a *debating society*, that held its regular
sittings. The "*cruelties of the Slave
Trade*" was the standing subject; it
was the *fashionable* cant of the day;
the country was in peace and in great
prosperity, and this was a sort of over-
flowing of the idle feelings of the
nation. The Hall used to be crowded
to excess, and with as many women as
men. It did not require much talent to
be *eloquent* upon such a subject, espe-
cially as there was *perfect freedom as
to facts*, and as to *contradiction*, that
was nearly as much as a man's life was
worth. I was a little short of twenty-
six years old, and my wife a little short
of eighteen. She, of course, had no
will but mine, thinking me, as every
good wife will, not only the best but
the *wisest* man in the world; and in
consequence of the *intense* oratory of
Coachmakers' Hall, and of little lying
books and delightfully-disgusting *pic-
tures*, sold by old mother GUANRY, the
mother of the *lawyer* of that name, who
has abused me two or three times, of
late years, and who was, I think, one of
the *intense* orators; in consequence of
this, my *wisdom* decided that my wife
and I should *never more use sugar or
coffee* these being, as the orators as-
sured us, highly impregnated with the
sweat and blood of the poor blacks.

We continued in the disease for some
time in England, then for six months
in France; then on a long and most
tempestuous voyage, to the *United States*.
But, arrived there, and being in a com-
munity partly consisting of blacks, my
wisdom soon began to w *'s* away; and
back we came to the st *'s* and the
coffee. Slavery had then been nearly
abolished by law in Pennsylvania, to
which city I went to live soon after my
arrival; and if a slave were brought
into the State by any one, the slave be-
came *free*. I soon ascertained that the
lot of the blacks had become *worse* in
consequence of the change, that, in
numerous instances, they chose to re-
main and *serve as before*, that those
who availed themselves of the law, be-

came idle and miserable; that the *stealing of poultry and other things* now became, for the first time, common in that country; and I found the same in the State of New York, when I was last in America. *There* the blacks had been freed very *slowly*; and yet, in proportion as they became free, and *educated* (mind) *their numbers grew less*; arising from their natural *indolence* and their want of *trustworthiness*; and it was the general opinion, that *the race would become extinct in a few years*. At this time (1818) the State of Pennsylvania was planning to *get rid of the blacks*, as WILMOT HORTON and Sir GLOXY are planning to *get rid of the whites* in England. *Funds were raised for the purpose*, and every thing was ready to take them to AFRICA, there to have *lands*, and to be well provided with *tools* of all sorts, in which scheme the QUAKERS (who had been the cause of freeing them) took the lead. But when the blacks found that they were *to work* in Africa, they *refused to go*, they "*called meetings*," and "*resolved*," that *being natives* of the state, they had a right not only to live in it, but to have a share of its produce, in which were right, provided they work that share, which, however, they did, as long as there was them to rob.

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highest to the lowest of *whites*, and
great numbers of their slaves who had
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blacks were inferior to *all whites*, for
I readily allow them to be equal to
him; I only meant that they were
"not equal to *you* and to *me*. I did
"not say, or mean, that *he* had not wool
"on his head, and a *smell as strong* as
"that of the blacks; I only meant to
"say, that such people as *you* and *I* had
"not. I by *no* means *meant* to deny
"that the minds of the blacks were
"equal to *his*; all I meant to say was,
"that *you* and *I*, and such-like people,
"have minds more acute, and feeling-
"more sensitive, than those of the
"blacks." A convulsive laugh was the
effect, and natural enough it was; and
I heard no more about the blacks.

Well, and is it not *true*, that they are
of *intellect* and of *sensibility* inferior?
No justification this for *cruel treatment*,
for cruelty is wickedness, and deserving
of punishment, when practised on the
body, or even on the temper, of a brute.

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To take away a pup or a kitten from the mother for the purpose of making her uneasy, or, to do it all unnecessarily; to take away a bird's eggs, or young ones, unnecessarily: every thing of this sort is unjust and wicked: it is *cruelly*, and argues obduracy of heart. How much more wicked must it be, then, to treat with cruelty human beings, especially when they *la out for us*, and are, under proper treatment, capable of attachment and gratitude! But, in making an estimate of the *mental* sufferings attendant on slavery, we must take into view the intellectual qualities of the parties; and all the *laws*, ever heard of in the world, have taken them into view.

And as to the *fact* of inferiority of intellect, is it not now proved? Till within these forty years no one ever affected to doubt it, but what doubt can there be now, when, for forty years, all sorts of schemes have been tried, *both in England and America*, to produce some Negro of *literary talent*, and not one has yet appeared! "that no lawyer, no doctor, no preacher, even! No novel or paragraph writer!" But, moreover, *not one man or woman of the blacks* ever admitted into the *Society of Quakers*! No, nor into any other religious sect, the half-mad Methodist-only excepted. But the *Quakers* above all; they who *freed them*; they who have so long contended for their *natural equality with the whites*; they, even *they*, never to have found, amongst such numbers of thousands, one single individual worthy of being, even at the Meeting House, placed on an *equality with themselves*! One of *four things* we have here: the blacks are *naturally inferior in point of intellect* to the whites; or, they are *naturally too degraded in morals* to be admitted into a virtuous society; or, as to acquirements, they are *naturally too lazy* to exert the powers of their minds; or the "*philanthropists*," and particularly the Quakers, are the greatest *hypocrites* that God ever suffered to walk under the sun. Let the "*amis des noirs*" pick and choose here: take which they will, they confirm the opinion, that the blacks are a race by nature inferior to the

whites, or these pious "*amis des noirs*," who talk so much about Christianity, set at nought the precept of St. JAMES, who enjoins them not, *in places of worship*, to have *respect to persons*. Pick and choose, let them, amongst the *four propositions*; for as to the pretence, that their *long degradation* still keeps them down, that can serve no longer; for there are now thousands upon thousands of black men, forty years old, who were *born free*; and yet, amongst the whole, not a single man of *literary talent*, or even a single *merchant or tradesman*, of any eminence; nay, not a single *mechanic* of any note, has ever yet appeared; though there have been *black-schools* in the United States for thirty years.

This, however, is no ground for *cruelly treating them*; no, nor for *placing them in slavery at all*. But they are in slavery. If the question now were, whether Africans should be brought from their own country to be made to work in America and the West Indies, I, for one, should say, let them be where they are, and let us do, as our forefathers did, with the sweets produced by the *bees*, and without the coffee and the cotton. But there they are at work to produce these things, which cannot be produced without them, and they will not do that work without *compulsion* of the most direct kind.

So that the question is, not whether there shall be Negro-slavery, but whether we shall have sugar, coffee, and cotton, at the cheap rate and in the abundance in which we now have them; or, rather, this would be the question if we were the masters of the whole world; but we are not; and though, if the act be bad, it is no justification to say, that, if we do not commit it, *somebody else will*; it is a justification to say, that if we abolish slavery, the colonies will be transferred to other nations, our power will be diminished, theirs will be augmented in the same proportion positively, and, relatively, doubly augmented; so that while we should do *no good at all to the blacks*, we should be doing *great injury to ourselves*. And who, that has eyes, does not see, that the

doubts and fears with which these clamourers in England are continually agitating the minds of the West India colonists; that the state of *continual uncertainty*, in which their property is thus placed; that the working of the *spies* of the "*amis des noirs*" is fast alienating the colonies from England, and preparing them for a transfer of their allegiance to a power which is too wise to harbour in its bosom, and, indeed, to be dictated to by, a faction aiming at popular influence, and at power and patronage, and at the gratification of its ambition and avarice, through the means of that influence, obtained by professions of superior and most disinterested humanity, a power too wise and too just and too really humane to wring, and a people too sensible to suffer it to attempt to wring, millions upon millions out of the labour of the nation, to be expended in projects intended by such faction to destroy the property of their fellow-citizens, though the accomplishment of the projects endanger the power of the nation itself.

Negro-slavery in the States of Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, &c., is it is in Jamaica. And, in the first it is to be presumed, that WASHINGTON, for instance, was not as good and humane as MASSA WILBY and spoke even for the *con the Dungeon-bill*, in 1811. RUSHTON, of Liverpool, man I have always heard of as mad on this subject, to General Washington, with him for holding put his letter per, and sent to "shame" it, but the General aims unfaded; and ren. many centuries. Why, was I judge of what it was just and proper to do in such a case? Was not he a better judge, and more likely to know how to act advantageously for his country, than this band of popularity-hunters? The United States, in their wonderful career, have had, including the present, *seven Presidents*, FIVE of the seven have been Virginians and *slave-holders*. The government has

been established for TWO of which it has been at its head; the last but *four* years slave-holders *eight*;

One would think would be enough, that the American good judges of *abolition* Wilbys and Broughtons, and Buxtons, and Allers and Babbingtons; an *interestedness*, Old once a *hired reporter* now a *relation of W in Chancery*, beats Jefferson and Madison Jackson, all to nothing so good judges as ALLEN's tracts, and *tracts* about the *respects* A

Not any thing is those who blubber *acts*, and then take a *Jamaica* to cheer up to steady their hands of their names at theougham's balderdash circuit is I wonder, would be said of a man of humanity-men, or, "*amis des noirs*," who should take it into their heads to meet in a tavern at Philadelphia, and there "*resolve unanimously*" that the blacks in Virginia and the other Southern and Western States *should be freed*? *Saying*, however, would be little. Every southern man that was in the city would go to the bawling shop with a horse-whip, or a "*cowkin*"; and then the band would, at any rate, not shed tears *for nothing*. But, did the world ever hear before of such a thing as is now going on *here* in this respect? Here is a band of fellows, regularly *combined* and *organized* for destroying the property of a particular portion of the people, and for diminishing the power of the country; and this is not only suffered with *impunity*; but the parties really *overawe* the Government, and get from it, little by little, *legal* means of

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effecting the object! They by their *tracts and meetings and newspaper writings* raise such a clamour, get up so many petitions, that they make the Government believe that the voice of the nation is raised against the West India colonies.

This is the true state of the case; but, there yet remains to be discussed the question, *whether the Negro slavery be really kept up by the means of cruelty*; because, if that can be clearly proved, then, I say *abolish it*, and at once and wholly, *let the consequences be what they may*. "Ah, then," exclaim Wilby and Brouham and Buxton and Allen and McCaley and Babbington, "then, we join issue with you." Here, then, look at this *heart-rending* account "if you have tears, prepare to shed them."

Now, my readers, to whom I have always preached an abhorrence of cruelty, I am going to let this account before you. It was published in the London Morning Chronicle of 8th Oct. 1829, under this title: "CLERGYMEN'S ACCOUNT OF WEST INDIA SLAVERY AT THIS MOMENT. BY AN EYE-WITNESS." And the Editor of the Morning Chronicle puts it in his face in these words: "The following extracts are from a letter recently received from a gentleman in Jamaica, by his brother, a clergyman in this country, by whom it is authenticated; only a few trifling verbal alterations have been made." Now, then, my friends, men of real humanity, read this whole article with great attention; for, on this very article, on the truth or falsehood of it, published by a clergyman in England, received from the clergyman's brother, which brother was an EYE-WITNESS of what he related; on the truth or falsehood of this article must depend our opinion of all the accounts put forth by the "amis des noirs." Read, therefore, every word of it with attention. I beseech you not to slur over any part of it. I would, for the sake of your eyes, put it in larger print; but perhaps it will demand a commentary that I may not be able to squeeze into a small compass. If you do not read the letter all

through with great attention, you will not understand my remarks of it.

"Jamaica, May 15th, 1829.

"I quite long to hear what *The Evening Mail* has to say on emancipation. I have seen a draft of the terms on which they are to have it, and I think they have got everything they could possibly expect or wish. I hope they will now be quiet for some little time, and allow Government to pay some little attention to the condition of the wretched slaves in this country, whose case is deplorable in the extreme. How mortally egregiously were my dear friend and myself deceived by what we witnessed at Kingston. For what we saw there (I now find) could give us no more idea of slavery than a man born blind can have an idea of the various colours of the rainbow; here we have it in its true colours, but my heart sickens at the very thoughts of it. You will be as surprised as I was myself on first coming, to hear that we did not find a single respectable person except the collector, who is a countryman, in the whole town or neighbourhood, so that you will say we are well off in respect to society. But it is on my dear ———'s account I feel it so much, as she does not see a creature from one end of the week to the other. The owners of an estate, or rather the mortgagees (as all the estates here are mortgaged), do not, one in a hundred, reside on their property, but invariably take up their abode in a more genial climate, preferring half their income at home to residing in such a country. In these instances they delegate their power to what are here designated attorneys, something like agents at home, with this great difference, that they are entrusted with a thousand times greater authority and power, from which flows the power of a number of their subordinate agents, such as managers, overseers, book-keepers, &c., &c. and therefore, without assigning any cause, at a moment's warning, he can remove or dismiss any one of them, the owner, or mortgagee, at home not troubling themselves with the internal management, or with any further inquiries than demanding from the attorney why the estate this year produced, say ten hogheads of sugar, less than last? The effects of this cause to pass from the attorney to the manager, overseer, by dismissal, or a threat of it, and from them, of course, to those under them, and it generally, or rather invariably, terminates on the unfortunate slave's back. The attorney, to save himself as much trouble as possible (as many of them have charge of nine or ten estates), and to insure their grinding all the labour possible out of the wretched slaves, commits the discipline of the estate to the resident manager and overseer, and his other subordinate agents. These, many in number, all possess and exercise the tremendous power, for such it truly is, of inflicting on the slaves under their government, whether male or female, the punishment of the cart-whip. These

the day before yesterday, when writing, I heard the noise of that dreadful instrument, which, so often, rates on my ear, proceed from a back yard, the crack of it being followed by an agonising groan that would have touched a heart of flint. In hopes of begging off the miserable creature, whoever it might be, I went thither, but, gracious God! what an appalling sight did I behold, a wretched woman extended on the ground, with her clothes tied up to the waist, a powerful negro man, upward of six feet high (a driver from the worst house who has to deal there with the worst characters) lacerating her flesh, and this disgusting and abominable sight directed and permitted by a mother and her daughter, the poor miserable slave herself the mother of eleven children, nine of whom are living, and a grown up daughter of her own colour, the perpetrator. And yet I have a black woman beside me, 'Calimac, &c. &c.' in the West Indies Related, which is in general circulation through England, and in which I observe on the page open before me, that unfeeling females with the whip as well as lashed, and further 'that it is discomfited in the field—two enormous plantations in the fields as were ever set to it to the work and this is one of the ways people think to deceive and misinform. And her way of revealing the vile proceedings going on on a estate is to prevent any one particularly the lately arrived from England from visiting them, without having had previous permission as was the case, the other day, when I went to see the process, I had to ask the preceding evening, and when we went to visit the negroes were all nicely dressed, not a whip or a scourge to be seen, every thing in the neatest order, I was determined to find another person in some days afterwards, when the militia had to muster, at which all the white people on an estate are obliged to attend, I took advantage of their absence, and privately drove out again, and then we saw every driver armed with his whip. On going over to see my friend some time after the wretched creature had been flogged, she told me she had been very unhappy since I left her, as she was sure she heard the noise of the whip inflicted on some wretched being. It was painful to me to confirm her fears by telling her I was an eye witness to it, she desired her own servant to try and find out what had been the poor woman's crime, and what, think you, it was? The poor wretch had left some things before the fire to dry belonging to her mistress, and having placed them too near the fire, in her absence they were burnt, the whole of which were not worth five shillings. It having come to the ear of this monster (in the shape of a woman) that my friend knew of her flogging her slave, she had the effrontery and barefaced impudence, the next morning when we were at breakfast to send us a present of some grapes, in the hope of appeasing us.

I need hardly say that they were returned with a proper reply. But if further proof were necessary, that the barbarous treatment is still in existence, in the house we live in there is a very interesting little girl of about eighteen years of age, who has lost her eye by a blow of a whip from her mistress, but you may be sure not sure I came here. When we first came, every morning regularly we were disturbed at day-light with its sound by our worthy and humane landlady, however I soon put a stop to that. The evening before last we walked up to the — — our sole society) to drink tea, and I happened to mention to him what I had witnessed that day (as he was not down at his office), and asked him if I could not take the woman before a Magistrate. There was a lady present hardly deserving the epithet and namesake, the wife of an attorney, and possessing 150 slaves, who hearing me state the circumstance and ask the question, in the most unfeeling and brutal manner, said, 'What, Mr —, would you prevent the woman doing what she pleased with her own?' This horrid woman answered me, that the only reply I could make was, and not in the most courteous manner, for which I have since heard she has designated me mighty rude, 'that I thought God in the skin of the poor slaves, that we are all travelling to that place, where but two character will be met, the good and the bad, the believer and the unbeliever. I need not add, that this silenced her. But think you, what was her worthy — — 'advise?' he said, I might have the woman brought before a Magistrate but perhaps I might find him committing the same action of his own slaves, and, therefore, not to give much redress. In times when we have our domestic slaves, and do not keep drivers, as we have now, it is a punishment which sends them to the workhouse, and which they pay for out of their own pockets. I have seen a girl put with a little concern as a lady's servant, but she would be sent for to be flogged. At the West India Convention the perfecting the slaves' condition have not yet decided, however to that, I have a perfect they have, I to make the slaves, I driver more cautious in conducting her conduct. But after so long and tedious a journey on such a disagreeable subject, I am glad of a little repose, and, I have been, all that what you have just said, take a glass of brandy to your cup of tea, and it is a hundred to one that there is a tincture of anguish and horror blended up with it. Indeed, I would venture to assert it must be (if it were possible to ascertain), that there is not a household of sugar, in every plantation without having many of them in it, but I must take a respite for the present myself.

"H. 1830.

"I think my dearest friends will all be very glad to hear I am no longer going to renew the account of the heart-rending scenes

to be witnessed here, not daily but hourly, and I grieve to say, that on reading over what I wrote yesterday, I have not coloured the picture a whit too highly. What I would wish now would be, to suggest a remedy for these crying evils. There is, in my opinion, but one effectual way, and that is, first, to work a reformation in the minds and habits of those placed over the unfortunate slaves, for it is impossible to give you an idea of the dreadful depravity of the whole of the white population, with scarcely a single exception. They oppose to the utmost of their power (which over the slaves is unbounded) every thing in the shape of religion, turning it, on all occasions, into contempt and mockery. I cannot conceive what is the cause of it, it seems almost as if there were something contaminating in the very air, for the moment a person sets his foot on shore here, you would think that he landed with a licence to give free and full vent to all the worst passions of the heart, and the greater a man's depravity is here, the more highly you hear him spoken of as a good fellow. Sunday here is the day of great business, not even yet is one of the markets abolished on that day, although the members of the House of Assembly, and another of its members, are inhabitants of the place. The poor slaves themselves would most gladly devote that day to other and better purposes, but their inhuman and unchristian overseers will not allow them any other time to procure the necessaries of life. Yet, notwithstanding the numberless obstacles thrown in their way to prevent their attending public worship, the church is crowded with them every Sunday and it is delightful to see with what earnestness and devotion they attend. The creatures are anxious enough and will receive instruction, and will become educated, but until that great barrier, that of their overseers is removed, their advancement into civilization must be very slow. I have sight to see one at church, one or two at the gentleman's, who has been removed from the island, was a most interesting man, a man of great talents, and his sudden death, leaving his wife and children, is a great loss to the church. I never saw any sight to see it on last night, filled to suffocation with all colours. As to the Bishop, if I had not needed to have seen him at Kingston, I should not have known that there was one in the Island, he keeps himself so very quiet.

Now, my friends, you have read this dismal account, this horrid tale, and, before we go further, you ought to know who and what this "EYE WITNESS" is? His name is G. H. SMITH, and he

is, or, at least, he COMPTROLIER OF THE PORT OF SAVANNAH LA MAR of Jamaica; and also a member of the NAVY. The letter his BROTHER, in Ireland OF THE ESTABLISHED published by this CHRONICLE by the SOCIETY, and that Society, and in the which they publish "the ANTI SLAVER" that they have made to this letter of SMITH is, A "COMPLIMENT" to you, it must be true not a moment to be suspended in the blacks ought knife and fork whites! His tissue of falsehoods be proved mad.

Now, then, my friends, I am going to make all things clear to you, and to call for your virtuous indignation against this band of imposters, who are, by means like this, appealing to the best feelings of sincere people, for the purpose of gratifying their own selfish and base ambition at the expense of their fellow citizens, the West India proprietors, and at the manifest risk of deeply injuring the power of the country.

SAVANNAH LA MAR is situated in a parish of Jamaica, called WESTMORELAND. When the Morning Chronicle containing Smith's letter reached Jamaica, a Meeting of the Inhabitants of that parish was called, and, the letter having been traced to Smith, he attended the meeting, and the discussions took place in his presence. This meeting concluded by appointing a Com-

, 1829, at the Island, was OF VAN I by VAN WAS tho-NING SO-om-work, called," says relative the re-ION OF hen, say I hesitate law ought, and that loose, with the the if it be a, and, if this an confession, I, if this be the ke all this as clear to it noon day, what pu (abhorrence, are due to the publisher, and to the my crew, who, after making inquiries," assert the "genuine" this letter!

mittee to examine Smith; and here follows a copy of their report of that examination, signed by Smith himself.

The following are the admissions of G. H. Smith, Esq., and signed by him.—As regards the allegation in respect to the cruel treatment of the late Mary, Mr. Smith commences "I was writing in the custom-house on the day in question, and heard the sound of the whip, and some person crying out after each blow, hearing it continue some time, he went out, and followed the sound of the whip, and on arriving at the gate of Mr. Anthony Leitch's yard, he saw a female extended on the ground, and a driver punishing her, he clothes up to her hips, was astonished, from not having seen a female punished before, imagined at first that it was a boy, but found it to be a female full grown, returned back to the custom house, and heard the whip for some little time afterwards continue when he went out again he saw two women of colour looking on, as it was the first time he had witnessed such, he thought it very severe, he inquired of the driver what he was lacerated, and enquired what was the number of licks, at the low repute, it might have been from twenty licks. As he was standing at the gate, a slave whom he did not know, said to him 'I G'd's sake, Missa, beg him off', collected rephrasing, that he would sooner say anything, than beg a favour from such a woman, that punishment appeared to be very cruel inflicted in that yard, only a few weeks ago he saw a woman coming out crying, *never saw an instance of the punishment of a female* way, he was told that it was not ill, justifiable, and therefore did not complain to any magistrate, asked the same woman whom he had met by the gate the day before, what the crime was, or it might have been through Mrs. Smith's servant, but as far as he remembered, not, but believes the crime, from such information, was for allowing some clothes to be burnt, the value of which might have been, the negro woman said, five shillings. Before he witnessed the above occurrence, which was the first instance of a female being punished in that manner, he had seen from the 8th of February until May, at Savannah la-Mar, had often seen minor punishments with a cow skin, never heard that she was punished for any other crime than the one above mentioned. In respect to the girl, who belongs to one of Miss Whitehead's nieces, he believes, and has heard of, the occurrences, as it is mentioned in his publication, viz., that it was from the blow of a whip inflicted by Miss Nelly Whitehead, but if misinformed, would be happy to find himself so, heard it generally, and believes from Mr. Fraser once, that it had occurred in that manner, but never heard how long ago it was, it was, however done before he came to the island, could not believe that any body could, maliciously and purposely deprive a child of its eye, but believes it must

have been done while flogging; never saw any act of inhumanity on the part of Mr. Fraser, the proprietor of the wharf, but the conversation did take place, as stated in the letter, between him and Mr. Fraser. Since he has been acquainted with him, not one instance of severity on the part of Mr. Fraser was committed; in fact, quite the contrary. The first time he ever heard the term *cat made use of* was by Mr. Fraser, who explained to him the nature, which was laying open the skin, but not to the extent mentioned in the letter, that was a severity which he, Mr. Fraser, never allowed to be practised on his negroes.

It was not consistent with his knowledge that the white people, as well as the drivers on the estates, are indulged with the punishment of the negroes, and exercise it at their own discretion, as stated in his letter.

Never knew, of his own knowledge, that the white people were not in constant attendance upon the negroes all the day, but heard so, and the day when he visited the estate, when they were cutting canes, it was a muster day. Another instance, he believed, at Amity, and that was also in crop time, had been told the drivers on the estates exercised their power for the gratification of their sensual appetites; but constantly disprove that in any letter he ever sent home he charged the white people with such a calumny. Was not acquainted with the difference existing between the drivers and the slaves upon estates, as to their appearance.

Had adopted the opinion of others, not his own, upon the subject of severe flogging, and lacerating, but was never near enough to examine whether any infliction was to the extent mentioned in the letter, but has seen several instances, among the workhouse negroes, particularly at which was the occasion once of Mr. Fraser finding fault with the workhouse driver for such infliction, but in the end he let the negro stand up while being punished.

Had taken his opinion partly from Mr. STEPHENSON, and partly from the opinion of people in a distant but declined giving the names, did not know of his own knowledge, of any case which he might have complained, and has not found a horror, or redress, that he never explained to a magistrate of all treatment to a slave in consequence of the information he had received that he would not obtain it, but declined to say from whom he had got such information, had since mentioned to a magistrate, as a matter of conversation, what he considered a severe instance of punishment but that the reply was, that it was not an illegal infliction.

Labouring under an impression, that it was customary to obtain leave from the managers of estates, before visiting them, from the circumstance of being informed, that leave had been requested for him. He rather supposed that it must be a mistake in the allusion to Scotchmen; if he made that assertion in the letter, it must have been from a former im-

provision, but did not think they are more harsh than the other class of persons or country, from what he had witnessed here, did not know, of his own knowledge, but had heard slave owners say, that they employed the workhouse slaves to punish their domestic slaves.

Never knew, of his own knowledge, of an instance of owners presenting their slaves attending domestic service, believed it to be the reverse, and did not hesitate to say, that it was an erroneous impression, had heard, that slave owners both send their domestic slaves to the workhouse to be punished, and also send for the workhouse slaves to their houses, for the same purposes, that the second visit to institute was not to the same estate first alluded to, viz Bath estate, where Mr Locke resides, but another, although he did not name it, and that that explanation was for the purpose of removing the erroneous impression conveyed in the letter.

It did not consist with his own knowledge, and he never witnessed, and in fact he acknowledged that he was in error in the following — That the negroes are in the habit of laying open the flanks of oxen and mules at a single stroke, which, if known by their overseers, would be punished; but, in the case of a negro, it would be passed over with impunity, and admitted that he had adopted Mr Stephen's opinion on that subject, and did not think, from his present longer residence in the country, that such an act, in respect to a negro, would be passed over with impunity that a fact, with respect to the instance alluded to of his jumping out of bed, upon hearing report of a whip, between five and six in the morning, which was the punishment in the workhouse negro, which he very severe infliction.

(Signed)

J S WILLIAMS, Chairman

The House of Commons is to say, the *Legisla*, made this matter a They called Smith, sttee, and, along with, send and as- society, the Collector of the *vannah-la-Ma* and who is letter, describes as the "o. table person in the whole town an neighbourhood." The House of Assembly, very judiciously and justly, brought them both before the Committee, face to face, and put them both upon their OATH; and here follows the Report that the Committee makes of their *surcings*.

That they (the Committee) have taken the examination, on oath, of *London House and Evelyn, Esq*, who is described by Mr. Smith

as the only respectable man and his sole society

In the examination, *Mr* *succinct and direct* *negot* *Mr Smith*, who cannot of of a gentleman, whom he individual sufficiently re associate, and who is his Evelyn being the collector comptroller of his Majesty's *vannah-la-Ma*, in Westmoreland.

Mr Smith has also made ment on oath, and directly statement continued in his In this letter his accusation made by an eye-witness of t which the charges of cruelty this statement, on oath, but he declares, that these acc and that they arose from misled by an individual unaccustomed confidence, accuses Mr Evelyn "for having deceived."

Your common sary and to contrast s. It requires a part of M position, wherein he having been induced, tion, to injure an in-

have also caused to be laid at proceedings of a court of session for slaves, held at Savan, where it was proved by the most positions, that the charge made by with of the atrocious crime of wantonly and a slave is unjust, and that the injury fellow creature alluded to recently was the consequence of a mere unintentional act, of an accident which occurred several years before Mr Smith's arrival in this island, and for which mischance, had it happened in the case of free persons, no punishment would have been awarded in Jamaica or in England.

The documents above referred to are annexed by your committee to this report.

Your committee attach no further importance to this inquiry than as it tends to evince the manner in which the character and conduct of the West Indians are slandered. An officer of his Majesty's customs in Jamaica writes a letter containing charges preferred against the community in which he resides of the most atrocious cruelty towards their dependents. This letter is immediately disseminated through the most widely-circulated publications of the united kingdom, and thence the general inference is propagated that a system of wanton and oppressive cruelty exists in the West Indian colonies. When the opportunity is offered of tracing the calumny to its source, then the author declares he was misled by a friend, whom he yet refuses to name in words, though by facts he points him out; then the author declares that his accusations, though published as having emanated from

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an "eye-witness" were not founded upon his own view, experience, or even rational inquiry: then the author admits that his charges are gross misrepresentations; and then he expresses his regret for having caused the publications of allegations as facts which he on his oath says, his own experience has, subsequently to the publication, convinced him are false; and then charges his correspondent, "his clerical brother," with having made "his own alterations," before he published the letter from this supposed "eye-witness" libelling a whole country.

Short and sweet! This report, and the other documents and proceedings, show, that the sun of the West Indies does not *scald people's brains*, at any rate; and, indeed, if a thousandth part as much sense and spirit had been shown by the West Indians in England, as has been shown by them in Jamaica, the affairs of this, and the other islands, would not have been in the miserable state in which they now are. But, the fact is this: the "bones" of West Indians, as they call themselves, are under the control of a part of the *Aristocracy*, who are proprietors: these have two interests; one to preserve their West India property; but another to preserve their political power here. Hence their *trimming*; hence their feeble defence of the colonies against the attacks of the popularity-hunting assailants; and hence a state of things which cannot long exist without severing those rich colonies from England, and transferring them to add to the power of the United States.

Here I might stop: here is quite enough, with regard to Smith, and also with regard to the "ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY," who vouch for the genuineness of the published letter, while Smith swears, that "alterations" have been made in that very letter. This is quite enough for any just and sensible person that has been deluded; and, as to canting, hypocritical, perverse, and senseless people, I neither address myself to them, nor care any thing about them. But, a peg upon which Smith hung one of his base lies, is worthy of notice. In his letter, he, with true Irish pathos, not unworthy of the Great Bru O himself, details the cruelly ex-

ercised on "a female;" but, being brought to the test, confesses, that it did not exceed fifteen or twenty strokes; and he further confesses, "that he did not apply to a magistrate, having learned that the extent of punishment was not illegal;" he also says that "he understood from a negro woman that the punishment inflicted on the said slave was for allowing certain articles of wearing apparel belonging to her mistress (not exceeding the value of five shillings) to be burnt."

Now, this was the only instance in which he, at last, pretends, that he ever saw any punishment at all; and here we have a very fine specimen of the talent of the "amis des noirs" at hanging a lie upon a peg. The woman was whipped; and now for the cause of the whipping, as stated on oath, before the Magistrates at Savannah-la-Mar.

Mr. Touzalin's affidavit, as respects this charge, is to the following effect: "That Rachel Cotino, from indisposition, had removed for change of air to Mr. Touzalin's house; that she, the said Rachel Cotino, sometime after burned that her outhouse (consisting of a cook-room, pantries, and divers articles, to the value of seventy pounds) was burnt to the ground; that a convalescent state prevented her from at first ascertaining the cause of the fire, but that she afterwards discovered that the fire was attributable to the negligence of the said slave Mary; that she did not, however, punish the slave for such offence, but merely gave her strict injunctions to take better care of the dwelling-house; that she afterwards found no attention had been paid to these orders, and that the said slave had absented herself without leave on a subsequent day (Friday), in consequence of which she found fault with her, that she received a great deal of impertinence and menacing abuse from the said slave in return, and, on that account alone, punished her." Mr. Touzalin also further deposes, that the punishment was not severe, and that to his knowledge the said slave Mary had not been punished previously for fifteen years. The combined affidavits of Miss Hunter and Mr. Conery corroborate the whole of Mr. Touzalin's deposition.

Now, what would, in a similar case, have been Mrs. Mary's lot in England? If she had escaped the punishment due to the crime of arson, she would hardly have escaped a trial for it, and the prison to wait for that trial; but, at

the very least, for the *menace* joined to the *mischievous*, she would, under the statute, have been regaled with *bread and water* for three months, and, to keep her digestive faculties in play, she would have had a dance on the treadmill eight hours out of the twenty-four, or, if that had been pleasanter to her, a little tickling on her shoulders now and then; and this, too, *without any trial at all!* "Aye, but then, there would have been the sentence of a *justice of the peace!*" Great comfort, no doubt, to Mrs. Mary's belly and back! How gladly would our offenders in this way compound for Mrs. Mary's punishment! A year or two ago, there was a boy, who, on a Sunday, was got into a little dingle of a Mr. DONNREGER, at Swanmore, in Hampshire, hunting his rabbits. The owner, having hidden himself behind some underwood, with a stick in his hand, darted out upon him, and, seizing him by the collar, said, "Now, you rascal, I'll take you *before the justice!*" "Noa," said the boy, "doon't do *that*: gea me a vlick

or two wi' that *tha* *that be it!*" Mr. J much pleased with t choice, that he let "There, *go along*, yo if ever I catch you *ho* you *before the justice*

This Smith appear man; and his lies we about the same tim putting forth much of lies, at a meeting TI-SLAVERY SOCIETY grand mart of "i folly, hypocrisy, a even this Smith is of OLD STEPHEN; do admire the *gent* bernian comptrolle that of an "EYE- in great part, FRENCH'S lying YEARS A specimen than I had

nd let es so icious th a, ; but, I take

Irish- ut just O was re sort "AN- in, that orance, e. But a pupil friends, this Hi- er, called consists, om STE- IED SIX following orm more ould insert, if I

SMITH, in 1829.

The attorney, to save himself as trouble as possible (as many of t charge of nine or ten estates), ar their grinding all the labour r the wretched slaves, commits the estate to the, resident m and his other subordinate in number, all possess r adous power, for such is on the slaves under whether male or female the cart- whip. These for the most part, free description, or of the in- It would, how- ever, for the wretched slav and here. Indescent are designated drivers, who are a selves negro slaves.

STEPHEN, in 1824.

y the attorneys of absent proprietors, ary description of these planters, se incomes enable them to live in Europe, cause the attorney, as such, does not, expt in extraordinary cases, exercise his delegated authority in punishing the slaves, but commits the discipline of the estate to the resident manager or overseer, and his subordinate agents. But these, however many in number, possess and exercise the tremendous power, for such it truly is, of inflicting on the slaves under their government, whether male or female, the punishment of the cart-whip!

When it is considered that these inferior agents are, for the most part, either Creoles of the worst description, or the lowest class of whites, nursed in the lap of colonial prejudice, &c.

The slaves on an estate are divided into what they call gangs, each of which has one of these drivers, and, in cases where they are numerous, two or three; these are entrusted with the power of the whip over their unfortunate brethren while working in the field. These drivers are the most athletic slaves belonging to the estate, and as using the whip is the only work allotted to them, their plump and

But it would be well, comparatively, for plantation slaves if the delegation ended here. It descends also to the drivers, who are generally, if not universally, Negro slaves; and yet, as a necessary incident of the opprobrious degrading system, are entrusted with the power of the whip over their brethren, while working under their superintendence in the field. These men are selected from among the most intelligent

